sacris erudiri

A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity

XL
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The new editorial team wishes to strengten this latter line of research so that *Sacris Erudiri* will become a forum to bring to the fore the Christian elements of late antique and medieval culture. To this end a new subtitle, *A Journal on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity*, has been supplied. In particular, the editors hope that *Sacris Erudiri* will be a journal in which the contributors to the various activities of *Corpus Christianorum* will wish to present the results of their research into the content, language or style, as well as the textual tradition and critical edition of Christian texts.

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Tertullian's Vocabulary of the Divine 'Individuals' in *adversus Praxean*

by
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INTRODUCTION

Tertullian of Carthage was an uncompromising monarchian and as such was very much a theologian of the Western Church. Theologically and confessionally his beginning and end point was his belief in and profession of the one God of the Christian Gospel. This belief in one God largely informed his quarrels with the teachings of Marcion, Hermogenes and a number of Gnostic teachers, among the latter particularly with Valentinus. Yet Tertullian was neither an adoptionist nor a modalist in his monarchianism; he professed strong belief also in the three Divine Persons and in their clear distinction one from another within the framework of his acknowledgement and declaration of the divine *oikonomia*.

Tertullian's position on Christian discipline is informed both by his reading of the scriptures and by the direct teaching of the Holy Spirit (whom he usually, but not always, in this context names as the Paraclete), communicated often through the mouths of the original New Prophets, Montanus (whom Tertullian never quotes or cites individually), Prisca (or Priscilla) - the prophet most frequently quoted by him - and Maximilla[1].

[1] For Tertullian, however, the Paraclete is also the teacher of doctrine, particularly with respect to the economy (oikonomia) of the Trinity. See *adversus Praxean* 2,1; 11,7; 13,5; 30,5 and 31,2 *de Fuga* 1,1; 14,3; *de Ieiunio* 10,6; *de Anima* 1,4; 2,3 and 9,4; *de Monogamia* 2,4; *de Resurrectione carnis* 63,7 and 63,9. While it is

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For Tertullian the Paraclete largely concerns itself with a discipline which is grounded in sound doctrinal teaching. At *de Pudicitia* 1,20 he condemns those who dishonor the Paraclete by the irregularity of their discipline. At 11,3 he names the Holy Spirit as the prescriber (*determinator*) of discipline and declares that no-one was holy prior to the manifestation of the Holy Spirit from heaven as founder of this discipline[2]. At *de Virginibus velandis* 1,4 Tertullian speaks of God sending the Paraclete – human mediocrity being unable to take in all divine instruction at once – so that discipline might, little by little, be directed, arranged and carried to completion by 'that vicar (*vicario*) of the Lord', the Holy Spirit[3]. At 1,5 the management task (*administratio*) of the Paraclete is described as the directing of discipline, the revealing of the Scriptures, the reforming of the intellect and the making of advances towards better things. The critical importance of the Paraclete to the notion of discipline for Tertullian is perhaps best

true that the main issue between Catholics (Tertullian's *Psychici*) and Montanists (Tertullian's New Prophets), at least in the North Africa of the period, was the matter of discipline, it is not true that doctrine was not also a major concern. Tertullian himself clearly believed that fundamental doctrinal issues lay at the heart of his disciplinary concerns. Indeed, to separate discipline and doctrine as if they were unrelated matters is often to miss the point in the major controversies of the late second and early third centuries. At *de Pudicitia* 21,1 Tertullian distinguishes the *doctrina* and the *potestas* of the Apostles. For here *doctrina* is teaching on discipline and the word *disciplina* can be translated as 'doctrine'. See J. PELIKAN, 'Montanism and its Trinitarian significance', *Church History* 25 (1956): 104f., however, for the view that in Tertullian the Paraclete is primarily the teacher of discipline rather than of doctrine. It was Tertullian's view that the thing which most characterized the New Prophets (over against the *Psychici*), however, was their adherence to a more rigorous and more evangelically-driven discipline.

[2] See also *de Pudicitia* 21,2. The Paraclete is put forward by Tertullian as the teacher of martyrdom at *de Anima* 55,5, *de Fuga* 9,4 and *de Monogamia* 15,3, of monogamy at *de Monogamia* 2,1; 3,6; 3,9; 3,10; 4,1 and 14,3 and at *de Exhortatione castitatis* 11,1, of abstinence and sobriety at *de Ieiunio* 13,5, on Gentile conversions at *de Pudicitia* 12,3f., of continence at *de Exhortatione castitatis* 4,5, and against adultery at *de Pudicitia* 16,18.

[3] Note *adversus Valentinianos* 16,1 where the Aeon Paracletus is described as the Aeon Christ's *vicarius praefecti*. The notion of the Holy Spirit as Christ's *vicarius* is important. For while it does not suggest that the former is essentially inferior to the latter, it does mean that the distinct existence of the Spirit, as the one who represents Christ in the present, is crucial to the continuing authority of the Gospel and its discipline.

illustrated by the fact that a significant number of his treatises effectively both begin and end with a reference to the Paraclete's (or Holy Spirit's) disciplinary teachings or at least have such a reference within their concluding chapters [4].

And this teaching by the Paraclete on discipline (and on doctrine too) comes for the most part from prophecy as the illumination of Scripture. While Tertullian alludes to a number of the Paraclete's teachings, on six occasions at least he records direct revelations of the Holy Spirit (Paraclete) mediated through the New Prophets [5]. In five of these oracles the presenting issue is discipline; in the other (that from *adversus Praxean,* which treatise, as we shall see below, establishes a doctrinal basis for Christian discipline) it is doctrine.

Tertullian clearly believed that the modalism of Praxeas [6] threatened any commitment to a proper discipline in the Christian life. He believed that the denial by Praxeas and his kind of the distinct identity of each of the persons of the Holy Trinity was tantamount to a denial of their existence; thus, he declares, they deny the Father when they say he is the same as the Son, they deny the Son when they say he is the same as the Father [7] and, by implication, similar things could be said concerning the Spirit. They do so, he continues, by granting them (that is, the Father and the Son, and, by implication, the Holy Spirit) such things (i.e. properties) which are not theirs and by taking away such things as are. Thus, by impli-

[4] See *adversus Praxean* 1,5 and 30,5; *de Anima* 1,4 and 58,9; *de Fuga* 1,1 and 14,3, *de Resurrectione carnis* 63,10 (an exception with respect to its beginning), *de Exhortatione castitatis* 4,5 and 10,6, *de Monogamia* 2,1 and 14,5, *de Pudicitia* 1,20 and 22,15, and *de Ieiunio* 1,3 and 15,2.

[5] See *adversus Praxean* 8,5; *de Pudicitia* 21,7, *de Fuga* 9,4 (twice); *de Resurrectione carnis* 11,2; and *de Exhortatione castitatis* 10,5. C.M. ROBECK, *Prophecy in Carthage: Perpetua, Tertullian and Cyprian.* (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 1992), 125, questions whether the *Praxean* reference is to an oracle yet still believes that it at least to Tertullian conveys the mind of the Paraclete. R.E. HEINE, *The Montanist Oracles and Testimonia.* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1989), does not include it at all in his collection.

[6] E.F. OSBORN, *Tertullian. First Theologian of the West.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 120, note 10, points out that the name 'Praxeas' (meaning 'busybody') could be a nickname for some notable person. A. BRENT, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century.* (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1995), 525-9, puts forward a strong argument in favour of identifying 'Praxeas' with Callistus, then bishop of Rome.

[7] *Adversus Praxean* 31,3.

cation, if the Spirit be denied, then his authority is denied. If this be denied then prophecy in the Spirit (Paraclete) is denied. If prophecy be denied, where then is the basis for the teaching and requirement of discipline? For the principal teacher and director of Christian discipline and of those doctrinal truths which provide the basis for it is the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit; his authority, as teacher and director, would amount to nothing if his existence as a distinct being could not be guaranteed. The basic argument of the *adversus Praxean* then, is, among other things, geared towards the establishment of the distinct (but not separate) identities of Father, Son and Holy Spirit[8]. And it is, at least in part, the testimony of the Holy Spirit which establishes these distinctions and thus its own identity and authority[9].

Tertullian employs a number of different words, both in *adversus Praxean* and in other writings, to express or to make clear the distinction of Persons in the Godhead. In this essay I will discuss in turn the words *alius*, *cohaerentes*, *forma*, *gradus*, *modulus*, *nomen*, *persona*, *portio*, *proprietas*, *res*, and *species* and the manner in which Tertullian employs each for that purpose. For some of these words, and where appropriate, I will discuss first some of the meanings assigned to them by both the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*[10] and the *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*[11]. I will then discuss Tertullian's own use of each word in trinitarian contexts, and again, where appropriate, against the background of its use in both contemporary classical and ecclesiastical settings, to distinguish the three Divine Persons. Sometimes, too, it is actually what Tertullian does not say which speaks most eloquently in his language about God. In this paper I will, for example, use 'person' to distinguish the three individual, divine entities which are God as Father, God as Son and God as Holy Spirit in Tertullian's thought, but in such a way as will emphasize again, in his own words, a *distinctio* but not

[8] OSBORN, *op. cit.*, 121, note 17, rightly claims that Tertullian, however, does not so much solve the problem as elucidate it.

[9] At *adversus Praxean* 2,1 Tertullian reports how the Paraclete himself has taught the distinction of Persons under the divine *oikonomia*, of the procession of the Son from the Father and of the sending of the Holy Spirit as sanctifier of those who believe in the Three Persons.

[10] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968).

[11] A. BLAISE, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens.* (Turnhout, Brepols, 1967).

a *separatio* or *divisio* of persons. I will do so recognizing also the difficulties in employing such a word as 'person/*persona*', difficulties apparent not only to us but also to Tertullian himself (see below). Often also it is not a particular use of a word which informs most clearly Tertullian's precise meaning but rather the use of that word in conjunction with others.

At *adversus Praxean* 1,5 Tertullian accuses Praxeas of serving the Devil in two ways: by driving away prophecy and thus bringing in heresy, and also both putting to flight the Paraclete and crucifying the Father. The *adversus Praxean* deals mostly with the particular relationship of the Father and Son; apart, that is, from chapters 27-30 which concern matters almost exclusively christological. The mention of the alleged affect of Praxeas's teaching on the person and work of the Holy Spirit (as Paraclete) so early in the treatise, however, and with such prominence (the Father is mentioned only second and the Son in this context not at all), demonstrates beyond doubt that this is yet perhaps the critical concern of the treatise and that the person and work of the Holy Spirit, while often omitted from explicit mention, is assumed in much of the discussion of the relationship by way of distinction between Father and Son. At 1,5 there is also established an undeniable connection between the 'expulsion' of prophecy (and the introduction of heresy) and the putting to flight of the Paraclete. It is the expulsion or denial of the one (the Paraclete) which effects the standing of the other (prophecy). This expulsion/denial of the Paraclete and the concomitant expulsion of prophecy ensures the denial of discipline. *Adversus Praxean*, then, though not itself one of the specifically disciplinary treatises of Tertullian, provides a doctrinal basis for those which are. Thus, the distinction of the Paraclete, though itself linked inextricably to the persons of the Father and the Son as one God, provides for his authority, and thus for prophecy and for discipline, for the living out of the Gospel's demands.

For Tertullian, then, discipline was the key to the Christian life, the note *par excellence* of the authentic church. And such a church, as he reminds us at *de Pudicitia* 21,17, is a church of the Spirit who gives the church both its teaching on and its empowering for discipline. At *de Fuga* 14,3 Tertullian speaks of the Paraclete as necessary to the Christian life. As the one who acts as guide into all truth, the Paraclete also emboldens all endurance.

THE INDIVIDUAL DISTINCTION OF THE 'PERSONS'

alius: Tertullian regularly employs this word to distinguish the persons of the Trinity[12]. At *adversus Praxean* 5,5f. he employs a human analogy to convey the sense of the distinction between God and his Word. Tertullian asks his reader to consider the example of himself (i.e. the reader) as a 'rational living being' (*animal rationale*), possessing reason within himself as being created in the image and likeness of God. During the process of thinking the person meets with himself, as it were, by reason, such reason meeting himself with a word at every movement of his thought. 'Whatever you will have thought is a word', Tertullian asserts, 'whatever you will have understood is reason[13]. This word you must speak in your mind and as you do so you experience it as a partner in that conversation with yourself. In it (i.e., the word) is contained that reason itself by which, in company with the word, thinking you speak and, through whom, speaking you think. Thus in a certain manner the word is a second [sc. person] within you through whom you speak in thinking and through whom you think in speaking; and this word itself is other [sc. than you] (*ipse sermo alius est*)'. Thus, by analogy, the Father's Word is other than the Father himself. This employment of '*alius*' is determinative for the rest of the treatise. At 9,1 Tertullian speaks of the Father, Son and [Holy] Spirit as each being 'other' (*alium*), but not, as some would suggest he means, by way of '*diversitas*' and, from '*diversitas*', of '*separatio*'. He asserts this against those who, fawning over the monarchy against the economy, contend that Father, Son and Holy Spirit are the same [sc. being/person]. But, continues Tertullian, the Son is different (*alium*) from the Father, not by diversity (*diversitate*) but by distribution (*distributione*), different (*alium*), not by division (*divisione*) but by distinction (*distinctione*). For Father and Son are not the same (*idem*), but different from each other only in measure (*modulo alius ab alio*). At 12,6 Tertullian asserts that he has already proposed how the Word should be understood as 'other' (*alium*); as to person, that is, not as to nature (*personae non substantiae nomine*), by way of distinction, not of division. At 12,7 Tertullian asserts that

[12] OSBORN, *op. cit.*, 122, note 18, calls it a 'dangerous' word.

[13] Some editors (eg, KROYMANN) read *oratio* for *ratio*. I prefer the latter as suiting better the context of other like references around it.

he otherwise everywhere professes one nature in three coherent [sc. persons] (*ceterum ubique teneo unam substantiam in tribus cohaerentibus*), and that he is obliged by necessity to employ the word 'other' (*tamen alium dicam oportet ex necessitate*) in this case to distinguish him who orders the creation and him who carries out the creative act. At 14,1f, Tertullian resolves for himself an apparent dilemma – despite God's declaration that no-one could see his face and live (*Ezekiel* 33,20), yet both patriarchs and prophets have seen God yet did not die on that account – by asserting that God seen (visible) was the Son and not the Father (God invisible). It will be then, Tertullian says, a different person who was seen (*ergo alius erit qui videbatur*), some person (i.e., the Son) who is distinct from the Father. Yet, he continues, we thereby understand the Father, as invisible, in the fullness of his majesty, while we recognize the Son, as visible, by measure of his derived existence (*pro modulo derivationis*). This concept is offered by way of the analogy of the sun and its rays, with the derived or secondary issue a portion of the fullness of the original substance. Here clearly, though perhaps somewhat awkwardly, Tertullian qualifies *alius* to promote the notion of 'otherness' by distinction and not by division. At 19,8 Tertullian asserts that the two, Father and Son, are two as Father and Son, not by way of the severance of their nature, but by dispensation. We pronounce, he says, the Son to be undivided and unseparated from the Father, and different not in condition but in rank (*nec statu sed gradu alium*). Although the Son may be called God when he is named by himself, this does not make two Gods but only one, for he can be so called from the unity of the Father. At 21,2f. Tertullian declares that if the words of *John* 1, 1-3 be understood as they are written, then one (*alius*) is indicated as being 'from the beginning', another (*alius*) with whom he was; one (*alium*[14]) the Word of God, the other (*alium*) God – although the Word is also God, Tertullian adds, but as Son of God, not as Father – one (*alium*) through whom are all things, the other (*alium*) from whom are all things. But by 'other' (*alium*) we mean, he asserts, not the same (*non eundem*) – as if separated – but rather 'other' by disposition, and not by division (*autem non quasi separatum, dispositione alium, non divisione*). At 25,1 the Spirit is called 'the other (*alium*) [sc. Paraclete]' with respect to the Son as the implied first Paraclete.

[14] Kroymann reads this and the next three occurrences of *alium* as *alius*.

Thus, for Tertullian, Son and Holy Spirit are portrayed as distinct entities. At 28,11 Tertullian quotes *Psalm* 110,1 - 'the Lord says this to my Lord Christ – to show that the Lord who speaks to the Father of Christ is another [sc. person] (*alius erit Dominus qui loquitur ad Patrem Christi*), and *Ephesians* 1, 17 to demonstrate that the God of Jesus Christ is other than Christ himself (*alius erit Deus Christi Iesu*).

At 8,2 Tertullian happily (that is, notwithstanding the term's clear association in the mind of many with Valentinian thought) describes the Word as a prolation (Tertullian employs the Greek word προβολή) put forth by the Father. But unlike Valentinus, who divides and separates the prolations from their author, the Son, he says, we call a prolation from the Father, but not as separated from him (8,5). For God puts forth the Word, as the root does the tree, the fountain the river, and the sun its rays (ibid.). Unlike the Valentinians' aeons, whom Valentinus puts far from their author so that a particular aeon does not know its own Father (8,2), the Word alone knows its Father (8,3), is always in the Father (8,4), is always with the Father (ibid.), and is never separated from the Father or different from the Father. This is so because 'the Father and I are one' (*John* 19,30). But the denial of the Word as *alius* by Tertullian here does not imply a lack of distinction between the persons of the Father and the Son, but the non-separation of them, as at 8,5 he makes clear. At 18,2f. Tertullian declares that the Scriptures are consistent when they both lay down that there is one God and also show there to be two, Father and Son. God does not cease, Tertullian declares, to be one in having a Son; that is, he does not cease to be in his own name, as often as he is named apart from the Son. For 'he [sc. God as Father] is named without the Son when he is designated primarily (*principaliter*) as the first person (*ut prima persona*) which had to be set forth before the name of the Son, since the Father is acknowledged first, and only after the Father is the Son named. There is therefore one God the Father and apart from him there is no other (*alius absque eo non est*). In saying this the Father denies not the Son but any other god. Still, the Son is not other than the Father (*ceterum alius a Patre Filius non est*), Tertullian says this not to identify the Son with the Father – which is what he accuses Praxeas of doing throughout the treatise – but to show, as he later in the same passage declares, that the Son is undivided and unseparated from the Father. In the Son and the Father are not two Gods but one.

Thus in *adversus Praxean* Tertullian regularly employs the word *alius* to distinguish Father from Son, and by implication, Holy Spirit from both. But he does so mindful that the use of such a word – which is intended to denote difference and not simply one of two persons or things – could carry with it the implication of otherness as utter separation and division and he is obliged therefore to so qualify it as to negate any such inference. For this purpose he not only denies that *alius* might suggest *divisio* or *separatio* but goes further in making clear that it is 'otherness' only by *distributio*, *dispositio* and by *distinctio*. Tertullian, as we shall see, is in a very real sense a monarchian but no modalist. He is primarily committed to the notion of the oneness of God but also to an economic threeness, implied and express, within it.

cohaerentes: Tertullian's use of this term, in a trinitarian context, implies a form of 'hypostatic perichoresis' between the Divine Persons, a κρᾶσις δι'ὅλων such as is clearly implied in his christology[15]. In chapter 8 of *adversus Praxean*, as we saw above, Tertullian describes the Word as a prolation or projection put forth by the Father. Unlike a Valentinian *prolatio*, however, this one is undivided and unseparated from its author. The Word indeed, asserts Tertullian, is never separate from or other than the Father. The Father, he says, sent forth the Word as does the root the tree, the fountain the stream and the sun its ray. But in the same manner as none of these latter prolations or projections is severed or set apart from its 'parent' or 'origin', neither is the Word from God. Following the pattern of these examples Tertullian confesses at 8,6 that he calls these – God and his Word, the Father and his Son – two. The root and the tree are two things (*res*) but conjoined (*coniunctae*), the fountain and the stream two forms (*species*) but undivided (*indivisae*), the sun and its ray two forms (*formae*) yet coherent (*cohaerentes*). The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* offers as meanings for the adjective '*cohaerens*' 'touching, adjacent' and 'holding together, coherent (of literary composition)'[16]. The fourth-century

[15] See my 'Tertullian and the Crucified God', *Pacifica* 10 (1997): 298-309.

[16] The OLD has for the verb *cohaereo* 'to stick together, to adhere', 'to touch, to adjoin', 'to cohere', 'to be coherent', 'to be consistent'. 'to be connected', and 'to be joined (by ties of relationship) among others. Blaise has 'être attaché à, lié à', 'être lié (moralement)' and 'être attaché, contigu (édifice, domaine)' (165).

Christian commentator on Plato's *Timaeus*, Calcidius[17], declares that, according to the Stoics, '*ergo corpus universum...determinatum est et unum et totum et essentia. Totum quidem quia nihil et partium deest; unum autem quia inseparabiles eius partes sunt et invicem sibi cohaerent*' (And so the universal body [sc. that is, the passive, acted upon principle in the Stoic world-order, unqualified substance, matter, substrate, the active principle in this being reason, god, cause[18]] is limited and one and whole and substance. Whole indeed because it lacks no parts; one, however, because its parts are inseparable and mutually coherent with themselves)[19]. Calcidius than goes on to say that the Stoics refer to this body as a coherent one (*cohaerens corpus*), employing the adjective. Calcidius elsewhere also reports that Zeno the Stoic describes this passive principle *essentia* as '*coniunctam tamen esse semper et inseparabiliter cohaerere alicui qualitate* (united yet is always and inseparably connected with some quality or other)'. At 8,7 Tertullian asserts that anything which proceeds from something else must be second to it but not thereby necessarily separated from it. He then adds the Holy Spirit as a third component to each of the examples given. It is imaged here as the fruit of the tree, the channel of the stream and the apex of the ray. Nothing, Tertullian declares, is separated (*alienatur*) from the source (*a matrice*) from which it derives its own properties (*a qua proprietates suas ducit*). The notion of the Trinity, he concludes, therefore is not inconsistent with that of 'monarchy' but rather protects the *status* of the 'economy'. In chapter 12 Tertullian offers a number of Scripture passages – principally drawn from *Genesis* 1 and *John* 1 – which he contends provide proof of the plurality of persons in the Godhead. At 12,7, in the closest he comes to his famous (but actually non-existent!) *una substantia in tribus personis*, Tertullian asserts that 'everywhere I hold one substance in three coherent [sc.Persons]'. This clearly reflects a concept similar to that reported as held by the Stoics in Calcidius above (and provides further proof, if such were necessary, of the influence on Tertullian of that philosophical school), '*unum [sc. corpus] autem*

[17] A.A. LONG & D.N. SEDLEY *The Hellenistic Philosophers*. 2 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, Vol. 1, 269, 44).

[18] The words in parentheses are, of course, not part of the translated text but are provided to set the sentences in some context.

[19] Note, however, that this latter form is a verb, while the examples from Tertullian are adiectives.

quia inseparabiles eius partes sunt et invicem sibi cohaerent'. At 25,1 he asserts that the Father and the Son, in Jesus' response to the request of Philip to 'show us the Father' (*John* 14,8), are distinguished in their respective properties (*in sua proprietate distinguuntur*). 'Thus', he continues, ' the connection (*connexus)* of the Father in the Son and of the Son in the Paraclete produce three coherent (*tres efficit cohaerentes*) [sc. Persons who are yet distinct] one from another (*alterum ex altero*).These three are one (*unum*) [sc. substance?], but not one (*unus*)[20] [sc. Person], as it is said, "I and the Father are one" (*John* 10,30), in respect of the unity of substance, not singularity of number'. While unfortunately neither the *OLD* nor Blaise offers any examples of the term *connexus* with *in*, this last setting of the word *cohaerentes*, with its suggestion of the interpenetration of the Father and Son, and of the Son and the Holy Spirit (Paraclete) (and of the Father and the Paraclete?) does, in my view, imply a form of 'hypostatic perichoresis'[21]. At 8,6 *cohaerentes* is not contrasted with *forma* but rather qualifies it. The Three are distinct 'forms' but ones which stand in a particular and intimate relationship one to another. Mere 'proximity' is not sufficient. At 12,7 *cohaerentibus* also qualifies *substantia* (while also standing over against it) so that the former term is that which for Tertullian links *forma* and *substantia*. It is that which enables the One-to-be-in-Three and the Three-to-be-in-One.

forma: The *OLD* gives some 17 broad meanings for the term *forma*, Blaise 10. These include meanings which may suggest a form of modalism, for example:

> 'visible form, outward appearance (as distinct from substance, reality, or practical use)' (*OLD* 1);
> 'any mode, form or state in which a thing may exist' (*OLD* 8);
> 'something considered in respect of its shape or outward appearance' (*OLD* 13);
> 'forme, aspect extérieur, conformation' (Blaise 1);
> 'image, ressemblance' (Blaise 4);

[20] The neuter form *unum*, while not agreeing with, for example, *substantia* which it implies will yet mean something material like 'substance'; the masculine form *unus*, while not agreeing with *persona*, yet implies a 'person'.

[21] According to the Blaise, Faust.-R. *Spir. Sanct.* 2,4 employs *conexio* of a hypostastic union.

'forme, figure, image, préfiguration, symbole (Gk:τύπος)' (Blaise 5)
and
'forme, idée' (Blaise 10).

None of those, of course, will express the sense of Tertullian's employment of *forma* in trinitarian or christological contexts. Outside of such contexts, of course, Tertullian can employ the word in a number of ways. For example, at *adversus Praxean* 10,7 it is used of human norms or customs (*traditam formam rebus humanis*: Blaise – 'la norme naturelle des choses humaines'), at *Apologeticum* 2,10 of a legal procedure, and at *Apologeticum* 47,14 of the law of nature. Blaise describes these under the meanings for *forma* of 'façons, formes judiciaires, règles, procédure' (8) (no. 12 in the *OLD*).

Two sets of meanings given by the *OLD* will suit Tertullian's trinitarian and christological usage:

'form or appearance (as characteristic of a particular person, animal or thing' (2a); and
'a person's outward appearance, his features, aspect, person' (4a).

Blaise identifies two groups of meanings for *forma* as specifically applicable to Tertullian's trinitarian and christological usage. He includes that at *adversus Praxean* 5,1 (see below) under the group including 'figures de rhétorique, tours' (3), and those at *adversus Praxean* 2,4, 8,6, and 27,7 (the last a christological reference) (for each see below) under the group 'forme, nature intime et définitive d'un être, nature' (9).

At *adversus Praxean* 2,3 Tertullian repudiates the notion that a belief in one God can only be held by also holding that the same person is Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Rather the economy which Tertullian espouses, he declares at 2,4, arranges (*disponit*) the unity in a trinity distributing the three as Father, Son and Holy Spirit (*tres dirigens Patrem et Filium et Spiritum*); three, however, not in condition (*statu*) but in rank (*gradu*), not in substance (*substantia*) but in form (*forma*), not in power (*potestate*) but in appearance (*specie*). And this is so, he continues, because there is one God from whom these ranks, forms and appearances are reckoned (*deputantur*) in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. In this passage *forma* as characteristic of trinity or three-ness is contrasted with *substantia* as characteristic of the divine unity or one-ness. Blaise translates *forma* here as 'aspect', with the explanation that 'la

"forme" est ce par quoi une substance devient perceptible aux sens'[22]. Blaise associates this usage with that at *adversus Praxean* 8,6. At 8,5 Tertullian has, as we have seen above, employed the analogies of the root and its tree, the fountain and the stream and the sun and its ray for the Word as the prolation/projection, distinct but not separated, of the Father. He employs these as analogies again at 8,6 describing the sun and its ray, for example, as two forms but coherent ones (*et sol et radius duae formae sunt, sed cohaerentes*). Blaise translates this as 'deux aspects, mais reliés à la même chose'. Thus, Tertullian depicts the Father and the Son as two distinct forms or identities but ones which are not separated but interconnected (interdependent?) rather than as merely successive progressions.

Christologically Tertullian also employs *forma* in this way. At *adversus Praxean* 27,7 he argues that even as becoming or assuming flesh the Word remains what it is as God. After the Incarnation the Word remains what it is, the Word. For God – and the Word is God – neither ceases to be, Tertullian declares, nor can be anything else [than God] (*Deus autem neque desinit esse neque aliud potest esse*). 'The Word is God' (*John* 1,1) and 'the Word of the Lord endures forever' (*Isaiah* 40,8), continuing, of course, in the form proper to it (*perseverando scilicet in sua forma*). Thus, its *forma* is the distinct and eternal identity of the Word and this remains, as permanent, after the Incarnation.

At *adversus Praxean* 5,1 the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*[23] translates '*ita res ipsa formam suam scripturis et interpretationibus earum patrocinantibus vindicabit*' as 'the truth (res) will secure its own sanction from the scriptures and the interpretations which govern them' and Souter[24] as 'the fact itself will vindicate its outward expression which protects the Scriptures and their translations'. Blaise includes this passage among those for which the meanings of 'figures de rhétorique, tours, expression, manière d'exprimer' (3) are given for *forma*. I see no reason, however, why the context of the passage – the examination of whether the Son (in relation to the Father) exists (sc. distinctly) (*an sit*), who he is (*qui*

[22] BLAISE, *op. cit.*, 360.

[23] A. ROBERTS, & J. DONALDSON, (eds.), Vol. XV, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1870).

[24] A. SOUTER, *Tertullian Against Praxeas. Translations of Christian Literature.* Series II Latin Texts. (London: SPCK, 1920).

sit) and what the actual mode of his existence is (*quomodo sit*) – will not allow an alternative, viz., 'the [sc. reality of the Son] (*res*) will secure his own form'; that is, his own identity as a person distinct from the *forma* of the Father, and against the view of modalists like Praxeas who would have Father and Son (and Holy Spirit) as indistinct one from another in form. Further discussion of this, however, will take place under that for the term *res*.

gradus: The *OLD* gives some 9 meanings for '*gradus*', and Blaise 6. These include:
'a degree of relationship' or 'a position in order of succession' (*OLD* 7 a & b);
'a stage or position in the scale of dignity, rank or fortune' (*OLD* 8); and
'degré, rang, échelon, hiérarchie (Blaise 4)[25].

The trinitarian usage of this term by Tertullian would appear, for the most part, to reflect a combination of all of these, though Blaise specifically includes the employment of *gradus* at *adversus Praxean* 2,4 under his fourth category. At *adversus Praxean* 2,4 (see above, within the discussion of *forma*, for the context) the distinction of the Divine Persons is described as 'threeness not in state (*statu*) but in degree (*gradu*)'[26]. The term *status*, though difficult of precise translation, in Tertullian generally would appear to carry the sense of 'state' or 'condition' or 'nature' (see *adversus Praxean* 4,3 and 8,7; *Apologeticum* 21,13 and 27,11 & 13; *de Carne Christi* 3,4; and *adversus Marcionem* I,29,9) and thus would more likely be akin to *substantia* than to any notion of distinction[27]. Thus here *status* would characterize the being of God, while *gradus* would degrees of distinction within that being. At 4,1 Tertullian speaks of the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father through the Son, as the third

[25] J.N.D. KELLY, *Early Christian Doctrines*. 5th edition, (London: AC Black, 1977), 114 describes *gradus* here as the equivalent of the Greek word τάξις.

[26] At *Apologeticum* 21,13, as part of a discussion of the origins of the Word - and here Tertullian again employs the analogy of the Sun and its ray and declares that in the Father's projecting of the Son, there is no separating of the divine nature but rather an extending of it (21,12) (*extenditur*: F reads *expanditur* - he maintains that this procession produces a double number, that is two, not in state but in degree (*gradu non statu fecit*), not departing but proceeding from its source.). One is reminded here of the fourth-century Marcellan concept of the Word as a temporary extension of the Monad.

[27] KELLY, *op. cit.*, 114 describes *status* as 'fundamental quality'.

degree or grade (*in tertium gradum*). Earlier he had spoken of the Son, presumably the second *gradus*, as derived from the *substantia* of the Father, as obtaining all *potestas* from the Father. Thereby are *substantia*, *potestas* and *status* linked as characteristics of the divine one-ness, while concepts such as *gradus*, *species* and *forma* are of its three-ness. At 8,7, after Tertullian has employed the analogies of the root-tree-fruit, the fountain-stream-channel (*rivus*), and the sun-ray-apex (*apex*) for the distinction but non-separateness of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the Trinity is spoken of as 'flowing down' (*decurrens*) from the Father through 'intertwined' (*consertos*) and 'connected' (*connexos*)[28] 'steps' (*gradus*) – the image is almost one of a cascading waterfall – and thereby guarding 'the state of the economy (*oikonomiae statum*)'. It suggests distinction without separation and succession without interruption. Each *gradus* is inextricably connected with those proceeding and succeeding and yet is distinct from them. Braun speaks of *gradus* here suggesting 'individualizing'[29]. At 19,8 Tertullian repeats the contrast of *status* and *gradus*. Declaring that Father and Son are two, not by separation of being (*non ex separatione substantiae*) but by arrangement (*ex dispositione*), he declares that the Son is undivided and unseparated from the Father, and different not in state but in degree (*nec statu sed gradu alium*). Again, while *status* is for Tertullian characteristic of the being and hence the one-ness of God, *gradus*, perhaps in Blaise's sense of 'hiérarchie' (4) – while we should beware of particular subordinationist interpretations here, these are not necessarily alien to Tertullian's thought – is characteristic of the three-ness of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It characterizes perfectly the notions of progression, clearly enunciated in Tertullian (see above), of the Son derived from the Father and of the Spirit (proceeding) from the Father through the Son. At 30, 5 Tertullian speaks of the Spirit as that gift sent forth by the Son from the Father; the Holy Spirit, the third name of divinity and the third stage of majesty (*tertium gradum maiestatis*), the preacher of the one monarchy but also the expounder of the economy and the leader into all truth which is in the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit according to the

[28] The OLD gives for *connexus* or *conexus*: the meanings 'associated', 'mutually related' or 'interdependent'.

[29] R. BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum*. 2nd edition, (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1977), 205.

Christian mystery. Here we have the suggestion of a hierarchy in the Godhead, which Tertullian is prepared to accept with the attendant risk of suggesting a notion of subordinationism, for he will do everything he possible can to avoid the greater dangers of modalism. For the Holy Spirit, as distinct person, is that one who leads into all truth.

EXCURSUS ON 'OIKONOMIA'/'DISPENSATIO'

Tertullian, as did Hippolytus, would appear to have drawn his notion of the 'economy' of God both from scripture – at *Ephesians* 1,10 there is a reference to the οἰκονομία 'of the fullness of times' and at 3,9 to the οἰκονομία 'of the mystery which from the beginning has been hidden in God' – and from Irenaeus[30]. Yet the word, which Tertullian appears to have simply transliterated from the Greek, also appears in Quintilian, where it refers to the arrangement of material by an author[31]. Tertullian seems of the view that the Greek term οἰκομονία is best translated in Latin either by simple transliteration or by the words *dispensatio* or *dispositio* (see below).

At *adversus Praxean* 2,1 Tertullian declares that, taught by the Paraclete, he and his associates (the New Prophets presumably) believe in the one God – thereby confounding their opponents who accuse them of ditheism – but subject to this arrangement, 'which we call οἰκονομία (*unicum quidem Deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione quam oikonomiam dicimus*)': 'that the one only God has a Son, his own Word, who has proceeded from himself [i.e. God], through whom all things were made and without whom nothing was made, who was sent by the Father into the Virgin and born of her, both man and God, both son of man and Son of God, and was called by the name Jesus Christ; who suffered, died and was buried according to the scriptures, and who was raised again by the Father and taken back to heaven to sit at the Father's right hand, there in time to judge the living and the dead; who [sc. the Son], according to his promise, also sent from the Father the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, the sanctifier of faith of those who believe in

[30] KELLY, *op. cit.*, 110f..

[31] *Institutes* 1.8.9; 3.3.9. Note that the related word *oeconomicus* is also found in both Quintilian and Cicero (*Sen.* 59).

the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit'. This Tertullian refers to as the rule [sc. of faith] (2,2), the complete expression 'rule of faith (*regula fidei*)' being employed at 3,1. Kelly correctly describes the 'economy' in Tertullian (and in Hippolytus) as that whereby 'God reveals himself in the process of creation and redemption'[32], over against as existing in his eternal being, and that both Tertullian and Hippolytus 'regarded the Three revealed in the economy as manifestations of the plurality which they apprehended, however obscurely, in the immanent life of the Godhead'[33]. The Greek term οἰκονομία suggested at first – as in *Ephesians* – the divine plan or purpose hidden but then revealed in the Incarnation and later came to be synonymous with the Incarnation itself as the goal of the divine purpose[34]. In Tertullian (and in Hippolytus) it came 'to connote the distinction of the Son and the Spirit from the one Father as disclosed in the working out of God's redemptive plan'[35], the 'threefoldness of God's intrinsic being manifested in creation and redemption'[36]. Prestige asserts that in Tertullian's doctrine of the 'economy' 'the unity constitutes the triad out of its own inherent nature, not by any process of sub-division, but by means of a principle of constructive integration which the godhead essentially possesses'[37]. Thus, Tertullian's employment of the concept of the *oikonomia* to provide a framework for the exposition of the Trinity is from the first so used as to balance it with a clear exposition of the one-ness of God. These stand not in contrast but rather in tension and ultimately as qualifications one of the other. At 2,4 Tertullian speaks of the mystery of the economy (*oikonomiae sacramentum*) which, notwithstanding that the terms are reversed as to order, reflects *Ephesians* 3,9 and the 'ἡ οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστήριου' hidden from the beginning in God. This *oikonomia*, declares Tertullian, 'distributes the Unity into a Trinity, placing in their order (*dirigens*) the three [sc. Persons], the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit', not however three in quality (*statu*) but in grade (*gradu*), and so on. At 3,1, he again balances (and holds in tension)

[32] KELLY, *op. cit.*, 110.
[33] ibid. 114.
[34] ibid., 110.
[35] Ibid., 111.
[36] Ibid.
[37] G.L. PRESTIGE, *God in Patristic Thought*. 2nd edition. (London: SPCK 1964), 99.

a necessary belief in both the one-ness of God and the *oikonomia*, and maintains that 'the Unity which derives the Trinity out of its own self (*ex semetipsa*) is so far from being destroyed that it is actually maintained by it.' Again, Tertullian is a undoubted monarchian, given that the unity of God is his starting point, but not a modalist. At 8,7, as we saw under the discussion of *gradus*, Tertullian asserts that the notion of the Trinity flowing down through connected and interdependent stages from the Father both offers no obstacle to the monarchy and preserves the condition of the economy (*oikonomiae statum protegit*). Again, the two concepts – contradictory for the Modalists – are held in tension by Tertullian. At 9,3 he argues that the distinction between the Son and the Spirit (as Paraclete) signifies not division but disposition. Here clearly *dispositio*, like *dispensatio* above, is regarded by Tertullian as the equivalent of the Greek οἰκονομία. Thus as Christ showed, at *John* 14,16, a third stage (*tertium gradum*) in the person of the Paraclete, so did he also show a second in the Son, and this out of care for the economy (*propter oikonomiae observationem*). At 19,8 Tertullian repeats his assertion from 2,4 that the distinction (*alium*) of the Divine Persons lies not *statu*, but *gradu*. This, he contends, is by way not of the separation of nature but by disposition. This *dispositio* is clearly the same as οἰκονομία here. At 30,5 the Holy Spirit is spoken of as 'the third name of divinity (*tertium nomen divinitatis*)' and 'the third degree of [sc. divine] majesty (*tertium gradum maiestatis*)'. He, says Tertullian, is both the preacher of monarchy and the expounder of the economy (*unius praedicatorem monarchiae sed et oikonomiae interpretatorem*). Again, Tertullian holds in tension the orthodoxy of a belief in both the monarchy (the one-ness of God) and the economy (the three-ness) and points to the role of the distinct Paraclete/Holy Spirit as the guarantee of this teaching.

Tertullian is clearly committed to the idea of the economy of God as that whereby God reveals himself as Father, Son and Holy Spirit in creation and redemption. This economy, however, also speaks to how God exists in his eternal being. But Tertullian also recognizes the potential harm which this former notion could do to what is perhaps the central doctrine of the Christian faith (for him): the unity of God. Thus, his insistence on and exposition of the economy is always and everywhere accompanied by as clear declaration on his part for the monarchy. Tertullian is a monarchi-

an and is insistent upon this; but he also believes that Praxeas' monarchianism, in failing to hold in tension the monarchy and the economy together, has fatally compromised the integrity of the Gospel.

modulus: The *OLD* provides virtually no assistance for understanding Tertullian's trinitarian usage of this or related terms and Blaise is no different. The first of 5 meanings for *modulus* given by the *OLD* is 'a unit adopted as a standard of measurement' (1a) and the first of two by Blaise is simply 'mesure'. Outside of a trinitarian context Tertullian appears to employ *modulus* to denote something which is a clearly defined or delineated entity, something which has its own integrity as an existent thing. At *de Anima* 32,7 Tertullian declares that the human soul is not capable of migration into animals given that the latter are suited for its reception neither by the measure of their bodies (*nec modulis corporum*) nor by the laws of their natures. The context here gives *modulus* the sense of size or proportion. At 37,5, he is discussing at length the formation of the foetus in the womb and its relationship to the soul. He speaks of the conjunction (*societas*) of body and soul, and declares that, while they grow together, the diversity of their natures means that they do so in a different manner one from the other. The body, he says, does so in magnitude and material condition (*caro modulo.....caro habitu*), the soul in intelligence and in sensibility (*anima ingenio...sensu*). Further on he dismisses the notion that the soul increases in substance, fearful that such a possibility would also allow for diminution and even for extinction. The peculiar properties of the soul, planted in its being from the beginning, may develop, he says, but without impairing the germinal basis of the substance of the soul (*salvo substantiae modulo*) received when first breathed into the man. Here *modulus* is a distinct, defined entity. At 37,6 Tertullian speaks of the contours (*intra lineam moduli*) of a mass of metal; similarly at 37,7. At *ad Nationes* I.12,9 he employs it of lead moulds (*plumbeis modulis*). At *de Oratione* 22,10 he employs it simply to mean a measure (*super meum modulum*) and at *de Pudicitia* 14,26 the measured nature of an offence (*modulo delicti*)[38].

[38] A-NCL's translation as 'the moderate nature of his fault' will not do.

A hint of Tertullian's employment of the term in a trinitarian context is given at *adversus Marcionem* IV,18,4 and at *Apologeticum* 21,13. In the first Tertullian speaks of that portion (*portionem*) of the Holy Spirit which, in the form of a prophetic measure (*quae ex forma prophetici moduli*), had been through John the Baptist preparing for the coming of Christ. This association of *modulus* and *portio* is also found in the second-named passage where, after Tertullian has described the ray projected from the sun – an analogy for the relationship between God and God's Son – as a portion of the whole (*portio ex summa*) (21,12), and as an extension of it and not a division, he speaks of the procession of the Son from God as producing one different as to measure, but in degree not in condition (*modulo alter numerum gradu non statu fecit*), not departing from its source but proceeding from it. Blaise translates this latter usage as 'différent quant à la mesure'.

At *adversus Praxean* 9,1 Tertullian continues to urge that the notion of the Father, Son and Spirit as unseparated from one another does not preclude their distinction. The Father is one, the Son is another and the Spirit is another again. They are not the same person, as his opponents contend, but different. Yet their difference is by way of distribution and distinction and not by division. Father and Son, he declares, are '*modulo alius ab alio*'. This is so, he continues in 9,2 because the Father is the complete substance (*tota substantia*), while the Son is a derivation of that whole, that is, a portion of it (*Filius vero derivatio totius et portio*). At 14,3, in discussing the necessary invisibility of the Father – necessary because of the fullness of his majesty (he, again reflecting the earlier language, and employing again the analogy of the sun and its ray, implies that the Father is the *substantia summa* of the divine being) – Tertullian declares that 'we recognize the Son as visible by reason of the dispensation of his derived existence (*pro modulo derivationis*)'. We cannot bear with our eyes to look upon the full sun as the *substantia summa* in the heavens, but only at its ray as a tempered portion of that whole (*pro temperatura portionis*). Again, we have here, as above, the sense of *modulus* as a *portio totius*, but as one with its own defined integrity and as such encompassing the whole.

nomen: Braun's suggestions that 'il est bien exact de dire qu'à ses [sc. Tertullian's] yeux, la révélation scripturaires des trois noms garantit la doctrine des trois "personnes divines"'[39], and that 'au

cours de l'*Adv. Praxean* Tertullien a lié de plus en plus étroitement la notion de "nom" et celle de "personne"'[40] – what he calls 'l'alliance *nomen-persona*'[41] – would appear to be borne out by close examinations of the relevant texts. At *adversus Praxean* 8,5, while arguing that the Son being brought forth from the Father does not necessarily involve the former being separated from the latter (*qua prolatum dicimus Filium a Patre sed non separatum*) and that the Son, by analogy with the sun's ray and so on, is a projection (προβολή) of the substance from which it came, Tertullian declares that 'the Word of God has properly received the name of Son (*sermo Dei.....etiam proprie nomen Filii accepit*)' as the brought forth offspring (*progenies*) of the original parent (*origo parens*). This notion of a 'proper name' is mirrored also at both 28,1 at least implicitly, and explicitly so at 28,8 (see below).

In the 13th chapter of *adversus Praxean* Tertullian employs *nomen* in a way which seems at first sight inconsistent with his general usage of it in a trinitarian context. At 13,6 he asserts that 'if in the Scriptures there were to be found but one person who is God and Lord [sc. that is, and not two, Father and Son] Christ would then properly not be entitled to the name of God and Lord (*si enim una persona et Dei et Domini in scripturis inveniretur, merito Christus non esset admissus ad nomen Dei et Domini*)'. At 13,7 he continues, that 'as soon as Christ came and was recognized by us as that one who had caused there to be a plurality (*A-NCL*: 'in the divine economy), being made second from the Father, and, counting the Spirit a third (*at ubi venit Christus et cognitus est a nobis quod ipse, qui numerum retro fecerat, factus secundus a Patre et cum Spiritu tertius*)[42], the title of God and Lord was now restored (or 'reduced', according to Souter's translation[43]) to the unity [sc. of the triune Godhead] (*redactum est iam nomen Dei et Domini in unionem*)' in order to distinguish Christian worship of the one true God from the worship of the polytheists. It is true that Tertullian has employed *nomen* in a somewhat loose manner twice in this passage;

[39] R. BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 236.

[40] ibid.

[41] ibid.

[42] The A-NCL translation is more helpful here than the usually reliable one of Souter whose effort here is somewhat confused. I think that I have reflected the appropriate sense of the passage.

[43] Either meaning for *redactum est* will suffice here, though they are different.

that is, he has employed it in a manner inconsistent with his usage almost everywhere else in a trinitarian context (see also 28,1 below). He does appear to use it here of the one God rather than of the distinct Persons. Yet it is equally true that he seeks to make clear that these are titles, *Deus* and *Dominus*, which properly can be assigned to each of the divine Persons as distinct entities, that is, in their own persons.

At 23,7 Tertullian quotes *John* 12,30 – 'not for my sake has come this voice but for yours' – and declares that Jesus so spoke that those to whom he spoke 'might believe both [in] the Father and [in] the Son severally in their own names and persons and locations (*ut credant et hi et Patrem et Filium in suis quemque nominibus et personis et locis*)'. Earlier, Tertullian had shown how in the scriptures both the Son is seen to speak of and to the Father (at *John* 12,27-28 and 5,43) and the Father of the Son (at *John* 12,28 & *Matthew* 17,5) (23,2-3). There must be then, he says to Praxeas, at least as many persons are there are voices speaking (23,4)! That there is, he continues, the Son on earth and the Father in heaven is no separation but simply a divine arrangement (*dispositio divina*). In the economy itself, he says, the Father wished the Son to be contained on earth, and himself in heaven. This cannot be, he argues, if the one on the earth and the one in heaven are the one person. Thus, the implication of Christ's advice that the voice heard (that is, the voice of the Father) was other than his (that is, Christ's) is, declares Tertullian, that Father and Son each has his own name, person and location, and thus his own identity distinct from the other. *Nomen*, possession of which is a sign of such identity, is clearly identified here with *persona*.

At 26,1 Tertullian refers to *Luke* 1,35 and the announcement of the angel to Mary that ' the Spirit of God (the Greek has the 'Holy Spirit') will come upon you.....wherefore the holy thing that will be born of you shall be called the Son of God'. At 26,3 he then declares that by saying 'the Spirit of God', yet without directly naming God (*tamen non directo Deum nominans*) the angel 'wished it to be understood that a portion of the whole [sc. Godhead] was about to retire into the name of the Son (*portionem totius intellegi voluit quae cessura erat in Filii nomen*)'. Thus the *nomen* contains explicitly and distinctly what the Son is to be in himself. This notion of the Son as '*portio totius*' – so difficult for later commentators – is also found at 9,2, 14,3 and 26,6, and will be discussed

later under the appropriate heading[44]. At 26,9, after yet another exhaustive discussion of scriptural proofs for the manifest distinction of Father, Son and Spirit, Tertullian refers to the dominical command at *Matthew* 28, 19 to baptize in the threefold name and declares that 'we are immersed into the Persons three times, at each several mention of their names, rather than only once' (*nam nec semel sed ter ad singula nomina in personas singulas tinguimur*). We are baptized, he had said just before, into the three, not only into one (*non in unum*) (i.e. not into a unipersonal God)[45]. In chapter 27 of *adversus Praxean* Tertullian contends with the position allegedly held by his opponents, viz., that there must be a distinction drawn between Jesus and Christ; that the Son is flesh, that is, man, that is, Jesus, while the Father is Spirit, that is, God, that is, Christ (27,1). But there is, says Tertullian, but 'two natures, not confused but conjoined in one person, God and man, Jesus (27,11). At 28,1 he asserts that the title 'Anointed' (*unctus*), that is 'Christ', is not – that is, any more than 'clothed' (*vestitus*) or 'shod' (*calceatus*) might be – a [sc. proper] name (*nomen*) but only an 'accessory (Souter: 'accidental quality') to the name' (*accidens nomini res*), suggesting that the 'name' belongs properly only to that one who constitutes the existent, that is, in this case, Jesus. Therefore, despite appearances here – such that the *nomen* refers to the substance of that existent – *nomen* actually here refers solely to the distinct being. At 28,8 Tertullian says that each name (*utrumque nomen*) – Jesus and Christ – belongs to the one Person (*unius*), but that of these names that of Jesus is his 'proper name' (*proprium*) as conferred by the angel[46] (cf. 8,5), while *Christus* is merely an 'adjunct' (*accidens*) which comes from his being anointed. The authentic *nomen* is then that which constitutes the proper being of the existent. At 30,5, after what is effectively part of Tertullian's closing argument in the treatise concerning the necessary distinction of the Persons, the Holy Spirit, the gift (*munus*) received by the Son from the Father, is described by him as the 'third name of divinity and the third degree of majesty', thus equating *nomen* with *gradus* as much as with *persona* as identifying tags for the distinction of the divine persons. The latter identification is confirmed

[44] See also above under the discussion of *modulus*.
[45] See also *de Baptismo* 6,2.
[46] See *Matthew* 1,21.

again at 31,2 where, after Tertullian has unequivocally stated that it is this distinction which constitutes the difference between Christianity and Judaism – whereby these three objects of belief (*crediti*) establish one God (*unum Deum sistunt*) (31,1) – and that it was the very wish of God that he might be believed anew as one through the Son and the Spirit, it is said that 'God might now be known openly in his proper names and Persons (*ut coram iam Deus in suis propriis nominibus et personibus cognosceretur*)', unlike in the past.

At *de Anima* 6,2, where Tertullian asserts that the 'soul is so called in respect of its substance (*anima enim dicitur substantiae suae nomine*)', there is perhaps the suggestion of an identification of sorts, not found in his specifically trinitarian discussions, between *nomen* and *substantia*. At *de Carne Christi* 13,2, however, he declares that 'fidelity in names secures the safe appreciation of properties' (*fides nominum salus est proprietatum*) which – given that in Tertullian 'peculiar properties' (*proprietates*) are invariably identified, in trinitarian terms, with the distinction of Persons[47] – confirms the effective equivalence for him of 'name' and 'person', and not of 'name' and 'substance', in his trinitarian thought.

persona[48]: While the employment of this term in Tertullian's trinitarian and christological thought has been widely canvassed – by Braun, for example, in his magisterial work, and by Bethune-Baker, Prestige, Moingt, Grillmeier, and E. Evans among others[49] – the final word on any matter is never actually spoken and other issues are yet to be raised. Some, but by no means all of these, I will raise here.

At *adversus Praxean* 6,1, in a discussion of *Proverbs* 8,22-30, Tertullian refers to 'Wisdom constituted as a second person (*ut secundam personam conditam*)'. With respect to Tertullian's refer-

[47] See below under *proprietates*.

[48] OSBORN, *op. cit.*, 137 declares that *persona* is neither a metaphysical word nor an ontological category but one which reflects biblical revelation.

[49] J.F. BETHUNE-BAKER, *An Introduction to the early history of Christian doctrine to the time of the Council of Chalcedon*. 9th edition, London Methuen, 1951), 138-44; G.L. PRESTIGE, *op. cit.*; J. MOINGT, *Théologie trinitaire de Tertullien*. Volumes 1-4. (Paris: Aubier, 1966-9); A. GRILLMEIER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*. vol. 1, 2nd revised edition, (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975); E. EVANS, 'Tertullian's Theological Terminology', *CQR* 139 (1944), 56-77.

ences to *prima persona* (at *adversus Praxean* 18,2), to *secunda persona* (at *adversus Praxean* 6,1 and 12,3), and to *tertia* (*persona*) (at *adversus Praxean* 11,7 and 12,3) Braun asserts that 'le contexte indique bien que nous n'avons pas là des synonymes purs et simples de Pater, Filius, Sanctus Spiritus. C'est que ces périphrases sont en train de se constituter'[50]. 'Tertullien ne s'est pas contenté de consacrer le nouveau terme théologique [sc. *persona*] et d'inaugurer, avec les tournures *prima, secunda, tertia persona* qu'on trouve déjà sous sa plume, une tradition qui sera celle de l'Occident, il a essayé d'en délimiter les contours, sans bien sur les définir avec la précision des théologiens postérieurs'[51]. At 7,3, in another reference to *Proverbs* 8,22f., Tertullian speaks of the 'Son [sc. speaking there] in his own person in the name of Wisdom (*ex sua persona.....in nomine sophiae*)', identifying, as he does consistently, Wisdom and Word[52]. At 7,5 Tertullian implies that the 'Word is to be regarded as an objective thing and a person (*res et persona quaedam videri*)', what Braun translates as 'a particular object and presentation'[53]. Bethune-Baker describes these words as directed against those monarchians who deny that the Son is a distinct entity[54], while Grillmeier maintains that they affirm that the Son is 'not a mere mode but divine substance, (a) *res*...'[55]. Then, at 7,9, Tertullian says ' for whatsoever the substance of the Word was, that I designate a person and claim the name "Son" for him (*quaecumque ergo substantia sermonis fuit illam dico personam et illi nomen Filii vindico*)'. Braun declares that here, against the modalists, Tertullian sees '*substantia*' – he refers to 'l'ambivalence de *substantia* dans son langage – as designating that which is 'réel'[56], but that this apparent equation '*persona*' = '*substantia*' entirely disappears after 12,6. Stead agrees, declaring that such an equivalence is 'momentary' in Tertullian's overall thought[57]. Grillmeier, for his part, maintains

[50] BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 237, note 1.

[51] ibid., 237.

[52] ibid., 234, asserts that 'la locution adverbiale ἀπό (ἐκ) πρόσωπου (*ex persona*) a dû favoriser beaucoup la conception des τρία πρόσωπα, *tres personae*'.

[53] ibid., 220.

[54] BETHUNE-BAKER, *op. cit.*, 67.

[55] GRILLMEIER, *op. cit.*, 149, note 2.

[56] BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 237.

[57] C. STEAD, 'Divine Substance in Tertullian', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 14 (1963): 56.

that 'person' here is thought of by Tertullian as only realized in a substance and as a special reality in such a substance[58]. '"Persona"', he continues, 'as meaning 'individuality' is....to be conceived of philosophically along the lines of the analysis of the '*ens concretum physicum*' among the Stoics'[59]. At 9,3, in a discussion of *John* 14,16 (concerning the sending of the Paraclete), Tertullian declares that in making a distinction between Father, Son and Spirit Jesus speaks 'with reference to the person of the Paraclete (*in persona Paracleti*)[60]' but thereby signifies not *divisio* but *dispositio* (by which Tertullian means the economy). In the same passage Tertullian makes clear that for him both *persona* and *gradus* sign the distinction of the divine persons. Blaise regards this employment of *persona* as meaning a 'personne' in a trinitarian sense, as the equivalent of the Greek words πρόσωπον and ὑπόστᾶσις. At 11,4 Tertullian declares that Praxeas is bound to make of God a liar and deceitful to believers if, although he was (according to Praxeas) a Son to himself, 'he yet assigned the part of his Son [sc. to be played by] another (*alii dabat filii personam*)'. This suggestion of the possible meaning of *persona* as a theatrical mask will be discussed below. At 11,7 Tertullian asserts that 'almost all the Psalms [which] look forward to the person of Christ represent the Son as conversing with the Father (omnes paene psalmi [*qui*: Oehler] *Christi personam sustinent Filium ad Patrem verba facientem repraesentant*)'. In the same passage the Spirit is said by Tertullian to be speaking in *Psalm* 110,1 of the Father and the Son 'in the character of a third person (*ex tertia persona*)'. As we saw above, Braun asserts that here 'la locution adverbiale ἀπό (ἐκ) πρόσωπου (*ex persona*) a dû favoriser beaucoup la conception des τρία πρόσωπα, *tres personae*'[61]. We are also reminded, however, of Braun's comment on 6,1 concerning the expression *tertia persona* as the Spirit[62]. At 11,10 Tertullian speaks of the testimonies of other scripture passages also establishing 'each one individual Person in his special character (*unamquamque per-*

[58] GRILLMEIER, *op. cit.*, 152.

[59] ibid.

[60] Here the expression '*in persona Paracleti*' must be translated thus, for the alternatives 'in the presence of the Paraclete' or 'in the person of the Paraclete' would not make sense in the context.

[61] BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 237.

[62] BRAUN, *ibid.*, note 1 on Tertullian's use of *Proverbs* 8,22-30.

sonam in sua proprietate constituunt)'[63]. At 12,3, following a discussion of the incidence in *Genesis* 1 to the Creator speaking in the plural – 'Let *us* make man in *our* image and likeness' (1,26), for example – Tertullian speaks of the Son as 'a second person (*secunda persona*) [sc. to the Father]' and of a third (*tertius*) [sc. person]..the Spirit in the Word (*Spiritus in sermone*)'.[64] At 12,6 Tertullian ponders 'in what sense, however, you ought to understand him (i.e. the Word) to be another (*alium*) and answers that it is on the ground of person and not of substance (*personae non substantiae nomine*), by way of distinction, and not of division. At 13,2 Tertullian declares that *Isaiah* (45,14-15 LXX) refers to 'the person of Christ' (*ad personam Christi*), speaking as the prophet does there of both God in Christ and of Christ himself as God. At 13,6 he maintains, against Praxeas, that if there was but one personality (*una persona*) who is God and Lord (as Praxeas believes and as Tertullian denies), then Christ could not be entitled to the designation of God and Lord (*merito Christus non esset admissus ad nomen Dei et Domini*) to which he clearly must be. At 15,1 we find the adjectival form of *persona* employed to demonstrate the distinction between the Persons. Tertullian declares that 'I find in the Gospels and the Apostles [both] a visible and an invisible God under a manifest and personal distinction between the condition of both (*enim et in evangelis et in apostolis visibilem et invisibilem Deum deprehendo sub manifesta et personali distinctione condicionis utriusque*)'. By 'God visible' Tertullian means the Son, by 'invisible' the Father. Thus this distinction between them, according to Tertullian, is a personal one; that is, they are distinct persons. Bethune-Baker finds '*personalis*' here as effectively equivalent to Basil's τρόπος ὑπαρξέος and therefore to ὑπόστᾶσις[65]. My own view, as I shall argue later, is that this is unnecessarily to make more of Tertullian's language than the obvious simple distinction of 'persons'. At 18,2 Tertullian writes that 'He [sc. God as Father] is named without the Son when he is designated primarily as the first person which had to be set forth before the name of the Son (*sine*

[63] See below for the association of *persona* and *proprietates*; 'Le concept de "*persona*" s'éclaire et se précise en s'associant à *proprietas* et à *distinctio*, termes qui soulignent l'existence propre, particulière, distincte des êtres de la Trinité' (BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 238); see also 15,1; 21,5; 24,8.

[64] See again BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 237, note 1.

[65] BETHUNE-BAKER, *op. cit.*, 72.

filio autem nominatur cum principaliter determinatur ut prima persona quae ante Filii nomen erat proponenda)'. Here we are reminded yet again of Braun's cautionary note on Tertullian's references to *prima persona* and so on[66] and also of the previously discussed identification of *nomen* and *persona*. At 21,5 Tertullian declares that by his claim at *Matthew* 16,17 that Peter's confession of him at Caesarea Philippi had come from the Father in heaven, Jesus 'determined the distinction which is between the two persons [that is, between Father and Son] (*quo dicto utriusque personae constituit distinctionem*)[67]. At 22,10, in a reference to *John* 10,30 – 'I and the Father are one' – Tertullian declares that 'the word "*sumus*" is inapplicable to one person only given that it expressed in the plural (*non ex unius esse persona quod pluraliter dictum est*)', but must refer to two, that is, Father and Son. He adds that the expression used by the Son means 'we are one thing (*unum sumus*)' and not 'we are one person (*unus sumus*)'. At 24,5 he claims that Philip, who asked to see the Father – which he could not do, given that the latter is invisible – is taught, at *John* 14,7, that the Father 'becomes visible only in the Son from his mighty works and not in the manifestation of his person (*visibilem eum in Filio fieri ex virtutibus non ex personae repraesentatione*)'; that is, by implication, that the *persona* of the Father is not to be identified with that of the Son. At 24,8 Tertullian, with reference to the fact of the Father being seen through the works and words of the Son, in and through whom he abides, speaks of 'the special property of each person (*proprietate utriusque personae*)', again reflecting the distinct existence as persons of the Father and the Son, and also confirming the linkage between *persona* and *proprietas*[68].

At *adversus Marcionem* II, 27 ,5 Tertullian declares that 'with us [i.e. those opposed to Praxeas] Christ is received in the person of Christ (*penes nos Christus in persona Christi accipitur*)', that is, not in the person of the Father. Moingt suggests that here '*persona*' for Tertullian means 'representative person' while later, in *adversus Praxean*, it comes to mean 'distinct individual existence (or existing individual)'[69].

[66] BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 237, note 1.

[67] Tertullian continues to be reluctant to write *persona* in the plural.

[68] See below.

[69] MOINGT, p. 615 quoted by E.F. OSBORN, 'The conflict of opposites in th theology of Tertullian', *Augustinianum* 35 (1995): 635.

Yet it is also noticeable that Tertullian only occasionally speaks of 'persons' in the plural. Prestige notes that Hippolytus of Rome used πρόσωπον for a divine 'person' yet never actually speaks of three πρόσωπα, though he may be said to imply such (cf. *contra Noetum* 7; 14)[70]. At *adversus Praxean* 12,4 Tertullian declares that at *Genesis* 1,27 scripture distinguishes among the persons (*scriptura distinguit inter personas*)'. At 23,7 he declares that the Lord spoke as he did at *John* 12, 30 'so that these might believe both in the Father and in the Son severally in their own names and persons and positions (*ut credant et hi et Patrem et Filium in suis quemque nominibus et personis et locis*)'; here, however, the primary emphasis is on the different 'names' guaranteeing for Tertullian the distinction of the Divine Persons[71]. At 24,7 Tertullian speaks of the 'conjunction of the two Persons (*duarum personarum coniunctionem*)' made clear by Jesus at *John* 14, 9-10. At 26,9 he reminds his readers that 'we are immersed [sc. in baptism] into the Persons three times at each several mention of their names rather than only once (*nam nec semel sed ter ad singula nomina in personas singulas tinguimur*)'. Again, Tertullian could not here avoid mention of 'persons' in the plural, given that his aim is to counteract the heretical suggestion that Christians are baptized into a unipersonal God but, in any case, the emphasis here is as much, indeed more so, on the 'names' as on the 'persons'. A similar situation can be found at 31,2 where Tertullian asserts that 'God might now be known openly in his proper names and persons (*ut coram iam Deus in suis propriis nominibus et personis cognosceretur*)'.

It is also noticeable that Tertullian appears reluctant at times to use the term explicitly in either its singular or plural form. There are many occasions when his translators must supply the word, either 'person/s' or even 'being/s', to make sense in English. This may suggest that while he often felt that he had to use some term, and *persona* or *personae* was often the most appropriate, he was prepared quite regularly not to use any term at all and rather to allow his readers to supply their own conclusions[72]. Even at *adversus Praxean* 12,7 where he comes closest to his 'classic' (though never

[70] PRESTIGE, *op. cit.*, 159.

[71] BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 236 under *nomen*.

[72] This mirrors the situation in the fourth century when theologians like Athanasius were fearful of using any term at all - even 'ὑπόστᾶσεις - to specify the 'persons'.

actually expressed) formulation – *ubique teneo unam substantiam in tribus cohaerentibus* – the word 'persons' must be supplied in English. Similarly 'deficient' passages include *adversus Praxean* 2,3; 2,4; 4,4; 11,1; 11,9; 12,6; 14,3; 22,2; 22,5; 22,10; 25,1; 27,14; and 28,8.

Other meanings for *persona* can also be found in Tertullian. At *adversus Praxean* 7,2, in reference to *Psalm* 2,7, Tertullian asserts that the Word rejoiced 'in [sc. the Father's] presence (*in persona illius*)'[73]. At 14,9 '*de aliqua maiore persona*' is used with reference to some socially eminent person and likewise at *de Paenitentia* 11,5. We have suggested above at 11,4 that *persona* could also be used to suggest a theatrical-like role. At *adversus Marcionem* III, 11, 6 Tertullian speaks of Marcion's God putting on the mere mask of his substance (*personam substantiae*) and at *de Spectaculis* 23,5, *de Carne Christi* 11,5 and *ad Nationes* I, 16, 5 *persona* is used explicitly of a theatrical mask. At *adversus Praxean* 3,2 *personae* is used to describe those 'persons' who administer a monarchy, an analogy linked to his trinitarian reflections. At *ad Marcionem* II, 26, 4 he speaks of Christ as prefigured 'in the person of Moses (*in persona Moysi*)'.

Tertullian also consistently employs *persona* for the Greek πρόσωπον in his translation of a variety of scriptural passages. For example, at *adversus Praxean* 14,10 he translates πρόσωπον from *Lamentations* 4,20 by *persona* and also at *adversus Hermogenem* 18,2 and 32,3 and at *adversus Praxean* 6,2 where πρόσωπον means 'presence'. Tertullian translates *Leviticus* 19,15 – 'an accepting of persons' – by '*exceptio personarum*' at *Apologeticum* 36,3, and 'in the presence of God' by '*ex persona dei*' at *de Resurrectione carnis* 23,12. The patriarchs of the Old Testament are described by him at *de Monogamia* 7,1 as '*originales personae*'.

portio: The association of the terms *portio* and *modulus* in Tertullian's trinitarian thought has already been noted[74]. The notion of the Son as 'a portion of the whole' – which carries with it possible indications of the materialist influence of Stoicism on

[73] Here, as at *de Resurrectione Carnis* 23,12 where Tertullian quotes *Acts* 3,20 - 'in the presence of the Lord - he translates the Greek πρόσωπον with *persona* where the Vulgate prefers *conspectus*.

[74] v. supra under the discussion of *modulus*.

Tertullian's thought – might seem to suggest that Tertullian considered the Son to be less than fully divine, that is, as less fully God than the Father. That such a notion might diminish the Godhead has long exercised and troubled the minds of theologians. Hilary of Poitiers in his *de Trinitate* repudiates the term *portio* when he declares 'nor is there a portion of the Father resident in the Son....by the nature of things a portion cannot possess the whole'[75]. Hilary, writing in the fourth century, was of course faced with major concerns about materialist notions in trinitarian conversations not as clearly recognized in the early third century. Yet a closer examination of the term *portio* will show that it carries no such necessary implication or suggestion. At *de Anima* 36,4 Tertullian declares that in soul Eve is but a 'portion (*portionem*) of Adam. Although while Eve was in Adam's side she lacked specific form, she was, however, even at that point, a living being in that in soul she was a portion of Adam, that is, she was as much a living being as was Adam. There is no suggestion here of an inferior status, implied or otherwise. As a 'portion' she possessed the fullness of the 'whole' Adam. At *Apologeticum* 5,4 Tertullian describes the emperor Domitian as a *portio* of his predecessor Nero in cruelty. Blaise puts this use of *portio* under the meanings of 'ressemblance de' or 'doublure de'; the latter can bear the meaning of a theatrical understudy. An interesting notion that, the Son as understudy to the Father!

At *Apologeticum* 21,12 the sun's ray projected from the sun is spoken of by Tertullian as a 'portion of the whole' (*portio ex summa*). Again, there is here no sense of inferiority, only one of a unity or identification of nature. In a fourth century debate between the pro-Nicene layperson Heraclianus and the Homoian bishop of Sirmium, Germinius, dated to the mid-360s, the former is reported as having said:

'For when the ray is put forth from the sun, the part is from the whole (*portio ex summa est*); but the sun will be in the ray, because the ray is of the sun; neither is the substance [sc. of the sun] separated (*separatur*), but is extended (*extenditur*), light set on fire from light. It [sc. the substance of the sun] remains whole (*integra*)'[76].

II, 8.
Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio, Episcopo Sirmiensi. PL Suppl. I,350.

Here there are of course hints of the language employed by Tertullian himself at *Apologeticum* 21,12 where he likewise, in denying a division of nature (*substantia*), speaks of the ray as being extended (*extenditur*) from the sun.

At *adversus Praxean* 9,2 Tertullian declares that the Father is the 'whole substance (*tota substantia*)', while the Son is a 'derivation and portion of the whole (*derivatio totius et portio*)'. This notion Tertullian essentially derives from Jesus' statement at *John* 14,28 that 'the Father is greater than I' and, secondarily, from the description of the Son's 'lesser status'(?) (*minoratus*) at *Psalm* 8,5, '[he is] a little lower than the angels'. Yet, Tertullian goes on, this 'otherness' of Father and Son is to be seen primarily in the distinctions of the begetter/the begotten, the sender/the sent, and the creator/ the one through whom creation takes place. Grillmeier is adamant that '*portio*' means here a 'share' (see *adversus Marcionem* III,6,8 below) and not a 'part'[77]. Osborn argues that within the Trinity the Father, as the origin and proprietor of power, is the greatest, yet the three [sc. Persons] possess in different ways the same greatness[78].

The fifth century anthologist Stobaeus notes the Stoic notion that 'the peculiarly qualified thing (ποιόν ἴδιος) is not the same as its constituent substance (οὐσία). Nor, on the other hand, is it different from it, but is all the same, in that the substance both is a part (μέρος) and occupies the same place as it, whereas whatever is called different from something must be separated from it and not be thought of as even part of it'.[79] Calcidius writes that '[the universal body (*corpus universum*)] is one (*unum*), because its parts (*partes*) are inseparable and mutually coherent with themselves (*cohaerent*)'.[80] Calcidius elsewhere shows that that he can employ *pars* and *portio* almost interchangeably in this context[81].

At *adversus Praxean* 14,3, drawing on the analogy yet again of the sun and its ray for the relationship between the Father in his invisibility 'in the fullness of his majesty' and the Son in his visi-

[77] GRILLMEIER, *op. cit.*, 142.

[78] OSBORN, 'The conflict pf opposites...', 633.

[79] LONG and SEDLEY, *op. cit.*, I,168, 28D; the editors of the passage declare that 'a part...while not identical with the whole, is not different from it either', I 175

[80] ibid., I, 269, 44E.

[81] ibid., *op. cit.*, II,267, 44D.

bility 'by reason of the dispensation of his derived existence',[82] Tertullian declares that 'we cannot contemplate the sun, in the full amount of its substance, which is in the heavens, but we can only endure with our eyes a ray, by reason of the tempered condition of this portion which is projected [sc. from it] to the earth (*nec solem nobis contemplari licet quantam ad ipsam substantiae summam quae est in caelis radium autem eius toleramus oculis pro temperatura portionis quae in terram inde porrigitur*)'. At 26,3 Tertullian speaks of 'that portion of the whole [sc. Godhead]...[sc. which is] about to pass into the name of the Son (*portionem totius.....quae cessura erat in Filii nomen*)', and at 26,6 the Son is spoken of as 'a portion of the whole (*portio.... totius*)'. At *adversus Marcionem* III,6,8 Tertullian speaks of the 'identity of [sc. the Father's and the Son's] natural substance' (*per eiusdem substantiae condicionem*) and declares that 'if its (i.e. the divine substance's) fullness (i.e. in the Father) is not understood, much more will a portion of it (i.e. the Son) be, especially when it is a sharer of that fullness (*si plenitudo intellecta non est multo magis portio certe qua plenitudinis consors*)'.

Portio, then, for Tertullian and for the Stoics who clearly have influenced his choice of language, implies neither separation nor any less than the fullness of being. For Tertullian it is simply a way of describing the Son's derived being and his projection or procession from the Father. He is not the source of that fullness of being, as the Father is in his being, but he shares in it without condition or restraint.

proprietas: At *adversus Praxean* 7,5 Tertullian claims that his opponents, lest the Word might appear a person distinct from the Father, would not wish it to be regarded as 'a substantive being in itself through having its own substance (*substantivum habere in re per substantiae proprietatem*)', that is, one that is proper to him. Now while this might appear to suggest that the 'substance' of the Word is different from that of the Father – as against the notion elsewhere so critical to the trinitarian thought of Tertullian and others that 'substance' is what they share, is that which unites them – here it means merely that the Word is distinct from the Father by virtue of his own peculiar quality. In any case, as Braun has pointed out, prior to *adversus Praxean* 12,6 Tertullian's somewhat

[82] For *derivatio* see 9,2 above.

ambiguous employment of *substantia* has seen it as often the equivalent of *persona*[83]. At 11,10 he declares that 'the other passages [sc. which he has just quoted from the Old Testament as clearly setting forth the distinction of the Persons] also 'establish each one of several Persons in his own special character (*unamquamque personam in sua proprietate constituunt*)'. This usage Blaise specifically identifies as meaning 'état propre, constitution spécifique, ce qu'est une personne, une substance elle-même' and translates the passage as follows: '(les paroles de l'Écriture sur le Père et le Fils) établissent chaque personne en ce qu'elle est en elle-même'. Braun correctly concludes that 'le concept de *persona* s'éclaire et se précise en s'associant à *proprietas* et à *distinctio*, termes qui soulignent l'existence propre, particulière, distincte des êtres de la Trinité, sauvés de l'indétermination modaliste.'[84]. Thus, it is the employment of *proprietas* or its derivatives in conjunction with a key term like *persona* which establishes in Tertullian's thought the distinction of Persons in the Godhead. At 24,8 Tertullian speaks of the 'distinct existence of each Person being apparent (*apparente proprietate utriusque personae*)' from a reading of *John* 14,11, 'I am in the Father and the Father in me'.[85] Clearly *proprietas* here means the peculiar quality of each Person as distinct existent, what each is in themself. At 25,1 he says that 'the Father and the Son are distinguished in the peculiar property of each (*Pater et Filius in sua proprietate distinguuntur*)' in the discussions of *John* 14. Thus, *proprietas* is what here defines the distinction; it is their peculiar quality as *proprietas* which distinguishes.

Even Tertullian's christological use of the term may also assist our consideration here of the trinitarian. At 27,10 he speaks of Christ, as Son of God and Son of Man, 'being God and man, differing no doubt according to each substance in its own especial property (*cum Deum et hominem sine dubio secundum utramque substantiam in sua proprietate distantem*)'. Here, of course, '*substantia*' refers to the two natures, divine and human, and *proprietas* refers to that which is the distinctive or peculiar quality of each. It answers the question here christologically, as it does also in the trinitarian context, of what exactly is different, other? Blaise, giving it the same

[83] BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 237.
[84] ibid., 238. See also 'ἰδιώτητας' as 'ὑπόστᾶσεις'
[85] ibid.

sense at for that at 11,10, translates the passage as: '(dans le incarnation) chaque substance ou nature étant distincte en ce qu'elle est'. At 27,11, in a passage echoed in both Leo's *Tome* and the *Definition of Faith* of 451 (though Cantalamessa doubts this connection[86]), Tertullian speaks of the 'peculiar property of each substance being preserved (*salva est utriusque proprietas substantiae*) in the one person of Jesus. For Grillmeier this use of *proprietas* reflects the Stoic ὑποκειμένον[87]. At *de Carne Christi* 5,7 Tertullian declares that this 'peculiar quality of the two natures, divine and human, is distinctly asserted with equal truth of each nature, both spirit and flesh (*quae proprietas conditionum divinae et humanae aeque utique naturae cuiusque veritate dispuncta et spiritus et carnis*)' and at 13,2 that 'fidelity in names provides security for properties (*fides nominum salus est proprietatum*)'. Here then *proprietas* or its plural form denotes that individual, or better distinctive quality which particularizes the two natures. It is that quality which makes them 'other' (as distinct) but not 'different' (as separate).

In trinitarian terms, and as employed usually in the singular (the one example of the term in the plural – taken from the last quoted passage – is, as with *persona*, associated with and required by a reference to the divine 'names'), the term *proprietas* is usually associated with the notion of the distinctive (but not separated) 'individuality' of the Divine Persons and refers to that which in character and peculiar quality distinguishes them. It is that which makes each that particular 'Person'. In this sense 'person' and 'distinctive property (that is, which none else may share)' are near-synonymous terms.

At *adversus Praxean* 8,7 Tertullian declares that 'nothing is alien from that original source whence it derives its own properties (*nihil tamen a matrice alienatur a qua proprietates suas ducit*)'. Therefore, *proprietas* may distinguish but cannot separate or divide[88]. At *de Anima* 8,4 he says that if the soul is invisible it is only so, *inter alia*, 'as suitable to the peculiar property of its own nature (*pro...proprietate substantiae*)'; that is, it is that in part at least which makes it what it is in itself. At 40,3 Tertullian refers to the 'distinguishing

[86] R. CANTALAMESSA, 'Tertullien et la formule christologique de Chalcédoine' *Studia Patristica* 9 (1966): 149.

[87] GRILLMEIER, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

[88] See discussions above of *portio* and *derivatio*.

property (*proprietas*)' of the human person, that is, that which makes him peculiarly 'human'. At *adversus Valentinianos* 29,1 Tertullian describes how the Valentinians divide humankind into three basic categories, represented by Cain, Abel and Seth, each with their own peculiar qualities (*dividunt per singulares generum proprietates*)', that is, that which makes each what it peculiarly is. At *de Baptismo* 2,2 Tertullian refers to 'God's own properties (*proprietates suas*)', simplicity and power, that is, those characteristics and qualities peculiar to him, those things which make him what he is in himself, what Blaise describes as 'caractères propres'[89].

res: This word normally has the commonplace meaning of 'thing' or 'matter'. The *OLD* includes among its meanings those of 'that which can be conceived as a separate entity' (3a), 'the thing, fact (as distinguished from the word signifying it)' (5), and 'that which actually exists or occurs' (6a). Yet there is clear evidence that in Tertullian's trinitarian thought it is often used specifically to distinguish the three divine Persons[90]. At *adversus Praxean* 8,6 the root and the tree, one of Tertullian's regular analogical images for the Father-Son relationship along with fountain and river and sun and ray, are described as 'two things but joined' (*duae res sunt sed coniunctae*). Likewise, at 13,10 sun and ray are described as 'two things and two aspects of the one undivided substance (*duas res et duas species unius et indivisae substantiae*)', as therefore, by analogy, are God and his Word, as Father and Son. At 5,1, after claiming that there ought to be an inquiry as to whether the Son has a distinct existence (i.e., from the Father), his identity and the mode of such existence, Tertullian declares that 'thus the thing itself will secure its own form from the scriptures and those interpretations supportive of them' (*res ipsa formam suam scripturis et interpretationibus earum patrocinantibus vindicabit*). As I have argued above, while '*res ipsa*' is translated as 'the truth itself' by the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* and 'the fact itself' by Souter, it more likely means the distinct person of the Son. That is, the question of the Son's distinctive identity will be proven from a correct reading of the scriptures. At

[89] Other references include *de Anima* 2,2; 9,1; 31,3; 38,3; *de Carne Christi* 9,1; *de Corona* 10,8; *de Fuga* 2,7; *de Pallio* 3,3; *de Praescriptionibus* 35,4.

[90] ORIGEN, *Contra Celsum* VIII.12, speaks of Father and Son as two *πράγματα*, the Greek equivalent of *res*.

adversus Praxean 7,5, as we saw above during our discussion of the term *proprietas*, Tertullian criticizes his opponents who, fearing that the Word might appear as an entity distinct from the Father, would prefer that the former not be regarded as 'a substantive being in itself through having its own substance (*substantivum habere in re per substantiae proprietatem*)'. 'The Word', says Tertullian, 'would then viewed as an object and person (*ut res et persona quaedam videri possit*) [sc. in itself]' so as to make two distinct entities, Father and Son, God and Word'. Prestige translates the latter expression as 'a particular object and presentation'[91], while Grillmeier maintains that Tertullian means to contend here, against Praxeas and the modalists, that 'the Son is not a mere mode but a divine substance (*res*)'[92]. At 26,6 Tertullian describes the Son as 'an actually existing thing (*substantiva res*)'[93]. This, says Bethune-Baker, is a 'mode of existence'[94] while Braun declares that, against the modalists, 'la locution *substantiva res* permet à Tertullien de définir, dans son existence objective, le Verbe divin issu de la *substantia* de Dieu'[95]. The employment by Tertullian of the word *substantia* or its derivatives is evidence of the ambiguity and occasional looseness with which he sometimes employs particular words and concepts. *Substantia* here, however, in no way is meant to convey the notion of that divine nature which Father and Son share, but rather indicates the actual or concrete existence of the Son distinct from the Father. At 7,8 Tertullian asks (and implicitly himself answers in the negative) whether 'the Word of God who is called the Son is a void and empty thing (*vacua et inanis res est sermo Dei qui Filius dictus est*)?' That is, does he have an actual and concrete existence, or not? Is he a *res*, a concrete entity? At 9,4, in a discussion of the names of the Divine Persons – Father, Son and Paraclete – Tertullian declares that 'the difference in the names cannot at all create confusion because there is none in the objects which they designate (*et permiscere se diversitas vocabulorum non potest omnino quia nec rerum quarum erunt vocabula*)'. This is a prime example of the meaning given for *res* by the *OLD* as 'the thing as (distinguished

[91] PRESTIGE, *op. cit.*, 220.

[92] GRILLMEIER, *op. cit.*, 149, note 2.

[93] God, as distinct from the Word, that is, as Father, is also described by Tertullian in this passage as a *substantiva res*.

[94] BETHUNE-BAKER, *op. cit.*, 18.

[95] BRAUN, *op. cit.*, 196.

from the word signifying it) (5). Father and Son are the names, the *res* are those distinct entities or persons which they denote.

species: The *OLD* offers a wide variety of meanings for this word. They include 'aspect' (3a) – also found in Blaise, 'ce qui se voit, aspect' (2); 'outward appearance (as opposed to inner nature)' or 'outward form (without the substance)' (5a) – in Blaise, 'forme extérieure' (4); 'a thing of a particular kind' (10a); and '(in Platonic philosophy) an eternally existing archetype of any class of thing (Gk. ἰδεά) (13)'. *OLD* 10a is probably that which comes closest to Tertullian's trinitarian use of the term. At *adversus Praxean* 2,4 Tertullian speaks of the Godhead as three 'in form but not in power (*nec potestate sed specie*). *Potestas* here is to be understood as a defining attribute of the one God, while the *species* are the aspects or forms, Father, Son and Spirit, which constitute his three-ness. Of all the terms employed by Tertullian to denote the distinct identities of the three Persons, *species* is perhaps that most open to possible modalist interpretation. At 7,1 he declares that the Word himself assumes his own form and vesture, namely sound and expression (*ipse sermo speciem et ornatum suum sumit, sonum et vocem*), at the time of the his complete birth when he came forth from God'. Now while the suggestion that the Word has complete distinction from the Father only at the time of creation was of great concern to later theologians, it is sufficient to say here that this event at the very least for Tertullian provides for such a distinction. This *species* of the Word is concrete. At 8,5 Tertullian characterizes the tree, the ray and the river as 'forms which are projections of the natures [sc. root, sun, and fountain] from which they proceed (*species προβολαί sunt earum substantiarum ex quibus prodeunt*)'. At 8,6 he describes the fountain and the river as 'two forms but undivided (*duae species sunt sed indivisae*)'. At 13,10 he describes the sun and ray as 'two things and as two forms of one, undivided nature (*duas res et duae species unius et indivisae substantiae*)', as he does God and his Word, and Father and Son.

At *adversus Marcionem* III,5,3 Tertullian employs '*species*' to denote a 'defining characteristic' in a way not dissimilar to his use of '*proprietas*'.

Further Images of the Trinity

Tertullian uses a number of images as illustrations, alongside his use of the particular terms discussed above, to project his understanding of the Trinity. These include the notion of the sharing of the tasks or functions of monarchical government among a number of agents, that of the analogy of a word/reason within each person for the distinction (but not separation) of Father and Son, and those of the root, the tree and the fruit, the spring (fountain), the river and the stream, and the sun, the ray and the apex for the distinction (but not separation) of Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

At *adversus Praxean* 3,2f. Tertullian declares that while the Greek word μοναρχία means 'single and individual rule (*singulare et unicum imperium*)', that is, the government of one [person] (*unius*), this does not preclude the one whose government it is from administering his rule either through a son or whatever agents he will. If the son should share in the actual monarchy (and not merely, Tertullian implies, subordinately participate in its administration), this does not of necessity so divide the monarchy that it ceases to be such. In their rule father and son – Tertullian very clearly has the joint rule of Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla in mind here – are effectively inseparable (*a duobus tam unitis*) (3,3). Likewise, for Tertullian, the divine monarchy is administered by vast legions and hosts of angels and yet it remains a monarchy. This analogy certainly allows for a unity and an inseparability of function so that whatever is done by the original ruler is done equally by those with whom he shares the rule, but without disturbing the unity or oneness of that rule or monarchy. The shortcoming of the analogy is that it does not address in any way the very being, in themselves, of the persons so involved, dealing principally as it does with functions, and also presumes a measure of subordination between the original ruler and [his] agents. Subordination is, however, not an unusual feature of Tertullian's concept of the Trinity, as it was not for anyone prior to Nicaea.

The comparison or analogy at 5,6 of the distinction between God and his Word with that between the self and the word which is present (or internally uttered) within a person's mind has been dealt with already under the discussion of the word *alius*. Likewise, the employment of the images of the sun and its ray, the root and the tree, and the fountain and the river as analogies for the distinc-

tion of Father and Son have also been dealt with at various points in the preceding discussions of the particular terms used by Tertullian in his trinitarian thought.

Conclusions

Tertullian was an unconditional monarchian. In this he was very much a theologian of the Western church. Theologically and confessionally his beginning and end point was his belief in and profession of the one God of the Christian Gospel. To this end were he and his fellow New Prophets better taught (*instructiores*) by the Paraclete than by human wisdom. In this at least he was perhaps at one with Praxeas and his ilk. But there ended any common ground. For his confession of the one, only God was to be understood properly only against the concept and the arrangement of the *oikonomia*. God is unqualifiedly one but has chosen to reveal himself as Father, Son and Holy Spirit in the creation and redemption of humankind. Such teach the scriptures, tradition and the Paraclete. Yet the modalism of Praxeas and his kind, to Tertullian's mind, imperiled this revealed truth. For to deny the distinct existence of Father, Son and Holy Spirit was in fact to deny their very existence. For a being who has only a modal, temporary, transitory existence has no authentic existence at all. And a being who has no authentic existence has nothing to offer, nothing to teach, no authentic function to exercise at all, no authority whatsoever to do anything of significance (or of insignificance for that matter), for such a being is nothing, is no being at all. In the matters of godly discipline and of the revealed truths which underpin and inform this, this was, for Tertullian, critical. For the principal teacher and director of Christian discipline and of those doctrinal truths which provided the framework for an understanding of its nature and its exercise is the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, whose coming was promised by Christ and whose *vicarius*, or present representative he is. And he and his authority, his teaching and directing authority, would amount to nothing if his existence as a distinct being could not be guaranteed.

And so, in the *adversus Praxean*, in the later period of his career, Tertullian sought to lay out the grounds for a belief in and confession of God as indubitably one yet as unconditionally three. For only thus could he doctrinally guarantee the discrete existence of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and thus guarantee the authority of

the Paraclete's teaching. Much, of course, of the argument of *adversus Praxean* is given over to the particular relationship of Father and Son, of God and his Word. But Tertullian knew, and this is consistently obvious from the pages of the treatise itself, that to demonstrate the discrete existence of the first two Persons of the Godhead is, by extension, to do so for the third. And the distinct existence of the third Person meant nothing if that of the Father from whom he proceeds and of the Son through whom this procession takes place, and whose *vicarius* he is, are not first guaranteed. For no less does the nature of the *oikonomia* demand.

Tertullian employs, as we have seen, a number of words to denote the distinct existence of the Divine Persons. He does so, too, for the unity of God but since this is not our immediate concern and since also it was not something which he was compelled by the nature of the debate particularly to demonstrate, we leave such matters aside here. Each of the words employed has its own contribution to make, carries its own inherent dangers and provides its own richness to the construction of his belief and profession of faith. For Tertullian each Person is *alius*. Yet this 'otherness' does not imply either *divisio* or *separatio*, but is to be understood clearly in terms of *distinctio*, *distributio* and *dispositio*. Each Person for Tertullian constitutes its own *forma*. But this concept is to be qualified by the notion of the Persons as *cohaerentes*, in that these 'forms' stand in close and intimate relationship one to the other. In the employment of *cohaerentes* Tertullian perhaps comes as close as he ever will to the later Greek notion of an 'hypostatic perichoresis'. In employing *gradus* to distinguish the Persons Tertullian comes perilously close – indeed some might suggest that he cannot avoid it – to a form of subordinationism. Yet, used in conjunction with terms such as *conserti* and *connexus*, and understood against the backdrop of the *oikonomia*, Tertullian is prepared to take this risk in order to expose and oppose the greater danger of Praxeas' modalism. Tertullian employs the word *modulus* to express the notion of an existent (distinct) being with its own integrity and in its own measure. Thus are we to understood also his employment of the controversial term *portio*, with all its inherent suggestions of division and deficiency. Yet the concept of the Son as *portio totius*, particularly as understood against the background of Stoic thought, carries no such necessary implications. For the 'portion' carries within it the fullness of the being of its source. *Nomen*, *persona* – though Tertullian is at times reluctant to employ this word explic-

itly – and *res* each undoubtedly, as one would expect, express clearly and unconditionally for him the distinction of the Persons. The first two are perhaps the key terms employed by him. *Persona* is the central concept in Tertullian's armory, notwithstanding his reluctance sometimes to employ it explicitly, and it is this, in concert with the word *proprietates* – those qualities or properties or peculiarities which makes something or some-one what it or they are in themselves – which expresses most fully for him the notion of the Persons' distinction one from the other. The word *species* is perhaps the one term which Tertullian employs which could be understood in a modalist sense but his use of it to express distinction is so clear and unambiguous that this risk is only ever a notional one.

Thus does Tertullian demonstrate the distinction of Persons. Thus does he safeguard the unity of God while confessing that this one God reveals God's self as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Tertullian is a monarchian. He cannot imagine or express himself as otherwise. It is the fundamental claim of the Christian Gospel that God is one. Yet God is also unconditionally three. The Father is one in himself, the Son another, and the Spirit a third. This Spirit, this Paraclete, as third, is the teacher and director of the truth and of the life of discipline which that truth demands. In safeguarding the reality of the Paraclete's discrete existence Tertullian safeguards his authority and in so doing safeguards the authenticity of his teaching and the discipleship which this demands of the faithful. Thus in the *adversus Praxean* Tertullian lays out the doctrinal basis and safeguard for the Church's teaching on discipline.

Summary

Tertullian of Carthage employs particular words, particularly in his *adversus Praxean*, to emphasise the distinct but not separate identities of the Persons of the Godhead, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Words used by him for this purpose include *alius, cohaerentes, forma, gradus, modulus, nomen, persona, portio, res* and *species*. He does so in order to combat what was for him the pernicious modalist doctrine of the so-called 'Praxeas' which, by threatening the distinction of the Persons and thus their 'individuality' and indeed their very existence, and particularly in this context that of the Holy Spirit or Paraclete, thereby threatened the teaching of the Holy Spirit on discipline. And this teaching – for which the Holy Spirit, Tertullian declares, was principally responsible – constituted the essential foundation of Christian life and discipline.

Die Unendlichkeit Gottes und der unendliche Weg des Menschen nach Gregor von Nyssa*

von
L. KARFÍKOVÁ
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Das Motiv der Unendlichkeit Gottes im Denken Gregors von Nyssa und das Programm des spirituellen Weges als einer nie definitiv abgeschlossenen Pilgerschaft, wie es uns in Gregors Schriften begegnet, hat schon mehrmals das Interesse der Forschung auf sich gezogen.[1] Vor allem zwei Autoren haben sich in 60er Jahren

* Der Aufsatz ist eine Zusammenschau meiner auf Tschechisch aufgefassten Arbeit, die zuerst als eine semestrale Gastvorlesung an der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Karls-Universität Prag entstand, und später an der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Palackys-Universität Olmütz gehalten und von dieser Fakultät als Habilitationsschrift angenommen wurde. Ich möchte auf dieser Stelle dem Zentralinstitut für Mittel- und Osteuropastudien in Eichstätt (geleitet durch Prof. Dr. Nikolaus Lobkowicz) danken, dessen Stipendium mir im Jahr 1997 einen halbjährigen Forschungsaufenthalt an der Katholischen Universität Eichstätt ermöglichte. Mein Dank gilt auch besonders Dr. Friedhelm Mann aus Münster, der mir im Jahr 1998 die Forschungsstelle Gregor von Nyssa an der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster für fünf Monate zugänglich machte und mir vieles unveröffentlichtes Material zur Verfügung stellte. Seine Hinweise waren mir sehr wertvoll und hilfreich für meine Arbeit. Für ein sehr interessantes Gespräch danke ich auch Prof. Dr. Ekkehard Mühlenberg aus Göttingen, der als einer der ersten auf das Thema der Unendlichkeit im Denken Gregors aufmerksam machte. Frau Marlene Elbl aus Eichstätt danke ich für Korrekturen in der deutschen Fassung meines Aufsatzes.

[1] Aus der älteren Literatur vgl. v.a. H. Urs VON BALTHASAR, *Présence et pensée. Essai sur la philosophie religieuse de Grégoire de Nysse*, Paris 1942, S. 75-80; J. DANIÉLOU, *Platonisme et théologie mystique*, Paris 1944, S. 309-326; W. VÖLKER, *Gregor von Nyssa als Mystiker*, Wiesbaden 1955, S. 186-195; H. LANGERBECK, *Zur Interpretation Gregors von Nyssa*, in: *Theologische Literatur-*

mit dem Thema gleichzeitig und unabhängig voneinander monographisch befasst, und zwar aus unterschiedlicher Perspektive: Ekkehard Mühlenberg versuchte Gregors Unendlichkeitsvorstellung als eine Art revolutionäres Ende der griechischen Metaphysik von Plato und Aristoteles bis zu Origenes aufzuzeigen, für die zur Vollkommenheit nicht die Grenzenlosigkeit, sondern vielmehr eine Umgrenzung gehört.[2] James Emmet Hennessy stellte dagegen Gregors Unendlichkeitsauffassung eher als eine Summierung und tiefere Durchdringung der bisherigen philosophisch-theologischen Entwicklung dar.[3] Während die Arbeit Mühlenbergs ein großes Echo und weitere, teilweise auch kritische Präzisierungen hervorgerufen hat,[4] blieb die unveröffentlichte Dissertation Hennessys

zeitung, 82, 1957, S. 81-90. Neben den im Folgenden erwähnten Monographien Mühlenbergs und Hennessys und den anschliessenden Präzisierungen (vgl. unten Anm. 4) sind auch weitere Untersuchungen und Einzelbeiträge nennenswert, so S.W. GUSTAFSON, *Gregory of Nyssa's Reformation of Christian Thought. Some Paradigmatic Implications of his Doctrine of Divine Infinity*, Drew University 1985, Mikrofilm Ann Arbor 1985; L. SWEENEY, *Divine Infinity in Greek and Medieval Thought*, New York 1992, S. 473-503; E. FERGUSON, *God's Infinity and Man's Mutability. Perpetual Progress According to Gregory of Nyssa*, in: *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 18, 1973, S. 59-78; P. WILSON-KASTNER, *God's Infinity and His Relationship to Creation in the Theologies of Gregory of Nyssa and Jonathan Edwards*, in: *Foundations*, 21, 1978, S. 305-321; G.A. BARROIS, *Vertu, „épectase", perfection. Les métamorphoses d'un thème philosophique, de Socrate à saint Grégoire de Nysse, et au delà*, in: *Diotima*, 11, 1983, S. 30-39; A. DIEHLE, *Das Streben nach Vollkommenheit nach Philon und Gregor von Nyssa*, in: G. SCHÖLLGEN - C. SCHOLTEN, Hg., *Stimuli. Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum*, FS für E. Dassmann, Münster 1996, S. 329-335; A. SPIRA, *Le temps d'un homme selon Aristote et Grégoire de Nysse: Stabilité et instabilité dans la pensée grecque*, in: *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age*, Colloque international du C.N.R.S., N. 604, Paris 1984, S. 283-294. Zu berücksichtigen sind ebenso Arbeiten zu verwandten Themen, v.a. P. ZEMP, *Die Grundlagen heilsgeschichtlichen Denkens bei Gregor von Nyssa*, München 1970; R.E. HEINE, *Perfection in the Virtuous Life. A Study in the Relationship Between Edification and Polemical Theology in Gregory of Nyssa's De Vita Moysis*, Cambridge, Mass. 1975; E. PEROLI, *Il Platonismo e l'antropologia filosofica di Gregorio di Nissa. Con particolare referimento agli influssi di Platone, Plotino e Porfirio*, Milano 1993.

[2] Vgl. E. MÜHLENBERG, *Die Unendlichkeit Gottes bei Gregor von Nyssa*, Göttingen 1966, S. 19 und passim.

[3] Vgl. J.E. HENNESSY, *The Background, Sources and Meaning of Divine Infinity in St. Gregory of Nyssa*, Fordham University, New York 1963, Mikrofilm Ann Arbor 1963, S. 202 und passim.

[4] R.S. BRIGHTMAN (*Apophatic Theology and Divine Infinity in St. Gregory of Nyssa*, in: *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 18, 1973, S. 97-114) und D. CARABINE (*Gregory of Nyssa on the Incomprehensibility of God*, in: T. FINAN -

weitgehend unbekannt. Erst vor kurzer Zeit analysierte Thomas Böhm Gregors Unendlichkeitsvorstellung innerhalb ihrer philosophischen – aristotelischen wie plotinischen – Voraussetzungen und Implikationen, und zwar vor allem anhand von Gregors Spätwerk *De vita Moysis.*[5]

In diesem Aufsatz soll zuerst die Entwicklung des Unendlichkeitsmotives in Gregors Schriften in ihrer vorausgesetzten chronologischen Linie beobachten werden.[6] Anschließend werden drei Probleme erwähnt, die mit dem Thema eng zusammenhängen, jedoch wie es scheint von Gregor nicht endgültig geklärt wurden: die Polemik gegen die Κόρος (=Sättigung)-Vorstellung, die Frage nach der Reflexivität in Gott und die Thematik der eschatologischen Unendlichkeit des Menschen.

Die Epektasis des Menschen und die Unfassbarkeit Gottes (De virginitate, De beatitudinibus)

Schon in Gregors Frühwerk *De virginitate*[7] lassen sich die Ausgangspunkte seiner Unendlichkeitsvorstellung deutlich erkennen:

V. TWOMEY, Hg., *The Relationship between Neoplatonism and Christianity*, Proceedings of the First Patristic Conference at Maynooth, Dublin 1992, S. 79-99) machen auf die durch Mühlenberg weniger betonte apophatische Bedeutung des Unendlichkeitsgedankens bei Gregor aufmerksam. Ch. Apostolopoulos (*Phaedo Christianus. Studien zur Verbindung und Abwägung des Verhältnisses zwischen dem platonischen „Phaidon" und dem Dialog Gregors von Nyssa „Über die Seele und Auferstehung"*, Frankfurt a.M. - Bern - New York 1986, S. 321-366) versucht die Unendlichkeit des Selbsttranszendierens in Gott und im Menschen als eine dionysische „erotische Spannung" zu verstehen. W. Ullmann (*Der logische und der theologische Sinn des Unendlichkeitsbegriffes in der Gotteslehre Gregors von Nyssa*, in: *Bijdragen*, 48, 1987, S. 150-171) hebt mit Recht den antiarianischen Kontext von Gregors Unendlichkeitsbegriff hervor. K.-H. Uthemann (*Die Sprache der Theologie nach Eunomius von Cyzicus*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 104, 1993, S. 143-175, bes. 170-175) argumentiert mit der Unterscheidung von qualitativen und quantitaven Unendlichkeit, die für das Verständnis des ganzen Themas grundlegend zu sein scheint.

[5] Vgl. Th. BÖHM, *Theoria - Unendlichkeit - Aufstieg. Philosophische Implikationen zu De Vita Moysis von Gregor von Nyssa*, Leiden - New York - Köln 1996.

[6] Zur Chronologie der Schriften Gregors vgl. G. MAY, *Die Chronologie des Lebens und der Werke des Gregor von Nyssa*, in: M. HARL (Hg.), *Écriture et culture philosophique dans la pensée de Grégoire de Nysse* (Actes du colloque de Chevetogne, septembre 1969), Leiden 1971, S. 51-67. Zu den einzelnen Schriften s. auch unten.

[7] Die früher vorausgesetzte Entstehungszeit 371 (vgl. J. DANIÉLOU, *La chronologie des œuvres de Grégoire de Nysse*, in: *Studia patristica*, 7, 1966, S. 159 f. [159-

Es ist einerseits der (neu)platonische Aufstieg zum Schönen als zur intelligiblen Sichtbarkeit des Guten, d.h. ein Weg von der Sinnenwelt durch eine nicht festhaltbare ekstatische Schau der „Schönheit um das Gute herum" – welcher der Schauende ähnlich werden soll –, einem Ziel entgegen, das sich letztlich jedem Versuch, es begrifflich zu fassen, entzieht.[8] Andererseits ist es die „Reisemetapher" einer Pilgerschaft zu einem intendierten Ziel, die den Pilger verpflichtet, immer nach vorne, in die Zukunft zu schauen und sich durch das aktuell Vorhandene nicht zerstreuen zu lassen.[9]

Die beiden angedeuteten Auffassungen des Weges haben eine gemeinsame anthropologische Grundlage, nämlich die (platonische) Vorstellung der menschlichen Seele als einer unaufhörlichen Bewegung, die sich nach oben bzw. nach vorne wenden soll.[10] Was das Ziel dieser Bewegung angeht, ist sich Gregor bewusst, dass es ohne jede Form, Gestalt und Größe ist,[11] dass alles Gefundene

169]) wurde in die Zeitspanne 369/370 bis 378/379 (von Basils Bischofskonsekration bis zu seinem Tod) verlängert, vgl. J. GRIBOMONT, *Le Panégyrique de la virginité, œuvre de jeunesse de Grégoire de Nysse*, in: *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 43, 1967, S. 249-266.

Eher fantastisch erscheint die Hypothese J.M. Rists, nach der Gregor vor dem Traktat *De viginitate* noch die kurze Abhandlung *De spiritu* (PG 29, 768-774) verfassen sollte, die manchmal seinem Bruder Basil zugeschrieben wird (vgl. J.M. RIST, *Basil's „Neoplatonismus": Its Background and Nature*, in: P.J. FEDWICK, Hg., *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic. A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium*, Toronto 1981, I, S. 218 [137-220]; kritisiert durch J. DANIÉLOU, *Bulletin d'histoire des origines chrétiennes*, in: *Recherches de science religieuse*, 53, 1965, S. 157-161 [121-170]).

[8] Vgl. *De virg.* 10-11: GNO VIII/1, 289-296. Sehr ähnlich Plotin, *Enn.* I,6[1]. Zu Gregors Kenntnis der *Enneaden*, bes. der *Enn.* I,6[1], vgl. J. DANIÉLOU, *Grégoire de Nysse et Plotin*, in: *Actes du Congrès de Tours et Poitiers*, Association Guillaume Budé, Paris 1954, S. 259-262; ders., *Bulletin*, S. 158-161; A. MEREDITH, *The Good and the Beutiful in Gregory of Nyssa*, in: H. Eisenberger, Hg., *ERMHNEYMATA*, FS für H. Hörner, Heidelberg 1990, S. 133-145. Das Denken der beiden Autoren zeigt jedoch auch wichtige Unterschiedlichkeiten, vgl. A. MEREDITH, *Gregory of Nyssa and Plotinus*, in: *Studia patristica*, 17/3, 1982, S. 1120-1126; ders., *Plato's „cave" (Republic vii 514a-517e) in Origen, Plotinus, and Gregory of Nyssa*, in: *Studia patristica*, 27, 1993, S. 49-61.

[9] Vgl. *De virg.* 4: GNO VIII/1, 271 f.

[10] Vgl. *De virg.* 6: GNO VIII/1, 280 f. Als „immer beweglich" (ἀεικίνητος), bzw. „sich selbst bewegend" (αὐτοκίνητος) wird die Seele v.a. im *Phaedr.* 245c5 dargestellt (zu den handschriftlichen Varianten ἀεικίνητος-αὐτοκίνητος vgl. L. BRISSON, *Platon, Phèdre, suivi de La pharmacie de Platon de J. Derrida*, Paris 1989, S. 208 f., Anm. 165).

[11] Vgl. *De virg.* 10: GNO VIII/1, 290,25 - 291,1.

immer weniger als das Gesuchte sein muss.[12] Es kann nur so gesucht werden, dass wir versuchen „der Größe des Gesuchten gleich zu werden"[13] in einem unaufhörlichen Überschreiten des jeweils Gefundenen. Der Epektasis-Gedanke[14] ist damit in seinem Kern schon angedeutet: Das Bewusstsein von der Unfassbarkeit des Ziels bedeutet zugleich eine Skepsis jedem schon Erreichten gegenüber, und die nicht unterdrückbare Bewegung der menschlichen Seele wird zu einem ständigen Überschreiten des Niedrigeren dem Höheren bzw. des Gegenwärtigen dem Künftigen entgegen.

Das gleiche Motiv eines immer fortgesetzten Weges begegnet uns auch in Gregors Werk *De beatitudinibus*,[15] in dem die ganze Anabasis mit dem Aufstieg auf die Leiter Jakobs verglichen wird: Jede schon erreichte Stufe wird zum Ausgangspunkt des nächsten Schrittes,[16] zumindest im Rahmen des achtstufigen Aufstiegs der einzelnen Seligpreisungen, wodurch der Mensch dem einzig seligen Gott immer tiefer ähnlich wird.[17] Die unaufhörliche Bewegung der menschlichen Seele ist jedoch auch in dieser Schrift am Beispiel eines Laufes zum festgesetzten Ziel verdeutlicht,[18] bzw. am Beispiel eines tapferen Wettkampfes, der geschlossen nach vorne orientiert und konzentriert sein muss.[19] Gregors Leitgedanke aus *Phil.* 3,12 f., der in diesem Zusammenhang ausdrücklich erwähnt wird,[20] bekommt jedoch zugleich noch einen anderen Sinn: Das ständige „Sich-ausstrecken" des Apostels nach dem, was vor ihm liegt, benutzt Gregor zur Polemik gegen die Vorstellung einer Sättigung

[12] Vgl. *De virg.* 11: GNO VIII/1, 294,3 f.

[13] Vgl. *De virg.* 10: GNO VIII/1, 291,7 f.

[14] Vgl. *In Cant.* 6: GNO VI, 174,15. Zum Begriff „Epektasis" als dem dauerhaften Sich-ausstrecken nach vorne vgl. J. DANIÉLOU, *Platonisme*, S. 309-326.

[15] Auch die Schrift *De beatitudinibus* gilt heute eher für ein Frühwerk, obwohl J. Daniélou ursprünglich eine andere Meinung äusserte (vgl. J. DANIÉLOU, *Platonisme*, S. 12; er hat sich jedoch später selber korrigiert, s. J. DANIÉLOU, *Chronologie des œuvres*, S. 159-162; ähnlich auch G. MAY, *Die Chronologie*, S. 56).

[16] Vgl. *De beat.* 5: GNO VII/2, 123 f.

[17] Vgl. *De beat.* 2: GNO VII/2, 89 f.

[18] Vgl. *De beat.* 8: GNO VII/2, 163 f.

[19] Vgl. *De beat.* 2: GNO VII/2, 93.

[20] Vgl. *De beat.* 2: GNO VII/2, 93,15-19. Zu Gregors Lieblingszitat *Phil.* 3,12 f., das schon bei seinem Bruder Basil und bei Origenes öfters vorkommt (vgl. z.B. Basil, *Ep.* 42 *Ad Chitonem*: PG 32, 348c-349a; Origenes, *In Num., hom.* 17,4: GCS, Origenes 7, 160,26), s. R.E. HEINE, *Perfection*, S. 241-247.

oder Übersättigung der Seele durch die Tugend.[21] Jede erreichte Stufe auf dem Weg der Tugend bringt nach Gregor eine Vermehrung des Verlangens, nie jedoch ein saturiertes Stehenbleiben. Andererseits erscheint das Streben nach der Tugend nicht wie eine „Jagd nach dem eigenen Schatten", der nie zu fangen ist:[22] Hunger nach der Tugend (für Gregor ein Äquivalent des neutestamentlichen „Hungerns nach der Gerechtigkeit", vgl. *Matth.* 5,6) kann gestillt werden, eine solche Sättigung ruft jedoch immer neuen Hunger hervor.[23] Die Dialektik des Sättigens und Hungerns, wie sie hier entwickelt wird, scheint ein weiteres wichtiges Element in Gregors Epektasis-Vorstellung zu sein.

Ähnlich wie in der Abhandlung *De virginitate* geht es noch nicht um eine ausdrückliche Vorstellung der menschlichen Unendlichkeit, sondern vielmehr um eine Dynamik des ständigen Fortfahrens und Überschreitens. Auch Gott, das Ziel des menschlichen Weges, wird noch nicht ausdrücklich als unendlich dargestellt, sondern nur als unfasslich und unbegreifbar, ohne jede Dimension, Menge, Qualität, Gestalt, ohne Raum und Zeit und in diesem Sinne als „jede Grenze überschreitend".[24] Nur die „Unmöglichkeit das Gesuchte zu fassen," meint Gregor, „gibt eine gewisse Vorstellung von seiner Größe."[25]

In den Schriften *De virginitate* und *De beatitudinibus* haben wir damit die früheste, keimhafte Version von Gregors Gedanken der Unendlicheit Gottes und der des Menschen vor uns: nämlich das Bewusstsein der Unbegreiflichkeit Gottes und die Vorstellung der menschlichen Seele als einer ständigen Bewegung, die sich – in einem Aufstieg nach oben oder in einem Weg nach vorne – zu diesem unfassbaren Gott wenden soll. Diese Bewegung kann sich jedoch seinem stets entfliehenden Ziel nur in einem ständigen Überschreiten des jeweils Erreichten nähern, d.h. in einer Epektasis, einem stets neuen Hunger, der keine definitive Sättigung zulässt.

Vgl. *De beat.* 4: GNO VII/2, 122,25 - 123,4.
Vgl. *De beat.* 4: GNO VII/2, 121,9 f.
Vgl. *De beat.* 4: GNO VII/2, 121.
Vgl. *De beat.* 3: GNO VII/2, 104,15-19.
Vgl. *De beat.* 3: GNO VII/2, 105,3 ff.

Das Leben des Menschen als ein Diastema und der adiastematische Gott (In inscriptiones Psalmorum, In Ecclesiasten)

Wichtige neue Motive bringt Gregors Abhandlung *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*. Auch diese Schrift wird als eine spirituelle Anabasis aufgefasst,[26] die in ihren fünf Schritten, gemäß den fünf Teilen des biblischen *Psalters*, immer neu die gleiche Struktur der Abkehr vom aktuell Vorhandenen und der Hinwendung zur eschatologischen Zukunft wiederholt.[27] Die eschatologische Zukunft selbst versteht Gregor dabei als ein Intervall ohne Ende, ein Intervall, das durch ein ununterbrochenes Wachstum an Seligkeit, d.h. auch durch eine spezifische Anabasis, erfüllt wird.[28] In dieser Schrift erfahren wir zugleich, dass Gott ein ewiges Intervall „umfasst" oder „beinhaltet", das allem, was in der Zeit geschieht, den Anfang und die Grenzen gibt. Gott umfasst auch die menschliche Ewigkeit, d.h. ein „Intervall, dessen Maß das Endlose ist".[29] Hier begegnet uns zum ersten Mal die Vorstellung vom menschlichen Leben als einem Intervall (*Diastema*[30]) ohne Ende, das ein Korrelat zum Gedanken der menschlichen Seele als einer ständigen Bewegung zu sein scheint.

Das Leben des Menschen als ein Intervall (*Diastema* oder *Paratasis*) wird zum wichtigen Thema auch in Gregors Predigten *In Ecclesiasten*.[31] Alles, was geschieht, geschieht in einer Zeitspanne;[32]

[26] Vgl. *In inscr. Ps.* I,7: GNO V, 43,14; 51,21. Zum Aufbau der Schrift vgl. M.-J. RONDEAU, *Exégèse du psautier et anabase spirituelle chez Grégoire de Nysse*, in: J. FONTAINE - Ch. KANNENGIESSER, Hg., *Epektasis*, FS für J. Daniélou, Paris 1972, S. 517-531; A. LE BOULLUEC, *L'unité du texte. La visée du psautier selon Grégoire de Nysse*, in: *Le texte et ses représentations* (Études de littérature ancienne, 3), Paris 1987, S. 159-166; R.E. HEINE, *Gregory of Nyssa's Treatise on the Inscriptions of the Psalms* (Introduction, Translation, and Notes), Oxford 1995, S. 11-20 a 50-79.

[27] Vgl. *In inscr. Ps.* I,5-8: GNO V, 38-65.

[28] Vgl. *In inscr. Ps.* I,9: GNO V, 68,20 ff.

[29] Vgl. *In inscr. Ps.* I,7; II,13: GNO V, 46,8-12; 136,3 ff.

[30] Zu diesem Schlüsselbegriff Gregors vgl. P. ZEMP, *Die Grundlagen*, S. 63-72; T.P. VERGHESE, *Διάστημα and διάτασις in Gregory of Nyssa*, in: H. DÖRRIE - M. ALTENBURGER - U. SCHRAMM (Hg.), *Gregor von Nyssa und die Philosophie* (Zweites internationales Kolloquium über Gregor von Nyssa, Freckenhorst bei Münster, 18.-23. September 1972), Leiden 1976., S. 243-260; D.L. BALÁS, *Eternity and Time in Gregory of Nyssa's Contra Eunomium*, ibid., S. 128-155.

[31] Vgl. bes. *In Eccl.* 7: GNO V, 412,12 ff., wo der Begriff *διάστημα* nicht nur für den sinnlichen, sondern auch für den intelligiblen Bereich gewendet wird, als ein Intervall nicht nur im Raum, sondern auch in der Zeit. A.A. Mosshammer hält dies für einen Wendepunkt im Denken Gregors, und damit auch die Schrift

auch dem menschlichen Leben ist ein Intervall ausgemessen, obwohl der Mensch immer wieder geneigt ist, diesen Umstand zu vergessen, indem er sich im Gegenwärtigen verliert. Die Tugend bedeutet für Gregor dagegen ein Voraussehen des Endes, d.h. des Künftigen. Nur so kann die Kreisbewegung des Irrens zu einer direkten Bewegung der Tugend werden.[33] In seinen Homilien *In Ecclesiasten* präzisiert Gregor jedoch nicht, ob und wie sich diese diastematische Prägung des menschlichen Lebens durch den Tod ändern soll, sondern er konzentriert sich vielmehr auf die Frage nach dem menschlichen Gottsuchen und -finden.

Ähnlich wie in seinen Frühschriften, ist Gregor auch in seinen Homilien *In Ecclesiasten* überzeugt, dass Gott nicht anders als nur im ständigen Überschreiten des jeweils Gefundenen, d.h. im Suchen selbst, gefunden werden kann: Es gibt kein anderes Finden als das Suchen selbst, wie er ausdrücklich sagt.[34] Sehr deutlich kommen in Gregors Homilien auch apophatische und sigetische Motive vor. Gott, der jeden menschlichen Gedanken und Begriff transzendiert, kann am besten in der Erkenntnis erkannt werden, dass man ihn nicht erkennen kann, und am besten im Schweigen benannt werden.[35] Anders als z.B. in den Predigten *De beatitudini-*

In Eccl. für ein Zwischenglied zwischen den Frühschriften (*De hom. op., In Hexaem., De an. et res.*), in denen das *διάστημα* als eine räumliche Ausdehnung des Sinnlichen aufgefasst wird, und der späteren Polemik *C. Eun.* I, in der Gregor den Gedanken der ganzen Schöpfung als eines *διάστημα* weiterführt (vgl. A.A. MOSSHAMMER, *Time for All and a Moment for Each: The Sixth Homily of Gregory of Nyssa on Ecclesiastes*, in: S.G. HALL, Hg., *Gregory of Nyssa, Homilies on Ecclesiastes. An English Version with Supporting Studies*, Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa, St Andrews, September 1990, Berlin - New York 1993, S. 249-275).

[32] Vgl. *In Eccl.* 6: GNO V, 376,23 - 377,4. Zur kappadozischen Vorstellung der Zeit als einer Zeitspanne der Welt (*τὸ συμπαρεκτεινόμενον τῇ συστάσει τοῦ κόσμου διάστημα*, Basil v. Cäesarea, *C. Eun.* I,21: SC 299, 248,28 ff.), aber auch einem Kairos der menschlichen Freiheit vgl. J.F. CALLAHAN, *Basil of Caesarea, a New Source for St. Augustine's Theory of Time*, in: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 63, 1958, S. 437-454; ders., *Gregory of Nyssa and the Psychological View od Time*, in: *Atti del XII Congresso Internazionale di Filosofia* (Venezia, sept. 1958), XI, Firenze 1960, str. 59-66; B. OTIS, *Gregory of Nyssa and the Cappadocian Conception of Time*, in: *Studia patristica* 14 (= *Texte und Untersuchungen* 117), 1976, S. 327-357.

[33] Vgl. *In Eccl.* 6: GNO V, 378 f.

[34] Vgl. *In Eccl.* 7: GNO V, 400,21 - 401,2.

[35] Vgl. *In Eccl.* 7: GNO V, 411 und 414.

bus gibt sich jedoch Gregor nicht damit zufrieden, vom epektatischen Weg des ständigen Überschreitens zu reden, sondern er versucht das damit Gemeinte näher zu erklären.

Der geschaffene Geist mit seiner diastematischen Beschaffenheit kann sich nämlich keineswegs auf das Adiastematische beziehen. Alles, was er je erkennt, erkennt er auf eine diastematische Weise, d.h. nicht nur nach und nach in einer Zeitspanne, sondern auch als etwas Bestimmtes, als ein durch Grenzen definiertes (ontologisches) Diastema.[36] Nie kann jedoch der geschaffene Geist die gesamte Zeit durchlaufen und hinter sich lassen, da er immer noch eine gewisse Zeit vor sich hat.[37] Ähnlich vermag er auch nie anders als auf eine diastematische Weise die einzelnen (ontologischen) Intervalle der einzelnen Dinge zu erkennen.[38] Wollte er es je versuchen, wird es ihm ergehen wie einem Bergsteiger, der mit dem menschlichen Fuß einen bodenlosen Abgrund betreten möchte:[39] Er wird seine eigenen Grenzen verlassen und dem Nichtsein verfallen.[40]

Neben der Erörterung der apophatischen Thematik anhand der diastematischen Art der menschlichen Erkenntnis und der Adiastematizität Gottes, finden wir in Gregors Homilien *In Ecclesiasten* auch das Motiv des Guten, von dem der Mensch unmöglich satt werden kann, da sein Verlangen mit jedem weiteren Erreichen wächst.[41] Statt des Sattwerdens durch die *Tugend*, von dem sich Gregor in seinen Predigten *De beatitudinibus* distanzierte, spricht er jetzt vom *Guten*, von dem man unmöglich satt werden kann. In anderer Hinsicht aber kommt dieser Gedanke der Schrift *De beatitudinibus* sehr nahe: Gregor entwickelt auch hier eine Dialektik von Sättigung und Hunger, die keinen definitiven Stillstand zulässt.

Den Homilien *In Ecclesiasten* liegt damit dieselbe Auffassung der menschlichen Unendlicheit zugrunde wie den Schriften *De beatitudinibus* und *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*; hinzugefügt ist hier jedoch die Erörterung über den diastematischen Charakter des Menschen als Grund für die Unbegreiflichkeit des adiastemati-

[36] Vgl. *In Eccl.* 7: GNO V, 412,6-14.
[37] Vgl. *In Eccl.* 7: GNO V, 412,18 - 413,5.
[38] Vgl. *In Eccl.* 7: GNO V, 411 f.
[39] Vgl. *In Eccl.* 7: GNO V, 413.
[40] Vgl. *In Eccl.* 7: GNO V, 411.
[41] Vgl. *In Eccl.* 2: GNO V, 313,10-13.

schen Gottes. Der adiastematische Gott ist als unbegrenzt verstanden, jedoch deutlich in einem apophatischen Kontext: die Grenzenlosigkeit bedeutet vor allem die Unfassbarkeit.

Ursprüngliches Schöpfungspleroma und seine zeitliche Entfaltung (De hominis opificio, In Hexaemeron)

Das menschliche Leben als Diastema ist in der Schrift *De hominis opificio* aus einer weiteren Perspektive dargestellt. Gregor zeichnet hier das Bild eines ursprünglichen zeitlosen isangelischen Pleromas *Anthropos* (des Menschen als Bild und Gleichnis Gottes nach *Gen.* 1,26),[42] zu dem erst nachträglich – da Gott den unglücklichen Fall des Menschen voraussah – die Zeit in Möglichkeit und die Unterteilung in zwei verschiedene Geschlechter hinzugefügt wurden als ein nicht ursprünglich geplanter Weg zur Vermehrung der Menschen (der Mensch als Mann und Frau nach *Gen.* 1,27 und *Gen.* 2).[43] Die Zeit, d.h. das Intervall der Menschengeschichte,[44] die erst durch den Fall des Menschen aktualisiert wurde (vgl. *Gen.* 3), ist damit für Gregor eine Art Notlösung, ein Ersatzweg, wodurch die ursprünglich geplante Anzahl der Seelen erreicht wird

[42] Der eigentliche Status dieses Pleromas wurde schon mehrmals diskutiert. Eine Übersicht der älteren Forschung bringt H. Urs VON BALTHASAR, *Présence*, S. 52 f., Anm. 5. C. Militello hebt hervor, dass diese „konkrete Universalität" ausser Raum und Zeit aufzufassen ist (vgl. C. MILITELLO, C., *La categoria di „immagine" nel Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου di Gregorio di Nissa per una antropologia cristiana*, in: *Ho theologos. Cultura Cristiana di Sicilia*, 2, 1975, S. 144 [107-172]). E. Corsini zeigt mit Recht, dass es sich um eine zeitlose Verdichtung der ganzen Menschengattung handelt, die sich - von einer anderen Perspektive her - in der Zeit entwickelt, analog der ursprünglichen simultanen Welterschaffung, die sich von der menschlichen Perspektive her in die sechs Schöpfungstage entwerfen lässt (vgl. unten), s. E. CORSINI, *Plérôme humain et plérôme cosmique chez Grégoire de Nysse*, in: M. HARL, (Hg.), *Écriture*, S. 111-126. Ähnlich deduziert R. Hübner, dass Gregors Pleroma nicht dem eschatologischen Leib Christi nahe kommt (wie z.B. J. DANIÉLOU, *Platonisme*, S. 57 f., meinte), sondern einen blossen logischen (nicht ontologischen) Begriff darstellt, vgl. R. HÜBNER, *Die Einheit des Leibes Christi bei Gregor von Nyssa. Untersuchungen zum Ursprung der „physischen" Erlösungslehre*, Leiden 1974, S. 67-94.

[43] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 16: PG 44, 181b. Zu Gregors Vorstellung von einer „doppelten Schöpfung" vgl. U. BIANCHI, *Presupposti platonici e dualistici nell' antropologia di Gregorio di Nissa*, in: ders. (Hg.), *La „doppia creazione" dell'uomo: negli Alessandrini, nei Cappadoci e nella gnosi*, Roma 1978, S. 83-115. Zu Gregors Auffassung der Geschlechtsdifferenz s. F. FLOERI, *Le sens de la „division des sexes chez Grégoire de Nysse"*, in: *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 27, 1953, S. 105-111.

[44] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 22: PG 44, 205c.

und wodurch zugleich die einzelnen Menschen nach und nach zum Abbild Gottes werden, das sie im Anfangsstadium ihrer Existenz noch nicht sind.[45] Wenn die Menschengeschichte, durch den kosmischen Unfall der menschlichen Verfehlung in Gang gesetzt, ihr Ende erreicht, wird sich die Zeit wieder in die Zeitlosigkeit verdichten,[46] und die einzelnen Menschen werden wahrscheinlich wieder in ein körperliches, aber geschlechtsloses Pleroma *Anthropos* zusammengezogen werden.[47] Es stellt sich hier allerdings eine Frage, die an dieser Stelle unbeantwortet bleiben muss, nämlich ob bzw. wie sich die eschatologische Wiederkehr des ursprünglichen Pleromas zu der Idee des endlosen menschlichen Diastemas verhält.

Das Leben des Menschen in der Zeitspanne der Welt erscheint dabei auch in der Schrift *De hominis opificio* als eine ununterbrochene Bewegung. Dies gilt nicht nur für den ständigen Wechsel des körperlichen Lebens,[48] sondern auch für die Geistesbewegung, die sich aufgrund der freien Wahl entweder dem Guten oder dem Bösen zuwendet. Während die Bewegung zum Guten unendlich nach vorne fortschreitet, da ihr Ziel unbegrenzt erscheint, sinkt die Bewegung zum Bösen, so meint zumindest Gregor, nur solange tiefer, bis sie das „volle Maß des Bösen" erreicht und sich dann notwendig zum Guten wendet.[49] An dieser Stelle begegnet uns die – keineswegs selbstverständliche – Vorstellung Gregors, dass die Grenzenlosigkeit ausschließlich dem Guten, nicht jedoch dem Bösen eigen ist.[50]

In der Schrift *De hominis opificio* ist für unser Thema ebenso Gregors Gedanke interessant, dass die Gottesebenbildlichkeit des Menschen in der Unfähigkeit des menschlichen Geistes besteht, sich selbst zu fassen, die der Unfassbarkeit Gottes analog ist.[51] Neben dem apophatischen Motiv, das uns schon bekannt ist,

[45] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 29-30: PG 44, 236b-240b; 253c-256c.

[46] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 23: PG 44, 209b.

[47] Zu Gregors Vorstellung einer Wiederkehr des Anfangs am Ende vgl. M. ALEXANDRE, *Protologie et eschatologie chez Grégoire de Nysse*, in: U. BIANCHI - H. CROUZEL (Hg.), *Arché e Telos. L'antropologia di Origene e di Gregorio di Nissa. Analisi storico-religiosi* (Atti de colloquio, Milano, maggio 1979), Milano 1981, S. 122-159.

[48] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 13-14: PG 44, 165ab; 176b.

[49] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 21: PG 44, 201bc.

[50] Vgl. dazu J. DANIÉLOU, *L'être et le temps chez Grégoire de Nysse*, Leiden 1970, S. 186-204.

[51] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 11: PG 44, 156b.

kommt hier Gregors Überzeugung von der Selbsttranszendenz des menschlichen Geistes zum Ausdruck, die der Transzendenz Gottes dem Kosmos gegenüber entspricht (gerade in seiner Abhandlung *De hominis opificio* lehnt Gregor die „heidnische Erfindung" vom Menschen als einem kleinen Kosmos ausdrücklich ab,[52] vielleicht deswegen, weil diese Vorstellung in ihrer stoischen Fassung die Transzendenz Gottes der Welt gegenüber und die Transzendenz des menschlichen Geistes dem Körper gegenüber nicht garantieren kann).

Die Apologie *In Hexaemeron* bettet die Anthropologie Gregors in einen breiteren kosmologischen Rahmen ein. Nicht nur das körperliche Leben des Menschen, sondern das ganze physische Universum ist eine ständige Bewegung,[53] ein ununterbrochener gegenseitiger Wechsel der Elemente, der aufgrund der gemeinsamen Qualitäten von Leichtigkeit, Kühle und Trockenheit vor sich geht.[54]

Die materielle Naturwelt entwickelt sich nach Gregor in einer zweistufigen Kosmogenese, die (1) eine Erschaffung „in der Möglichkeit" und (2) eine Verwirklichung in der Zeit umfasst.[55] Diese zweistufige Kosmogenese entspricht – zumindest in ihrer Struktur – (1) dem ursprünglichen Pleroma *Anthropos* und (2) seiner Ausfaltung in die Menschengeschichte.[56] Gregors Blickwinkel auf die ursprüngliche materielle Welt „in Möglichkeit" schwankt dabei zwischen der Vorstellung einer undifferenzierten Mischung der einzelnen Elemente, die sich sukzessive differenzieren,[57] und der Annahme der Priorität intelligibler Qualitäten, die durch ihr Zusammenwirken das materielle Universum zustande bringen.[58]

Das Weltbild Gregors beinhaltet die Vorstellung eines umgrenzten Himmelsgewölbes,[59] d.h. es besteht kein unendlicher Raum

[52] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 16: PG 44, 177d. In anderen Schriften scheint jedoch Gregor diese Vorstellung selber zu übernehmen, vgl. *In inscr. Ps.* 1,3: GNO V, 30,25 f.; *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 28b.

[53] Vgl. *In Hexaem.*: PG 44, 108a.

[54] Vgl. *In Hexaem.*: PG 44, 108d-109d.

[55] Vgl. *In Hexaem.*: PG 44, 69d-72c; 120b.

[56] Vgl. dazu E. CORSINI, *Plérôme.*

[57] Vgl. *In Hexaem.*: PG 44, 72c-76c.

[58] Vgl. *In Hexaem.*: PG 44, 69cd; 77d-80c. Vgl. dazu M. ALEXANDRE, *L'exégèse de Gen. 1,1-2a dans l'In Hexaemeron de Grégoire de Nysse: deux approches du problème de la matière*, in: H. DÖRRIE - M. ALTENBURGER - U. SCHRAMM (Hg.), *Gregor von Nyssa und die Philosophie*, Leiden 1976, S. 159-192.

[59] Vgl. *In Hexaem.*: PG 44, 81c; 84d.

(obwohl Gregor in einer Hyperbel anführt, dass die Fixsternensphäre von der Erde „unendlich" entfernt ist[60]), es gibt in ihm jedoch eine endlose Kreisbewegung: sei es als Zirkulation des Feuers und der aus ihm entstandenen Himmelskörper,[61] sei es als endloser gegenseitiger Elementenwechsel, den Gregor Basilius' Vorstellung von einer eschatologischen Ekpyrosis gegenüberstellt.[62] Von einer „Ewigkeit" der Welt in Gregors Kosmologie lässt sich jedoch nur im Sinne einer die ganze Zeit der erschaffenen Welt umfassenden Zeitspanne sprechen.[63] Der Mensch ist jedenfalls nach Gregor diesen Kreisbewegungen nicht ganz preisgegeben, sondern kann sich – wie der Apostel Paulus – nach dem, was vor ihm liegt, ausstrecken (vgl. *Phil.* 3,13b), und damit die Grenzen der sinnlichen Natur dem Intelligiblen entgegen überschreiten.[64]

Grenzenlose Liebesbewegung zum grenzenlosen Guten (De anima et resurrectione)

Die Transzendenz des menschlichen Geistes der Sinnenwelt gegenüber ist auch im Dialog *De anima et resurrectione* von grundlegender Bedeutung.[65] Eine wichtige Rolle spielt in diesem „christlichen *Phaidon*" ebenso die Vorstellung der Seele als einer ständigen Bewegung. Die Bewegung zum unbegrenzten Guten, wie sie uns schon aus der Schrift *De hominis opificio* bekannt ist, wird hier in zwei unterschiedliche Stadien gegliedert: (1) Im irdischen Leben strebt die Menschennatur zu einem Gut, das ihr immer entgeht.

[60] Vgl. *In Hexaem.*: PG 44, 117ab.

[61] Vgl. *In Hexaem.*: PG 44, 85bc.

[62] Vgl. *In Hexaem.*: PG 44, 89bc-112d.

[63] Aufgrund einer Stelle aus *In Hexaemeron* (... *οὐκ ἐλαττουμένη, οὐ πλεονάζουσα*, PG 44, 92d) kommt E. Corsini zu dem Schluss, dass die Hauptabsicht Gregors in seiner Apologie *In Hexaemeron* eine Polemik gegen Basilius' Ekpyrosisvorstellung und die Untermauerung seiner eigenen Behauptung von Ewigkeit der Welt war (vgl. E. CORSINI, *Nouvelles perspectives sur le problème des sources de l'Hexaeméron de Grégoire de Nysse*, in: *Studia patristica* 1 = *Texte und Untersuchungen* 63, 1957, S. 94-103). Gregor polemisierte sicherlich gegen die Ekpyrosislehre seines Bruders. Weniger sicher jedoch erscheint, dass die Bewahrung der einzelnen Elemente in ihrer ursprünglichen Menge die Ewigkeit der Welt meinen müsste.

[64] Vgl. *In Hexaem.*: PG 44, 121a.

[65] Zu dieser Schrift Gregors vgl. H.M. MEISSNER, *Rhetorik und Theologie. Der Dialog Gregors von Nyssa De anima et resurrectione*, Frankturt a.M. - Bern - New York - Paris 1991.

Dies ist eine Bewegung der Sehnsucht (bzw. der Hoffnung). (2) In einer eschatologischen Liebesbewegung wird dann die Seele Gott ähnlich gemacht (der selber eine nicht zu sätigende Liebe ist), so dass sie in dem Guten wächst, an dem sie teilhat. Die Liebesbewegung hat nach Gregor keine Grenze, da einerseits das unbegrenzte Gut nie erschöpft werden kann, andererseits sich die Seelenkapazität mit der wachsenden Teilnahme am Guten vergrößert, so dass sie nie ganz erfüllt werden und zu einem gesättigten Stillstand kommen kann.[66]

Gott ist im Dialog *De anima et resurrectione* als ein grenzenloses, da von seinem Gegenteil nicht begrenztes Gut dargestellt und daher als ein „ins Grenzenlose Gehender".[67] Zugleich erkennt Gott sich selber und bezieht sich auf sich selbst als auf ein unbegrenztes Gut mit einer unerschöpflichen, nicht zu sätigenden Liebe.[68]

In dieser Idee der eschatologischen Liebesbewegung verbindet damit Gregor wahrscheinlich zum ersten Mal die Vorstellung der menschlichen Seele als einer unendlichen Bewegung mit dem Motiv der Unendlichkeit in Gott, und zwar der Unendlichkeit im Sinne eines unbegrenzten Guten. Neben die frühe, eher apophatische Vorstellung eines unfassbaren Gottes, dem man sich nur auf dem Weg eines ständigen Selbstüberschreitens nähern kann, stellt also Gregor die Idee des unbegrenzten Guten in Gott und der göttlichen wie auch menschlichen Liebe, die zu diesem Guten auf eine nicht zu sätigende Weise in Beziehung tritt. In Gott, dem alles auf

[66] Vgl. *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 89a-96a; 105a-c. Makrinas Ausführungen über die unendliche Liebesbewegung vergleicht C.P. Roth mit Diotimas Erzählung vom Aufstieg zum Schönen in Platos *Symp.* 210a-212a. Während Diotima eine kontinuierliche Bewegung des ἔρως schildert, setzt Makrina eine Diskontinuität zwischen der ἐπιθυμία- oder ἐλπίς-Bewegung einerseits und der ἀγάπη-Bewegung andererseits (vgl. C.P. ROTH, *Platonic and Pauline Elements in the Ascent of the Soul in Gregory of Nyssa's Dialogue On the Soul and Resurrection*, in: *Vigiliae Christianae*, 46, 1992, S. 20-30). Ch. Apostolopoulos versteht dagegen auch die ἀγάπη-Bewegung als ein „dionysisches" Verlangen nach dem Unbegrenzten und Unendlichen (vgl. Ch. APOSTOLOPOULOS, *Phaedo Christianus*, S. 16 f., 244 f., 268 f. und 321-366).

[67] Vgl. *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 97a.

[68] Vgl. *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 96c-97a. Die Schilderung der innergöttlichen Liebe (ἀγάπη) als einer Selbstliebe, d.h. als einer „plotinischen Autoerotik", hält Ch. Apostolopoulos für einen Beweis, dass Gregor die biblische Gottesvorstellung verlassen hat (vgl. Ch. APOSTOLOPOULOS, *Phaedo Christianus*, S. 286 f., 326 f.).

einmal gegenwärtig ist,[69] hat jedoch diese Liebe eine andere Prägung als im Menschen, in dem sie immer der Bewegung und dem Wachstum unterworfen bleibt.

Die Unendlichkeit als die Abwesenheit Endes (Contra Eunomium)

In seinem systematischen Hauptwerk, der Polemik gegen den Neuarianer Eunomius, entwickelt Gregor die Problematik der Unendlichkeit am gründlichsten. Er verbindet dabei vor allem zwei der bis jetzt herausgearbeiteten Motive: einerseits die Gegenüberstellung der diastematischen Natur des Menschen und der Adiastematizität Gottes, andererseits die Vorstellung von Gott als einem unbegrenzten Guten und der menschlichen unbegrenzten Teilnahme an ihm.

Gegen Eunomius' Behauptung, das Wesen Gottes könne voll und ausschliesslich mit dem Begriff von *Agen[n]esia* gefasst werden,[70] polemisiert Gregor (in Anknüpfung an seinen Bruder Basilius, der die Kontroverse eröffnete und schon vor Gregor austrug[71]) vor allem in drei Punkten: Er leugnet, (1) dass irgendein Wort der menschlichen Sprache das Wesen Gottes fassen könne; (2) dass überhaupt die menschlichen Worte das Wesen der Dinge auszudrücken vermögen; (3) dass die *Agen[n]esia* der adäquateste Gottesname sei. Die nähere Ausarbeitung dieser drei Punkte ermöglicht ein tieferes Verständnis (1) der Unfassbarkeit Gottes für das menschliche Denken und Sprechen; (2) der Theorie des menschlichen Sprechens, besonders des Sprechens von Gott,[72] und (3) der Unendlichkeit Gottes.

[69] Vgl. *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 92c-93b.

[70] Vgl. Eunomius, *Apol.* 8: R.P. VAGGIONE, *Eunomius, The Extant Works. Text and Translation*, Oxford 1987, 42,17 f.; 58,16 ff.; Gregors Paraphrasierungen *C. Eun.* II,21; II,23; II,62: GNO I, 232,29 f.; 233,11-17; 244,1 f.

[71] Vgl. Basils Ἀνατρεπτικός oder *Adversus Eunomium*, hg.v. B. SESBOÜÉ - G.M. DURAND - L. DOUTRELEAU, *Basile de Césarée, Contre Eunome*, SC 299 und 305, Paris 1982-1983. S. dazu M.V. ANASTOS, *Basil's Κατὰ Εὐνομίου. A Critical Analysis*, in: P.J. FEDWICK (Hg.), *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic. A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium*, Toronto 1981, S. 66-136.

[72] Zu dem sprachtheoretischen Aspekt der ganzen Polemik vgl. Th. KOBUSCH, *Name und Sein. Zu den sprachlichphilosophischen Grundlagen in der Schrift Contra Eunomium des Gregor von Nyssa*, in: L. F. MATEO-SECO - J. L. BASTERO (Hg.), *El „Contra Eunomium I" en la producción literaria de Gregorio de Nisa* (VI Coloquio Internacional sobre Gregorio de Nisa), Pamplona 1988, S. 247-268; G.C. STEAD, *Logic and the Application of Names to God*, ibid., S. 303-320; A. VICIANO, *Algunas leyes lógicas del lenguaje, según Gregorio de Nisa: A propósito*

(1) Wie wir schon aus Gregors Homilien *In Ecclesiasten* wissen, kann das unbegrenzte und dimensionslose Wesen Gottes unmöglich durch das diastematische Denken des Menschen erfasst und durch seine Sprache bestimmt werden. Diese Lehre entwickelt Gregor nun weiter. Zwischen der ungeschaffenen Gottheit und dem erschaffenen Geist gibt es eine „riesige Entfernung, die nicht durchschritten werden kann",[73] eine Art Intervall der Differenz, die das eine vom anderen unterscheidet und trennt. Durch dieses Intervall der Andersheit wird dabei keineswegs Gott bestimmt, dem jede Diastematizität fern bleibt; es wird dadurch jedoch die Schöpfung bestimmt, die dieses Intervall in ihrer Konstitution selbst trägt: die Schöpfung ist nämlich *das* Diastema der Andersheit in Bezug auf die unerschaffene Gottheit. Aus dieser grundlegenden diastematischen Prägung ergibt sich, dass die Schöpfung als Ganzes und auch jedes Einzelne als eine Art ontologisches Diastema aufgefasst werden kann, d.h. es ist durch seine Grenzen bestimmt und differenziert. Die Diastematizität bringt jedoch auch eine Ausdehnung in der Zeit mit sich: das Intervall der Schöpfung wird nicht auf einmal, sondern in einem Prozess verwirklicht. Schließlich – und dieses Moment wird nur nebenbei erwähnt – wird die diastematische Schöpfung auch räumlich ausgedehnt. Die zeitliche und räumliche Diastematizität ist jedenfalls nur eine Art sekundäre Auswirkung des konstitutiven Intervalls der Andersheit, das die Identität und Differenz – d.h. die gegenseitige Unterschiedlichkeit der geschaffenen Dinge – entstehen lässt.[74] Der diastematische Charakter, der die ganze Schöpfung auszeichnet, eignet auch dem geschaffenen Geist des Menschen, des Engels und des Dämons: auch der geschaffene Geist hat nämlich einen Anfang, wenn auch vielleicht kein Ende.[75]

Wie wir ebenfalls aus den Homilien *In Ecclesiasten* wissen, kann der menschliche Geist seinem diastematischen Charakter nicht einmal in seiner Erkenntnis entgehen: alles, was er erkennt, erkennt er immer in einem Verlauf, auf die Art eines Diastemas und von einer

de dos pasajes de „Contra Eunomium I", ibid., S. 321-327. K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Die Sprache*; ders., *Die Sprachtheorie des Eunomios von Kyzikos und Severianos von Gabala. Theologie im Reflex kirchlicher Predigt*, in: *Studia patristica*, 24, 1993, str. 336-344.

[73] Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,69: GNO I, 246,14 f.

[74] Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,69-70; I,168: GNO I, 246; 77,7-13.

[75] Vgl. *C. Eun.* III,6,73: GNO II, 211,28 - 212,1.

Perspektive aus. Deswegen kann seine Erkenntnis der adiastematischen Gottheit, in der kein Verlauf, keine Ausdehnung und keine Perspektive ist, nie adäquat sein.[76]

(2) Dies alles führt Gregor jedoch nicht dazu, eine „Technologie" der apophatischen Theologie auszuarbeiten, wie es seine arianischen Kollegen taten,[77] oder in einer bloßen Sigetik Zuflucht zu suchen. Anders als Eunomius glaubt Gregor zwar nicht, dass die Worte göttlichen Ursprungs seien und daher das Wesen der Dinge fassen können,[78] zugleich will er aber auch nicht die Wichtigkeit der Worte – als eines typisch menschlichen Mittels zum Erfassen der Wirklichkeit[79] – für die menschliche Erkenntnis und die menschliche Kultur aufgeben.[80] Auch die Versuche, Gott zu benennen, haben nach Gregor für den Menschen eine unverzichtbare Bedeutung, wobei ihre Tragweite jedoch nicht überschätzt werden darf: Sie können nämlich den unbegreiflichen Gott nie in seinem Wesen fassen, sondern höchstens die menschliche Gotteserfahrung, d.h. Gottes Wirken beschreiben.[81] Die Diskrepanz zwischen dem diastematischen Charakter der menschlichen Erkenntnis, die immer eine Perspektive wählen muss, und der Adiastematizität der Gottheit, in der eine gleichzeitige Fülle von allem, d.h. keine Perspektive ist, versucht Gregor durch die Forderung nach Gleichzeitigkeit mehrerer Perspektiven und Aussageweisen zu mildern. Eine Aussage muss immer durch andere Aussagen relativiert und ergänzt werden, soll der Mensch der unaussprechlichen Gottheit überhaupt nur nahekommen.[82]

(3) Nicht einmal die Aussage der *Agen[n]esia* kann das Wesen Gottes ganz fassen, besonders nicht in der Ausschließlichkeit, die ihr Eunomius zuschreibt. Schon Basilius bemerkte, dass die *Agen[n]esia* nur aus der Perspektive des fehlenden Anfangs von der Gottheit spricht; diese Perspektive müsste durch eine andere ergänzt werden, nämlich durch die Perspektive des fehlenden

[76] Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,458-459; II,469; I,364: GNO I, 360 f.; 363; 134.

[77] Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,563; II,580: GNO I, 391,9 ff.; 395,25 f.

[78] Vgl. Eunomius, *Apol.* 12: VAGGIONE 46,7 f.; Gregors Paraphrasierung *C Eun.* II,196; 269: GNO I, 282,5 ff.; 305,7.

[79] Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,125; II,237; II,148; II,402: GNO I, 262,22 ff.; 295,23-27 268,18 ff.; 343,25 - 344,3.

[80] Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,181-182: GNO I, 277,7-26.

[81] Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,149: GNO I, 268, 27 ff.

[82] Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,144-145; II,475-476: GNO I, 267; 365.

Endes, d.h. der Unsterblichkeit[83] oder der Unabgeschlossenheit.[84] Eine solche „Spaltung der Ewigkeit" ist sicherlich ein Anthropomorphismus, wie Eunomius dazu spöttisch bemerkt:[85] Es ist nämlich eine menschliche, diastematische Sicht der Ewigkeit Gottes, die sich der Mensch nicht anders als im Sinne eines unendlichen Zeitverlaufs vorstellen kann, d.h. im Sinne einer unendlichen Vergangenheit und einer unendlichen Zukunft.[86]

Die Einbeziehung des fehlenden Endes ist für Gregor jedoch nicht nur eine angebrachte Vermehrung der Perspektiven oder eine Bereicherung des theologischen Diskurses, sondern sie hat im Rahmen seiner Polemik gegen Eunomius zugleich zwei spezifische Vorteile: (a) Es ist einerseits eine Aussage, die auf alle drei göttlichen Hypostasen in gleichem Maße zutrifft (anders als die *Agen[n]esia*, die vom Sohn nicht ohne weiteres ausgesagt werden kann), (b) andererseits ist es eine Aussage, die den wesentlich in die Zukunft orientierten Menschen zutiefst angeht.

(a) Die *Agen[n]esia* (Ungewordenheit, Ungeborenheit) ist (im Griechischen vor dem arianischen Streit) ein Begriff, der vom Gesichtspunkt der nikaischen Orthodoxie her doppeldeutig erscheint: Er kann und er kann zugleich nicht vom göttlichen Logos als der zweiten Hypostase der Gottheit ausgesagt werden, denn der göttliche Logos ist zwar ungeworden (d.h. ungeschaffen), zugleich aber aus der ersten Hypostase geboren (gezeugt).[87] Daher ist dieser Begriff als eine Aussage über Gott nach Gregor nicht geeignet. Gregor sucht deswegen einen anderen Begriff, der von allen drei göttlichen Hypostasen gleichermaßen ausgesagt werden könnte, und er findet ihn gerade im Begriff der göttlichen Unendlichkeit. Dazu entwickelt er folgende gedankliche Linie: Gott ist über das Gebiet des Gegensätzlichen erhoben, er ist vollkommen gut und

[83] Vgl. Basilius, *Adv. Eun.* I,7: SC 299, 192. Bei Gregor *C. Eun.* II,446: GNO I, 356,30 - 357,7.

[84] Vgl. Basilius, *Adv. Eun.* I,16: SC 299, 228,5.

[85] Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,457: GNO I, 360,3 f.

[86] Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,459: GNO I, 360 f.

[87] Die beiden Begriffe γενητός = entstanden, erschaffen (von γί[γ]νεσθαι) und γεννητός = gezeugt (von γεννᾶσθαι) wurden im Griechschen vor dem arianischen Streit des 4. Jh. mehr oder weniger synonym benutzt, vgl. dazu P. STIEGELE, *Der Agennesiebegriff in der griechischen Theologie des vierten Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der trinitarischen Terminologie*, Freiburg i.B. 1913, S. 1-24.

unveränderlich, seine Güte ist daher unbegrenzt;[88] Gott ist zugleich vollkommen einfach, er hat nicht nur Anteil am Guten, sondern er ist unbegrenzt gut in seinem Wesen selbst;[89] daher ist Gott unbegrenzt, d.h. unendlich durch sein Wesen selbst.[90] Diese Überlegung gilt (aufgrund der Orthodoxie des vierten christlichen Jahrhunderts) für alle drei göttlichen Hypostasen: Von allen dreien kann die Unendlichkeit ausgesagt werden. Die Unendlichkeit lässt jedoch – so meint mindestens Gregor – keine Stufung zu, daher sind alle drei Hypostasen einander gleich.[91]

Es stellt sich vielleicht die Frage, warum Gregor als Schüsselaussage von der Gottheit gerade die „Unendlichkeit" gewählt hat, und nicht eher z.B. die „vollkommene Güte", die sich ebenso von allen drei Hypostasen in Gott aussagen lässt und die die eigentliche Grundlage seiner Ausführungen bildet. Dafür lassen sich wohl mehrere Gründe finden. Die „vollkommene Güte" muss nämlich nicht unbedingt jede Stufung ausschließen: etwas kann im Rahmen seiner Grenzen vollkommen gut sein, und dabei doch hinter der Fülle der Güte zurückbleiben (man erinnere sich an Gregors Beispiel von der maximal vollen Kapazität der Lunge, die trotzdem nie die gesamte Luft aufnehmen kann[92]). Die Ausführungen Gregors müssten daher eher von einer „vollkommenen Güte" (einer Gesamtheit der Güte) ausgehen. Die negative Aussage einer „unbegrenzten Güte", mit der Gregor arbeitet, hat jedoch den Vorteil, dass sie nie übertroffen und zugleich auch mehrmals widerspruchsfrei ausgesagt werden kann. Der Übergang von einer „unbegrenzten Güte" zur „Unbegrenztheit" bzw. „Unendlichkeit" ist einerseits durch die Voraussetzung der Einfachheit Gottes, andererseits durch Gregors Überzeugung ermöglicht, dass nur das Gute unbegrenzt bzw. unendlich ist, während das Böse notwendig ins Gute umschlägt, wenn es auf die Grenzen seines vollen Maßes stößt.[93]

[88] Vgl. *C. Eun.* I,167-170: GNO I, 77.

[89] Vgl. *C. Eun.* I,233-235: GNO I, 95.

[90] Vgl. *C. Eun.* III,1,104: GNO II, 38,24 ff. Vgl. dazu E. MÜHLENBERG, *Die Unendlichkeit*, S. 118-126 und 133 f. und die Kritik durch W. ULLMANN, *Der logische und der theologische Sinn.*

[91] Vgl. *C. Eun.* I,167-170; I,236; III,2,20: GNO I, 77; 96,2 ff.; II, 58,22 f.; *Refut.* 31: GNO II, 324,15-21. Vgl. dazu W. ULLMANN, *Der logische und der theologische Sinn*, S. 160 f. (und die Korrekturen durch Th. BÖHM, *Theoria*, S. 131 ff.).

[92] Vgl. *De beat.* 7: GNO VII/2, 150,12-20.

[93] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 21: PG 44, 201bc.

Eine gewisse Rolle kann auch das apophatische Motiv spielen, das in der Aussage der „Unendlichkeit" Gottes mitklingt. Die Unendlichkeit bzw. Unbegrenztheit (das Fehlen von Grenzen), ist der letzte Grund der Unfassbarkeit Gottes, die Gregor schon in seinen Frühschriften hervorhob und die ihm auch in seiner Polemik gegen Eunomius wichtig ist. In der letztgenannten Polemik betont Gregor ausdrücklich, dass die einzig mögliche Gotteserkenntnis nur ein ständiges Verlassen aller je gefundenen Gottesvorstellungen und -begriffe sein kann.[94] Wie jedoch Gregor selber sagt, hatte er bei der Wahl des Unendlichkeitsbegriffes noch etwas anderes vor Augen.

(b) Die „Unendlichkeit" als fehlendes Ende ist nämlich etwas besonders Wertvolles für den Menschen als ein in die Zukunft orientiertes Wesen.[95] Wegen dieser Orientierung in die Zukunft kommt für die diastematische menschliche Erkenntnis die adiastematische Ewigkeit Gottes ohne Anfang und Ende vor allem als fehlendes Ende in den Blick. Gott umfasst zwar die gesamte Weltzeit, sein unbegrenztes Gut überschreitet jedoch besonders auch jeden Schritt nach vorne, den der Mensch ihm entgegen machen kann. Daher entgeht Gott jedem menschlichen Versuch ihn zu fassen, und zugleich führt er den Menschen unbegrenzt nach vorne, d.h. in die Zukunft, in die Richtung der Orientierung des Menschen als eines diastematischen Wesens.

In Gregors Polemik gegen Eunomius können wir damit insgesamt drei Bedeutungsebenen Unbegrenztheits- bzw. Unendlichkeitsbegriffes unterscheiden: (1) das Fehlen einer Umgrenzung, was die Unfassbarkeit impliziert; (2) die adiastematische Ewigkeit Gottes; (3) die diastematische Ewigkeit, die eine Art Verlauf darstellt und die dem geschaffenen Geist und allem von ihm Erkannten eignet: auch Gott, wie ihn der geschaffene Geist erkennt (z.B. die Unendlichkeit als unbegrenzte Güte oder Fehlen eines Endes).

Epektasis als Beziehung (Vita Moysis, In Canticum)

In seinem wohl bekanntesten und schönsten Werk, der *Vita Moysis*, das sich den Themen der christlichen Spiritualität zuwendet, knüpft Gregor einerseits an die apophatisch-epektatischen

Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,89-91: GNO I, 253.
Vgl. *C. Eun.* I,673: GNO I, 220.

Motive seiner Frühwerke an, andererseits kann er den präziseren Unendlichkeitsbegriff fruchtbar machen, den er inzwischen in seiner Polemik gegen Eunomius herausarbeitete. Er greift jedoch nur auf einen Teil dieser gegen die Neuarianer entwickelten Argumentation zurück.

Der Schlüsselbegriff der ganzen Schrift ist die Tugend, in der die Unendlichkeitsauffassung Gregors zum Ausdruck kommt. Anders als alle anderen Dinge findet die Tugend ihre Vollkommenheit nicht in ihren Grenzen, sondern umgekehrt im Fehlen jeglicher Begrenzung: Es ist die Grenze der Tugend, dass sie keine Grenze hat.[96] Die Unbegrenztheit eignet jedoch für Gregor, wie wir schon wissen, nur dem Guten, das letztlich Gott selber ist. Die vollkommene Tugend ohne jede Grenze ist auch tatsächlich nur Gott selbst.[97] Der Mensch mit seinem diastematischen Charakter kann sich dieser Vollkommenheit nur auf dem Weg eines ständigen Überschreitens von allem schon Erreichten nähern, in der Epektasis. Gregor zeigt dies sehr deutlich in der Folge von drei Theophanien, die Mose geschenkt werden: Im Licht des brennenden Dornbusches offenbart sich Gott als das wahre Sein;[98] die Finsternis von Sinai gibt kund, dass Gott nur im Nichtsehen gesehen werden kann;[99] die Theophanie im Felsenspalt soll letztlich andeuten, dass Gott nur im ständigen Verlassen des schon Erreichten, im ständigen, nie völlig zu stillenden Hunger erfahren werden kann.[100] Der adiastematischen Unendlichkeit Gottes kann

[96] Vgl. *Vita Moysis* I: GNO VII/1, 3,12 ff.; 4,17 f. Zu der einführenden Passage der ganzen Schrift vgl. T. BÖHM, *Theoria*, S. 27-66.

[97] Vgl. *Vita Moysis* I: GNO VII/1, 4,11 f.

[98] Vgl. *Vita Moysis* II: GNO VII/1, 38-41. Eine Interpretation dieser Theophanie als einer „Photagogie" bringt Th. BÖHM, *Theoria*, S. 237-247.

[99] Vgl. *Vita Moysis* II: GNO VII/1, 86 f. L.F. MATEO-SECO erklärt daher das „Sehen Gottes von Angesicht zu Angesicht" als ein Verständnis, dass Gott nicht begriffen werden kann (vgl. L.F. MATEO-SECO, *1 Cor 13,12 in Gregory of Nyssa's Theological Thinking*, in: *Studia patristica*, 32, 1997, S. 157 [153-162]). Th. Böhm interpretiert die Saini-Theophanie als eine fortschreitende ἀφαίρεσις (vgl. Th. BÖHM, *Theoria*, S. 248-255). Zum Motiv der Finsternis (γνόφος) vgl. Y. DE ANDIA, *Henosis. L'union à Dieu chez Denys l'Aréopagite*, Leiden 1996, S. 334-337.

[100] Vgl. *Vita Moysis* II: GNO VII/1, 113-118. In den drei Theophanien lässt sich eine spirituelle Entwicklung beobachten vom urpsrunglichen Licht zum „Sehen im Nichtsehen" und letztlich zur Erkenntnis, dass das Sehen Gottes heisst: „nie satt zu werden des Verlangens ihn zu sehen" (vgl. E. FERGUSON, *Progress in Perfection: Gregory of Nyssa's Vita Moysis*, in: *Studia patristica*, 14 = *Texte*

sich nämlich ein diastematisches Wesen nur in einem Verlauf ohne Ende nähern.

Der Schluss des Werkes, wo Mose als der „nächste Diener“ [101] und als „Freund“ Gottes [102] vorgestellt wird, sprengt scheinbar den Rahmen der ganzen Schrift. Vielleicht darf diese Stelle so begriffen werden, dass Gregor hier die vollkommene Tugend des Menschen, diesen unendlichen Prozess, als eine endlose, unerschöpfliche *Beziehung* des Menschen zu Gott darlegt, die wegen der bleibenden Differenz des Menschlichen vom Göttlichen nie ein Ende oder eine volle Sättigung erreicht. Das Diastema der Andersheit, welches das Geschaffene vom Ungeschaffenen trennt, ermöglicht zugleich eine Beziehung zwischen beiden, die nie durch ein Zusammenfließen „gesättigt“ wird.

Dieses Motiv wird von Gregor auch dort deutlich hervorgehoben, wo es vielleicht am wenigsten zu erwarten wäre, nämlich in der erotischen Metaphorik seiner Predigten *In Canticum*, die der *Vita Moysis* zeitlich wie auch inhaltlich nahekommen. [103] Gregor konzentriert sich hier nicht so sehr auf die Hochzeitsverbindung des Bräutigams Logos mit der Braut Seele, sondern versteht vielmehr das ganze *Hohelied* als eine Schilderung des Weges, [104] auf dem die Braut ihren Bräutigam sucht: sie findet ihn jedoch nur darin, dass er ihr immer entgeht. [105] Gregor spricht in diesem Zusammenhang vom „Finden“ bzw. „Ergreifen durch den Glauben“: *dass* Gott ist, kann nur darin erkannt werden, dass wir nie erkennen können, *was* er ist. [106]

und Untersuchungen, 117, 1976, S. 311 [307-319]). Auf einen „Fortschritt“ von der zweiten zur dritten Theophanie macht auch J. Daniélou aufmerksam (vgl. SC 1 ter, S. 271, Anm. 2), der auf den drei Stadien des spirituellen Weges schon seine Frühschrift *Platonisme* aufbaut.

[101] Vgl. *Vita Moysis* II: GNO VII/1, 141,11.

[102] Vgl. *Vita Moysis* II: GNO VII/1, 144,7.

[103] Vgl. dazu F. DÜNZL, *Gregor von Nyssa's Homilien zum Canticum auf dem Hintergrund seiner Vita Moysis*, in: *Vigiliae Christianae*, 44, 1990, S. 371-381. Zu der ganzen Schrift s. ders., *Braut und Bräutigam. Die Auslegung des Canticum durch Gregor von Nyssa*, Tübingen 1993.

[104] Zu Gregors Interpretation des *Hohenliedes* als eines kontinuierlichen spirituellen Weges vgl. F. DÜNZL, *Die Canticum-Exegese des Gregor von Nyssa und des Origenes im Vergleich*, in: *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 36, 1993, S. 94-109.

[105] Vgl. *In Cant.* 6: GNO V 181,13-16.

[106] Vgl. *In Cant.* 6: GNO V 183,1 ff.

Ähnlich wie in seinen früheren exegetischen Schriften unterwirft Gregor auch das *Hohelied* einem einheitlichen Szenario der spirituellen Anabasis, die sich in mehrere Einzelschritte gliedert und in der das Erreichen der einen Stufe den Anfang der anderen bedeutet.[107] Die Metaphern von Liebe[108] und Trunkenheit[109] ermöglichen Gregor die ganze Dialektik der Sehnsucht und Sättigung neu zu entwickeln: die Sehnsucht der Seele wächst mit jeder Sättigung,[110] da sich ihre Kapazität mit jedem Erreichen vergrößert. Die Seele wird nämlich auf ihrem Weg zum Guten, das immer größer ist als sie selbst, ständig „neu erschaffen",[111] d.h. sie berührt immer wieder das Diastema der Andersheit zwischen dem Geschaffenen und dem Ungeschaffenen, wie groß auch immer ihre Teilnahme am Ungeschaffenen, dem unbegrenzten Gut, sein mag. Diese Bewegung dauert nach Gregor ausdrücklich „die ganze Ewigkeit der Zeitalter",[112] d.h. das ganze unendliche Diastema des menschlichen Lebens.

In beiden seinen Hochwerken zur christlichen Spiritualität, der *Vita Moysis* und den Predigten *In Canticum*, kehrt Gregor somit zu den epektatischen Motiven seiner Jugend zurück: er schildert wieder die spirituelle Anabasis, welche die Unendlichkeit des ständigen Überschreitens von allem je Erreichten beinhaltet, er polemisiert wieder gegen die Sättigung durch die Tugend oder das Gute, die ein definitives Verharren ermöglichen würde, er hebt wieder die Unfassbarkeit des Gesuchten hervor, das nur durch das Suchen selbst gefunden werden kann. Die Erörterung des diastematischen Charakters des Menschen und der adiastematischen Unendlichkeit Gottes in den Homilien *In Ecclesiasten* und in der Polemik gegen Eunomius, wie auch die Auffassung des menschlichen Lebens als einer unbegrenzten Liebesbewegung zu einem unbegrenzten Guten, die im Dialog *De anima et resurrectione* und noch gründlicher in den Büchern gegen Eunomius erörtert wurde, lassen jedoch die ursprüngliche spirituelle Intuition zu einem durchdachten Konzept reifen.

[107] Vgl. *In Cant.* 6: GNO VI, 177,19 - 178,1.
[108] Vgl. z.B. *In Cant.* 4: GNO VI, 120,16 f.
[109] Vgl. *In Cant.* 5; 10: GNO VI, 156,18; 310,4.
[110] Vgl. *In Cant.* 5: GNO VI, 159,7 ff.
[111] Vgl. *In Cant.* 6: GNO VI, 174,8-11.
[112] Vgl. *In Cant.* 8: GNO VI, 246,1-5.

Abschließend möchte ich auf drei Themen aufmerksam machen, die in Gregors Vorstellung von der Unendlichkeit Gottes und dem unendlichen Weg des Menschen nicht völlig geklärt erscheinen. Nach einigen Gregor-Forschern haben sie alle eine direkte oder indirekte polemische Beziehung zu dem großen alexandrinischen Vorgänger Gregors, Origenes, dessen Lektüre bei Gregor vorausgesetzt werden kann. Es sind dies (1) die Polemik gegen die Sättigung der Seele, (2) die Frage nach dem Selbstbezug im unendlichen Gott und (3) der endlose eschatologische Weg des Menschen.

Die Polemik gegen das Sättigungskonzept

Die Polemik gegen die Sätting der Seele durch die Tugend bzw. das Gute findet sich in allen Werken Gregors von der Schrift *De beatutidinibus* bis zu den Predigten *In Canticum*. Im Dialog *De anima et resurrectione* leugnet Gregor ausdrücklich sogar die Sättigung der reflexiven Liebe in Gott selber. Der Epektasis-Gedanke, den Gregor als Alternative zum Sättigungskonzept ausführt, wird höchstwahrscheinlich weitgehend aus dieser Polemik gespeist. Weniger klar bleibt jedoch die eigentliche Motivation der Polemik.

Endre von Ivánka war der Meinung, dass der Anlass der Polemik Gregors die Vorstellung des Origenes von der ursprünglichen Sättigung der Seele durch die Kontemplation war, welche die Entwicklung und die zyklische Wiederholung des kosmischen Prozesses zur Folge hat.[113] (In den Anathemen gegen Origenes aus dem sechsten Jahrhundert finden wir tatsächlich die Vorstellung, dass die Seele „der göttlichen Kontemplation satt war"[114] und daher fiel; Rufins Übertragung der gemeinten Origenes-Stelle spricht von einer „Sättigung durch das Gute".[115])

Dagegen können jedoch zwei Einwendungen gemacht werden: Einerseits ist es zumindest unsicher, ob Origenes die „Sättigung der Seele" tatsächlich in diesem Sinne verstanden hat (wie Marguerite

[113] Vgl. Origenes, *De princ.* I,3,8; II,9,2: SC 252, 164,317 und 322; 354,43 ff. Dazu E. VON IVÁNKA, *Hellenistisches und Christliches im frühbyzantinischen Geistesleben*, Wien 1948, S. 49 ff.; ders., *Plato Christianus. Übernahme und Umgestaltung des Platonismus durch die Väter*, Einsiedeln 1964, S. 183 ff.

[114] ... κόρον δὲ λαβούσας τῆς θείας θεωρίας (*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, hg.v. E. SCHWARZ, III, S. 213,14).

[115] Vgl. *De princ.* I,3,8: 252, 164,317.

Harl ausführt[116]). Andererseits kannte Origenes selber die Vorstellung eines endlosen Weges der Seele, die der Epektasis Gregors sehr nahe kommt (vgl. die Arbeit von Ronald E. Heine[117]). Wenn wir den Gedanken Origenes' (nur in Rufins Übertragung erhalten) genau lesen, können wir sehen, dass Origenes von einem Fall der Seele spricht, der *nach und nach* vor sich geht und durch die Sättigung (*satietas*) verursacht wird, deren Äquivalent auch das „Versäumnis" (*neglegentia*) sein kann.[118] Origenes will dadurch jedoch nicht die zyklische Wiederholung des Kosmos erklären, sondern die Seele zu einer immer wachsenden und nie aufhörenden, unersättlichen Sehnsucht ermuntern.[119] Dieser Gedanke des Origenes entspricht also inhaltlich durchaus Gregors Epektasis-Vorstellung! Auch die späteren antiorigenistischen Anathemata verurteilen wohl nicht so sehr die Vorstellung eines saturierten Versäumens seitens der Seele als Ursache ihres Falls, sondern vielmehr überhaupt den Gedanken einer ursprünglichen körperlosen Existenz der Seelen (φυχάς), die erst durch ihr „Erkalten (ἀποψυγείσας) in der Gottesliebe" in die Körper fielen.[120]

[116] Vgl. M. HARL, *Recherches sur l'origénisme d'Origène: la satiété (κόρος) de la contemplation comme motif de la chute des âmes*, in: *Studia patristica*, 8, 1966, S. 373-405.

[117] Vgl. R.E. HEINE, *Perfection*, S. 244-247 (der Verfasser macht v.a. auf folgende Origenes-Stellen aufmerksam: *In Ier. hom.* 13,3; 18,8: GCS, Origenes III, 104,28-105,11; 161,29-162,6; *In Num. hom.* 17,4: GCS, Origenes VII, 159,21-160,26). Ähnlich auch M. HARL, *Recherches*, S. 397.

[118] *Si autem aliquando satietas cepit aliquem ex his, qui in summo perfectoque constiterunt gradu, non arbitror quod ad subitum quis euacuetur ac decidat, sed paulatim et per partes defluere eum necesse est (ita ut fieri possit interdum, si breuis aliquis lapsus acciderit, ut cito resipiscat atque in se reuertatur), non penitus ruere, sed reuocare pedem et redire ad statum suum ac rursum statuere posse id, quod per neglegentiam fuerat elapsum* (*De princ.* I,3,8: SC 252, 164,322-329). Ein „Versäumnis" (ἀμέλεια) als Ursache der Sünde führt Origenes auch z.B. in *De princ.* III,1,13: SC 268, 78,367 an. Eine Sättigung durch das Gute, die sich ins Böse wendet, kennt allerdings auch Philo, vgl. *Quis rer. div. her.* 240; *De poster.* 145; *De Abr.* 134 f.

[119] ... *ita perdurare debemus, ut nulla umquam nos boni illius satietas capiat, sed quanto magis de illa beatitudine percipimus, tanto magis in nobis uel dilatetur eius desiderium uel augeatur, dum semper ardentius et capacius patrem et filium ac spiritum sanctum uel capimur uel tenemus* (*De princ.* I,3,8: SC 252, 164,316-321).

[120] Vgl. das Edikt Justinians gegen den Origenismus aus dem Jahre 542 (*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, hg.v. E. SCHWARZ, III, S. 213,13-16).

Marguerite Harl setzt voraus, dass es wahrscheinlich die Neuplatoniker waren, die dem „Sättigungs"-Begriff die Tragweite eines „Fachbegriffes" verliehen und ihn damit für Gregor unannehmbar machten.[121] Auch Thomas Böhm erinnert an die neuplatonische Anwendung dieses Begriffes, die mit Gregors Idee einer unstillbaren Sehnsucht nicht zu verbinden ist.[122] Es scheint daher vielversprechend, sich mit Plotins Begriff der „Fülle" genauer auseinanderzusetzen, dessen Abhandlungen Gregor zum Teil kannte.[123]

Im Platos Dialog *Kratylos* finden wir eine allegorisierende Etymologisierung der drei Generationen der männlichen Hauptgötter der hesiodischen Kosmogonie: Uranos, Kronos und Zeus. Kronos, der verschlingt und in sich behält, was er erzeugte, wird hier als κόρος („Sattheit" oder auch „Reinheit" des Geistes[124]) dargestellt. Plotin interpretiert diesen mythologisierenden Gedanken im Sinne der drei Hypostasen seines Universums: Kronos entspricht dabei dem aus dem Einen emanierenden Intellekt (νοῦς), aus dem wiederum die Weltseele hervorgeht.[125] Der Intellekt umfasst in sich selbst, in einer vollkommenen inneren Fülle,[126] die Gesamtheit der Ideen.[127] Diese vollkommen „satte" Introspektion des Denkens ist jedoch nur eines der beiden Momente des plotinischen Intellekts. Den anderen bildet seine Liebe zum Einen (νοῦς ἐρῶν), in der der Intellekt, „vom Nektar betrunken", d.h. „durch die Sättigung bis zur Glückseligkeit geeint" (ἁπλωθεὶς εἰς εὐπάθειαν τῷ κόρῳ), das Denken verlässt, um nur noch das Eine zu lieben und zu schauen (ἐκεῖνον βλέπειν) und damit auch selbst das Eine zu werden (ἕν ἐστι).[128]

Ein weiterer Prototyp der „Sättigung" als einer vom außen kommenden Erfüllung (der Trunkenheit mit göttlichem Nektar) auf dem Niveau des menschlichen Geistes (λόγος) ist für Plotin noch

[121] Vgl. M. HARL, *Recherches*, S. 400.

[122] Vgl. Th. BÖHM, *Theoria*, S. 256-264.

[123] Vgl. oben, Anm. 8.

[124] Vgl. Plato, *Crat.* 396b. Zu dieser zweiten Bedeutung, die in der pythagoreischen Mystik der kosmischen Rhythmen gründet, s. P. BOYANCÉ, *La „doctrine d'Euthyphron" dans le „Cratyle"*, in: *Revue des Études Grecques*, 54, 1941, S. 156 ff. [141-175].

[125] Vgl. Plotin, *Enn.* V,1[10],7,27-48; III,8[30],11,38-42; V,8[31],13,1-10.

[126] Vgl. Plotin, *Enn.* III,5[50],9,18; V,9[5],8,8 f.

[127] Vgl. Plotin, *Enn.* V,1[10],4,10-13.

[128] Vgl. Plotin, *Enn.* VI,7[38],35,19-30. S. dazu P. HADOT, Einführung zu *Plotin, Traité 50 (III,5)*, Paris 1990, S. 78 f.

eine andere Gestalt der platonischen Mythologie, nämlich Poros aus dem *Symposion*, der bei der Feier der Geburt Aphrodites vom Nektar betrunken wurde und einschlief, um mit Penia (der Armut) den Eros zu zeugen.[129] Plotin verbindet dieses Motiv mit dem Mythos vom Fall der Seele im *Phaidros*[130] und schildert, wie einige Seelen bei der Kontemplation der Schönheit diese Fülle oder Trunkeinheit nicht ertragen können und sich abwenden.[131]

Ich will nicht behaupten, dass Gregor alle diese Stellen vor Augen hatte und bewusst gegen Plotin polemisierte. Ich halte es jedoch für wichtig, die Tragweite und die Implikationen des „Sättigungs"-Begriffes zu bedenken, die für den Epektasis-Gedanken entscheidend zu sein scheinen.

Wenn wir das Umfeld dieser Fragestellung wieder von der Systematik Gregors her betrachten, springt ins Auge, dass er die Epektasis nicht mit einer *anfänglichen*, den Urfall mit sich bringenden Sättigung der Seele kontrastiert, sondern vielmehr mit einer *auf das Ende bezogenen* Sättigung, die eine definitive Vollendung des ganzen Weges bedeuten würde, d.h. also mit der plotinischen „Sättigung" oder „Trunkenheit" des Intellekts, der das Denken überschreitet und an die Einheit rührt.[132] Die „Sättigung", der die Epektasis Gregors entgegengesetzt wird, muss damit nicht eine wiederholte Rückkehr des Anfangs und einen wiederholten Fall darstellen (Gregor polemisiert zwar gegen Origenes' Vorstellung von Präexistenz und Seelenwanderung, das Eingehen auf die Idee einer wiederholten Sättigung fehlt jedoch völlig in dieser Polemik[133]), sondern wohl eher die Überwindung der Differenz zwischen der diastematischen Seele und der adiastematischen Gottheit in einem letztendlichen Zusammenfließen.

Es stellt sich noch die Frage, was Gregor mit seiner Ablehnung der vollen Sattheit in Gott selbst meint, wie wir sie in seinem „christlichen *Phaidon*" finden.[134] Will er vielleicht nur sagen, dass

[129] Vgl. Plato, *Symp.* 203bc. Plotin behandelt den Eros in *Enn.* III,5[50]. Zu Poros' Betrunkenheit vgl. III,5[50],9; dazu s. P. HADOT, Einführung zu *Plotin, Traité 50 (III,5)*, S. 70-81.

[130] Vgl. Plato, *Phaedr.* 246d-248c.

[131] Vgl. Plotin, *Enn.* V,8[31],10,7 ff. und 33.

[132] Vgl. Plotin, *Enn.* VI,7[38],35,19-30.

[133] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 28: PG 44, 229bc; 232a-233c; *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 109b-121a.

[134] Vgl. *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 96c.

Gott, der in seiner Liebe zu sich selbst in Beziehung steht, nie von sich selbst „genug" hat im Sinne eines Überdrusses? Diese Frage führt uns jedoch schon zu unserem nächsten Thema.

Reflexivität in Gott

Auch in der Frage, ob sich Gott selbst begreifen könne, ordnen einige Forscher Gregor und Origenes gegensätzlichen Richtungen zu.[135] Nach der Liste der Anklagen des Kaisers Justinian gegen die Origenisten behauptete Origenes: „Wenn die Macht Gottes unendlich wäre, könnte sie sich nicht denken, da das Unendliche in seiner Natur unbegreiflich ist."[136] Vor diesem Gedanken, falls ihn Origenes tatsächlich so formulierte, erschrak schon sein Übersetzer Rufinus, der ihn durch die Behauptung einer notwendigen Beschränktheit des Geschaffenen milderte, das sonst von Gott nicht verwaltet werden könnte.[137]

Das Unendliche kann tatsächlich schon nach Aristoteles im Denken nicht aktualisiert werden.[138] Der aristotelische Gott als reine Reflexivität (νόησις νοήσεως[139]) kann daher wohl nicht unendlich sein.[140] Wenn Gregor das Gegenteil behauptet, meint er

[135] Vgl. H. LANGERBECK, *Zur Interpretation*, S. 86.

[136] Ἐὰν γὰρ ᾖ ἄπειρος ἡ θεία δύναμις, ἀνάγκη αὐτὴν μηδὲ ἑαυτήν νοεῖν· τῇ γὰρ φύσει τὸ ἄπειρον ἀπερίληπτον (SC 253, 211 f.).

[137] *... non enim ... finem putandum est non habere creaturas, quia ubi finis non est, nec conprehensio ulla uel circumscriptio esse potest. Quodsi fuerit, utique nec contineri uel dispensari a deo quae facta sunt poterunt. Naturaliter nempe quidquid infinitum fuerit, et inconpraehensibile erit* (*De princ.* II,9,1: SC 252, 352,11-16). Ähnlich auch andere Stellen der Übertragung Rufins: *... quia [deus] omnia conpraehendit, superest ut eo ipso quo conpraehendi possunt, et initium habere intellegantur et finem. Nam quod penitus sine ullo initio est, conpraehendi omnino non potest. In quantumcumque enim se intellectus extenderit, in tantum conpraehendi facultas sine fine subducitur et differtur, ubi initium non habetur* (*De princ.* III,5,2: SC 268, 222,52-58). *... nihil enim deo uel sine fine uel sine mensura est. Virtute enim sua omnia conpraehendit, et ipse nullius creaturae sensu conpraehensus est. Illa enim natura soli sibi cognita est* (*De princ.* IV,4,8: SC 268, 420,306-309).

[138] Vgl. Aristoteles, *Phys.* III,6: 207a21-26.

[139] Vgl. Aristoteles, *Metaph.* XII,9: 1074b34.

[140] Nach Aristoteles ist die νόησις unendlich (ἄπειρος) nur als ein Denkverlauf, der nie zu einem Stillstand kommt, in dem keine Phase dauert; ihr Ausmaß (μέγεθος) ist jedoch nicht unendlich (vgl. Aristoteles, *Phys.* III,8: 208a16; 208a20 f.). An einer anderen Stelle sagt Aristoteles, dass der erste Anfang, der eine „unendliche Zeit" (ἄπειρον χρόνον) in Bewegung setzt, in seiner Macht nicht begrenzt sein kann, „da nichts Endliches eine unendliche Macht

dann zugleich, dass sich der unendliche Gott im Denken nicht erfasst?

Auf den ersten Blick hat es den Anschein, dass eine Anmerkung Gregors in der Schrift *De hominis opificio* in diese Richtung weist, wenn er behauptet, dass der menschliche Geist darin zum Gottesbild geschaffen ist, dass er nie ergriffen werden kann, wie auch Gott selber unbegreiflich bleibt.[141] Gregor sagt jedoch nicht, dass sich Gott reflexiv nicht begreift, sondern nur, dass er vom menschlichen Geist nicht begriffen werden kann. Im Dialog *De anima et resurrectione* behauptet er ausdrücklich, dass sich Gott, ein unbegrenztes Gute, in einer nicht zu sättigenden Liebe erkennt.[142] Der Gott Gregors, zumindest nach dem „christlichen *Phaidon*", erkennt sich selber, aber – und diesen befremdenden Umstand hebt Charalambos Apostolopoulos hervor[143] – er begreift sich nie völlig, sondern transzendiert zugleich sich selbst[144] und entgeht seinem eigenen Begreifen, genauso wie der menschliche Geist! Dem scheint jedoch die Behauptung Gregors im gleichen Dialog zu widersprechen, dass Gott die „Fülle des Guten" ist, der nichts fehlt, und daher gibt es in ihm keine Hoffnungs- oder Erinnerungsbewegung, sondern eine gleichzeitige Gegenwart von allem.[145]

Dieses noch etwas unbefriedigende Ergebnis kann weitergeführt werden, wenn wir es mit Gregors Erörterung der diastematischen Weise der menschlichen Erkenntnis aus den Homilien *In Ecclesiasten* und der Polemik gegen Eunomius zu verknüpfen versuchen. Dort erklärt Gregor, dass der menschliche Geist die adiastematische Unbegrenztheit Gottes nie anders als einen unendlichen diastematischen Verlauf zu denken vermag – oder aber als eine

hat" (οὐδέν δ'ἔχει δύναμιν ἄπειρον πεπερασμένον). Diese Ausführung soll jedoch vor allem zeigen, dass von dem ersten Anfang unmöglich die Größe (μέγεθος) ausgesagt werden kann: Die Größe ist nämlich entweder unbegrenzt/unendlich, oder begrenzt/endlich (ἢ ἄπειρον ἢ πεπερασμένον); begrenzt/endlich kann sie jedoch in diesem Falle nicht sein, und unbegrenzt/unendlich auch nicht, „da es eine unbegrenzte/unendliche Größe überhaupt nicht gibt" (ὅτι ὅλως οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἄπειρον μέγεθος). D.h. der erste Anfang transzendiert die Größe (vgl. Aristoteles, *Metaph.* XII,7: 1073a5-11).

[141] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 11: PG 44, 156b.

[142] Vgl. *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 96c.

[143] Vgl. Ch. APOSTOLOPOULOS, *Phaedo Christianus*, S. 339.

[144] ... πανταχόθεν ... τῆς ἰδίας ὑπερεκπίπτουσα φύσεως (*C. Eun.* III,6,68: GNO II, 210,14 f.).

[145] Vgl. *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 92c-93b.

Unbestimmtheit im apophatischen Sinne. Vielleicht liefert uns Gregor gerade hier einen Schlüssel zu seiner Gottesvorstellung, der gemäß sich Gott in einem unersättlichen Liebesgeschehen immer transzendiert: Auch diese Schilderung aus seinem „*Phaidon*" ist nämlich ein Versuch des diastematischen Geistes die adiastematische Unbegrenztheit Gottes zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

Welche Bedeutung haben jedoch diese Ausführungen für unsere Frage nach der Reflexivität in Gott? Es gibt allem Anschein nach zwei Möglichkeiten: Entweder erkennt sich der unbegrenzte Gott tatsächlich völlig und auf einmal im Sinne einer reflexiven Identität, der geschaffene Geist vermag dies jedoch nur als einen diastematischen Verlauf der nicht zu sättigenden Liebe zu denken. Oder der adiastematische, unbegrenzte Gott begreift sich im eigentlichen Sinne nicht, und nur der diastematische Geist macht sich diese Vorstellung von ihm in seinem Versuch, die perspektivenlose Adiastematizität dennoch irgendwie nachzuahmen.

Der diastematische Geist kann wahrscheinlich die adiastematische Unendlichkeit am ehesten als Gleichzeitigkeit aller unendlichen Verläufe, ja als ein Sich-selbst-Ergreifen aller unendlichen Verläufe in ihrer Gleichzeitigkeit denken. Die Frage allerdings bleibt, ob ein solcher Versuch, in dem der diastematische Geist in einem letztdenkbaren Sich-selbst-Überschreiten die Adiastematizität selbst berührt, seinen diastematischen Charakter nicht aufheben müsste. Gregor weiß allzu gut, dass der diastematische Geist, sollte er den Boden der Diastematizität verlassen, dem Nichtsein verfallen müsste, d.h. er würde sich selbst aufheben. An dieser Denkmöglichkeit wird er jedoch gehindert durch das „undurchgängliche Intervall" zwischen dem Geschaffenen und dem Ungeschaffenen. Vielleicht ist er deswegen der Meinung, dass sich der geschaffene Geist nie völlig zu begreifen (und damit seine Diastematizität aufzuheben) vermag.

Wenn jedoch der geschaffene Geist nicht in einem Akt der selbsttranszendierenden Reflexivität seine Diastematizität verlassen kann, dann gibt es auch keinen zwingenden Grund, das Sich-selbst-Ergreifen im adiastematischen Gott selbst vorauszusetzen. In einem Universum, in dem der Weg der Angleichung an die adiastematische Gottheit nicht in einem Sich-selbst-ergreifen im Denken, sondern in einem endlosen Weg nach vorne besteht, wird auch Gott selber eher ein dauerhaftes endloses Selbsttranszendieren denn ein vollkommener reflexiver Denkakt sein. Mehr als die

menschliche Gotteserfahrung kann nämlich nach Gregor von Gott nicht ausgesagt werden.[146]

Wenn diese Beobachtungen zutreffen, unterscheidet sich Gregor in der Frage nach der Reflexivität Gottes nicht nur von Origenes, sondern auch von der abendländischen theologischen Tradition, die in Anlehnung an Augustinus eine vollkommene durch die trinitarische Perichoresis der göttlichen Personen vermehrte Reflexivität in Gott voraussetzte. Anders als in der Sättigungsvorstellung handelt es sich jedoch in dieser Frage anscheinend nicht um eine absichtliche Polemik Gregors, sondern um eine nicht explizit thematisierte Voraussetzung oder Folge seines Denkens.

Eschatologische Unendlichkeit des Menschen

Unsere letzte Frage bezieht sich auf eine gewisse Widersprüchlichkeit in Gregors Aussagen vom eschatologischen Schicksal des Menschen. Im Werk Gregors begegnen uns zwei teilweise unterschiedliche Vorstellungen: In seiner Schrift *De hominis opificio* spricht Gregor vom ursprünglichen zeitlosen isangelischen Pleroma, in das die Menschengeschichte, durch die unglückliche Wahl des Menschen in Gang gesetzt, am Ende wieder verdichtet werden soll. In anderen Schriften (*De anima et resurrectione*, *In Canticum*) deutet Gregor eher an, dass das menschliche Leben auch im Hinblick auf die eschatologische Vollendung einer Bewegung und einem Wachstum unterworfen bleibt, die sich in einem Diastema abspielen, wenn sie sich auch ins Unendliche erstrecken. Sehr deutlich wird diese Diskrepanz in der Schrift *In inscriptiones Psalmorum*, in der beide Vorstellungen einander begegnen: Die menschliche Natur soll in einem triumphalen eschatologischen Paukenschlag zu der Natur der Engel zurückkehren,[147] zugleich wird jedoch der eschatologische Schicksal des Menschen als ein unendliches Wachstum dargestellt.[148]

Das ursprüngliche Pleroma, das durch die menschliche Wahl in die Zeit entfaltet wurde und in der eschatologischen Erneuerung (Apokatastasis) wieder zu seinem ursprünglichen Zustand zurück-

Vgl. *C. Eun.* II,149: GNO 268,27 ff.; *In Cant.* 9: GNO VI, 264,18 - 265,1.

[147] Vgl. *In inscr. Ps.* I,9: GNO V, 66.

[148] Vgl. *In inscr. Ps.* I,7; I,9; II,13: GNO V, 46,8-12; 68,20 ff.; 136,3 ff.

kehren soll, erinnert an Origenes' Protologie und Eschatologie.[149] Gregor polemisiert jedoch einerseits gegen die Präexistenz der Seelen als „eines zuerst in einer selbständigen Gemeinde lebenden Volkes",[150] andererseits gegen die Metemsomatosis. Beides versteht er als „griechische (Irr)lehre",[151] die jedoch (zumindest in ihrem ersten Teil) auch durch Origenes verteidigt wurde.[152] Es bietet sich wiederum als Erklärung an, dass die Vorstellung eines endlosen eschatologischen Wachstums, wie sie in einigen Schriften Gregors vertreten ist, eine Art Polemik gegen Origenes sein kann[153] oder möglicherweise auch ein Versuch, den Origenismus auf dem Boden der christlichen Orthodoxie des vierten Jahrhunderts zu reinterpretieren.[154]

Wenn wir jedoch Gregors Polemik gegen die Eschatologie Origenes' näher betrachten, können wir beobachten, dass sein Gegenargument nicht so sehr der Epektasis-Gedanke, sondern vielmehr die Zusammengehörigkeit von Seele und Leib ist: Der Leib

[149] Vgl. z.B. S.W. GUSTAFSON, *Gregory*, S. 14-26. Gregors Verhältnis zur Eschatologie Origenes' untersucht auch G.A. BARROIS, *The Alleged Origenism of St Gregory of Nyssa*, in: *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 30, 1986, S. 7-16. Der Verfasser zeigt, dass Gregor keineswegs eines Origenismus (im Sinne der Verurteilung aus dem 6. Jh.) verdächtigt werden kann (eine solche Lehre bleibt auch für Origenes selber ungewiss). Was die Apokatastasis angeht, sind die Ausführungen des Verfassers nicht ganz klar: Es soll sich einerseits um eine Erneuerung von allem am Ende handeln, andererseits soll das Urteil über den Teufel und die Seelen definitiv bestätigt werden, die sich selber zur Verdamnis verurteilt haben (vgl. S. 15 f.). Diese Doppeldeutigkeit eignet jedoch auch Gregor selber und der christlichen Eschatologie überhaupt.

[150] ... καθάπερ τινὰ δῆμον ἐν ἰδιαζούσῃ πολιτείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς προϋφεστάναι (*De hom. opif.* 28: PG 44, 229b). Vgl. ähnlich *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 112c.

[151] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 28: PG 44, 232a; 233b. Gregor spielt an auf den platonischen Mythos von den himmlischen Seelenwagen in *Phaedr.* 246 ff.

[152] Gregor führt ausdrücklich an, dass diese Lehre vom Verfasser der Abhandlung Περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν entwickelt wurde (vgl. *De hom. opif.* 28: PG 44, 229b). Seine Polemik gegen Origenes untersucht E. PIETRELLA, *L'antiorigenismo di Gregorio di Nisa (de hom. op. 28, ed. Forbes, pp. 276-282)*, in: *L'origenismo: Apologie e polemiche intorno a Origene* (XIV Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana), in: *Augustinianum*, 26, 1986, S. 143-176. Der Verfasser zeigt, dass Gregor (ähnlich wie die beiden anderen Kappadokier) nicht nur die Metemsomatosis (die nicht einmal bei Origenes selber mit Sicherheit zu belegen ist), sondern auch die Präexistenz der Seelen leugnet.

[153] Vgl. S.W. GUSTAFSON, *Gregory*, S. 156-159.

[154] Gregors positive Beziehung zu Origenes, die das wirkliche Motiv seiner Korrekturen war, hebt mit Recht R.E. HEINE, *Perfection*, S. 7 und passim hervor.

gehört zur einzelnen Seele von Anfang an[155] bis zur eschatologischen Auferstehung des „geistigen Leibes" (vgl. *1 Kor.* 15,44).[156] Gegen die Metemsomatosis wendet Gregor weiter ein, dass ein solcher Wechsel in einen anderen Körper eine ausschliesslich deszendierende Tendenz haben könne, daher könne er nie zu einer eschatologischen Erneuerung führen: Wie kann sich nämlich ein vernunftloses Lebewesen oder gar eine Pflanze durch Tugend wieder zur himmlischen Heimat der Seelen erheben?[157] Und wenn es auch möglich wäre – was allerdings eine höhere sittliche Qualität des Holzes als der menschlichen Seele implizieren würde –, würde es einen Kreislauf von Tugend und Laster bedeuten, in dem letztlich Gut und Böse zu einer „nicht mehr unterscheidbaren Mischung" verschmelzen müssten.[158]

Wenn aber Gregor so entschieden mit einem gleichzeitigen Anfang der einzelnen Seele und ihres Leibes rechnet, wie stellt er sich dann das ursprüngliche und eschatologische Pleroma *Anthropos* eigentlich vor, in dem alle Menschen „wie in einem Leibe",[159] zugleich jedoch „den Engeln ähnlich"[160] sein sollen? Höchstwahrscheinlich versteht Gregor dieses Pleroma analog zu dem „in Möglichkeit" erschaffenen Stoff, mit dem er in seiner Kosmologie arbeitet. In beiden Fällen besteht die Unklarheit, ob es sich um ein rein intelligibles, d.h. körperloses Pleroma, oder eher eine materielle, wenn auch undifferenzierte Fülle handelt. Der Unterschied liegt nur darin, dass Gregor für sein anthropologisches Pleroma mit einer doppelten Schöpfung rechnet: zu dem ursprünglichen Gottesbild wird erst in einem zweiten Schritt die Geschlechterdifferenz und die Zeit in Möglichkeit, d.h. eine verdichtete, noch nicht entfaltete Zeit, hinzugefügt.

Wie verhält sich nun dieses Pleroma zu der endlosen eschatologischen Pilgerschaft des Menschen, die nie zu einem Ziel und zu einer definitiven Sättigung kommt? Diese Frage hat sich Gregor wahrscheinlich nicht gestellt, daher bleibt jeder Versuch zwischen beiden Auffassungen zu vermittlen, sofern er überhaupt möglich ist, nur eine spekulative Hypothese.

[155] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 29: PG 44, 233d-237b.
[156] Vgl. *De an. et res.*: PG 46, 156ab.
[157] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 28: PG 44, 233ab.
[158] Κύκλος γὰρ τίς ἐστι... οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἀδιάκριτος κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν σύγχυσις (*De an. et res.*: PG 46, 113b).
[159] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 16: PG 44, 185c.
[160] Vgl. *De hom. opif.* 17: PG 44, 188b-189d.

Die beiden Beschreibungen des eschatologischen Schicksals des Menschen unterscheiden sich vor allem durch ihre Perspektive. Während der endlose Weg oder die nicht zu sättigende Liebe die Unsterblichkeit oder Unendlichkeit des Menschen als einen unbegrenzten Verlauf darstellen, wie ihn ein diastematisches Wesen erfährt, versucht das Pleroma-Bild zu zeigen, was eine gleichzeitige volle Aktualisierung der einzelnen unendlichen Abläufe wäre, wie sie nach Gregor Gottes Ewigkeit umfasst. Vielleicht wäre es etwas wie der plotinische Intellekt, der eine zeitlose Fülle der Ideen ist. Dieses Pleroma unterscheidet sich von der adiastematischen Gottheit, obwohl es ihr „Abbild" darstellt[161] (genauso wie der plotinsche Intellekt als eine vereinte Vielheit der Ideen vom Einem verschieden und trotzdem sein Abbild ist[162]): Die adiastematische Gottheit spiegelt sich als eine zeitlose Aktualisierung aller unendlichen Verläufe im menschlichen Pleroma wider, und dieses Pleroma entfaltet sich aufgrund der menschlichen Wahl in der Menschengeschichte in die einzelnen endlosen Verläufe der menschlichen Leben.

Wir finden damit eine dreifache Verwendung des Begriffs der Unendlichkeit im Denken Gregors: (1) die adiastematische Unbegrenztheit der Gottheit selbst, (2) ihr Abbild in der auf einmal aktualisierten Gesamtheit aller unendlichen Verläufe, das eine Art Schwelle zwischen dem Diastematischen und dem Adiastematischen darstellt,[163] und letztlich (3) den unendlichen Verlauf des menschlichen Weges, der zwar einen Anfang, jedoch kein Ende hat. Die unabdingbare Diastematizität des Menschen gründet dabei, wie wir schon wissen, im unüberschreitbaren Diastema der Differenz, die das Geschaffene vom Ungeschaffenen trennt. Vielleicht ist es gerade dieses Diastema, das Gregor daran hindert, die eschatologische Angleichung des Menschen an Gott anders als eine

[161] Die Bibelaussage vom Menschen als Gottes Ebenbild (*Gen.* 1,26) bezieht Gregor ausdrücklich und vor allem auf das Pleroma *Anthropos*, vgl. *De hom. opif.* 16: PG 44, 185cd.

[162] Vgl. Plotin, *Enn.* V,1[10],7,1.

[163] Vielleicht kann Gregor deswegen in seinen Homilien *In Canticum* sagen, dass die ursprüngliche Schöpfung nicht die Natur eines Diastemas hatte, sondern „der Anfang mit dem Ende in eins fiel": ἀδιαστάτως τῇ ἀρχῇ συναπηρτίσθη / συνανεφάνη τὸ πέρας (*In Cant.* 15: GNO VI, 458,1.10 f.). Zum scheinbaren Widerspruch zwischen dieser Vorstellung und Gregors Behauptung, dass das Diastema unentbehrlich zur Schöpfung gehört, vgl. T.P. VERGHESE, *Διάστημα*, S. 255 f.

nicht zu sättigende Liebe oder einen endlosen Weg zu verstehen. Gerade durch seinen unendlichen Weg wird der Mensch dem unendlichen Gott ähnlich, obwohl er nie seine diastematische Beschaffenheit verlassen kann.

Es ist sicherlich wahr, dass Gregor seine Vorstellung der dauerhaften Diastematizität des Menschen nicht in allen ihren Implikationen durchdachte. Es bleibt jedoch auch wahr, dass die Radikalität und Entschiedenheit, mit der er den Menschen als ein Wesen der Zeit und des Wechsels verstand, das konstitutiv auf die Zukunft orientiert ist, in der Geschichte des christlichen Denkens nur selten übertroffen wurde.

Summary

Der Aufsatz folgt der Entwicklung des Unendlichkeitsmotivs in den Schriften Gregors von Nyssa von seinen Frühschriften über *Contra Eunomium* (wo die Unendlichkeit einerseits ein Pendant zur arianischen Agen[n]esia, andererseits das unerreichbare Ziel des ständig in die Zukunft orientierten Menschen bildet) bis zu den späten Schriften zur Spiritualität (in denen die Unendlichkeitsvorstellung in einem Programm der Tugend bzw. der Gottesbeziehung als eines ständig fortgesetzten Weges ohne ein definitives Ende angewendet wird). - Im zweiten Teil erörtert der Aufsatz drei Fragen, die in Gregors Unendlichkeitsvorstellung nicht völlig geklärt erscheinen: (1) Gregors Epektasis und seine Polemik gegen das Sättigungskonzept wird als eine Alternative der völligen Selbstauffassung des plotinischen Intellekts gezeigt, der mit dem Einem durch die reflexive „Sättigung" geeint wird. (2) Gregors Vorstellung von Gott, der sich zwar selber in der Liebe erkennt, sich jedoch zugleich überschreitet, wird als eine mögliche Alternative der vorausgesetzten völligen Reflexion in Gott dargestellt, wie ihn Origenes und die abendländische Tradition bekennen. (3) Die eschatologische Fortsetzung des menschlichen Weges als einer ständigen Steigerung der Liebe wird mit dem protologischen und eschatologischen Pleroma Gregors vermittelt: Während der endlose eschatologische Weg die Unendlichkeit des Menschen als einen unbegrenzten Verlauf darstellt, wie ihn ein diastematisches Wesen erfährt, versucht das Pleroma-Bild zu zeigen, was eine gleichzeitige volle Aktualisierung der einzelnen unendlichen Abläufe wäre, wie sie nach Gregor Gottes Ewigkeit umfasst.

At Constantinople, how often did John Chrysostom preach?

Addressing assumptions about the workload of a bishop *

by
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This seemingly trivial question raises a number of significant issues. It has bearing upon our understanding of John as a person and his role as a bishop; the chronology of his episcopate and progression of his relations with major figures at Constantinople; and, finally, how preaching functioned in the late fourth- to early fifth-century church. The intention here is to demonstrate that, far from trivial, this question is central to our understanding of the person and activities of this prominent individual, and to demonstrate that our current understanding of both requires revision.

The reason that such an unassuming question has so many implications can be established as follows. The supposed frequency with which John preached at Constantinople has been used by a number of scholars to calculate the length of time that certain series of his sermons would have taken to complete.[1] By calculating the

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[1] The technique has been applied to the series on Acts (*Clavis Patrum Graecorum* [henceforth CPG] 4426) in particular. See, e.g., J. STILTING, art. *De S. Joanne Chrysostomo, episcopo Constantinopolitano et ecclesiæ doctore, prope Comana in Ponto, commentarius historicus*, in *Acta Sanctorum Septembris*. Tom. IV, Antverpiae, 1753, p. 558; M. von Bonsdorff, *Zur Predigttätigkeit des Johannes*

spacing between homilies these scholars have in turn put forward arguments regarding their chronology and date, now largely accepted in the literature. Yet the calculation of frequency of preaching itself rests on a number of implicit assumptions that remain largely unnoticed and, therefore, unaddressed. Should those assumptions prove to be unfounded, then the dates accepted for these series would be challenged and large portions of our understanding regarding when John did what at Constantinople would have to be reassessed. A reappraisal of how these homilies fit into the chronology of his affairs would inevitably lead to a review of the implications of the contents of the homilies for our understanding of the progression of his relations with a number of key figures at Constantinople. This in turn would call for a re-examination of his role as a bishop, of his own particular view of the situation in which he found himself as bishop of Constantinople, and of the tension between the constraints imposed upon him and the level of his acceptance of those constraints in regard to his preaching activities. Any challenge to the prevailing assumptions regarding how often John preached at Constantinople consequently unravels an increasing number of hypotheses.

There are in essence two questions at stake here. The first is the one we have asked in the title: how often did John actually preach at Constantinople? The second concerns an hypothesis explicitly stated in the earlier literature on Chrysostom which has become an implicit datum in more recent scholarship, namely that as bishop John was too busy to preach or write much, or to subsequently edit the sermons that he did preach into scriptural commentaries.[2] The

Chrysostomus, biographisch-chronologische Studien über seine Homilienserien zu neutestamentlichen Büchern, Helsingfors, 1922, pp. 97-99; and A. CAMERON, *Earthquake 400*, in *Chiron* 17 (1987) 344-351. Cf. STILTING, *Acta S. Sept.* IV, p. 551 on I and II Thessalonians (CPG 4434-4435); VON BONSDORFF, *Zur Predigttätigkeit*, pp. 104-107 on I and II Thess., and pp. 116-117 on Hebrews (CPG 4440).

[2] The argument is most clearly stated by C. BAUR in *Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols, Munich, 1929-1930 = *John Chrysostom and His Time*, Engl. trans. Sr M. GONZAGA, 2 vols, Westminster, Maryland, 1959-1960. This and all subsequent references are to the English translation. BAUR, I p. 299, writes: "Though Chrysostom as a priest in Antioch had twelve whole years' time in which to preach and write, in Constantinople, on the contrary, his time was claimed by such an abundance of church work and political turmoil that, at least in the first three years, it was difficult to think of quiet continuous literary work..."

argument, stripped to its basic elements, runs more or less as follows: as presbyter, Chrysostom had greater leisure in which to prepare and polish work for publication. This relative freedom from administration resulted in more frequent preaching and greater output. As bishop, he was much pre-occupied with affairs of state and with wider church affairs. The distraction caused by these concerns led to reduced literary productivity and less frequent preaching. John therefore preached less at Constantinople than he did at Antioch. In other words, the ability to preach frequently is assumed to be connected intimately to the status of the preacher. The key question that needs to be posed in relation to this set of assumptions is thus not how often did John preach at Constantinople, but was there really a substantial difference between the frequency with which John preached as a bishop and the frequency with which he preached as a presbyter. In other words, is rate of preaching status-linked, as is supposed, or is it more closely allied to the ability and charisma of the individual preacher? In the case of John, we must attempt to establish the answer to the first of the two questions (that is, how often he preached at Constantinople) before we can hope to answer the second.

Before we move to that question, it is useful to establish briefly whether the assumptions regarding the hypothesis that John preached less at Constantinople than at Antioch have a solid basis. For a start this hypothesis rises directly out of the need to locate geographically the larger of John's exegetical series of homilies, which contain little useful information regarding their date or provenance.[3] It is used to explain why the style of one series is more elegant than another,[4] or why it is preferable to assign a series by

[3] See BAUR, *Chrysostom and His Time*, I p. 299, who continues: "...so this justifies the tendency of assigning to the Antiochene priestly period all the great written commentaries which cannot claim a certain reference to Constantinople". Although Baur here adduces the argument in relation to literary compositions, it is clear from the passage quoted in the previous note that he considers preaching and writing to be equally time consuming activities. Moreover, series which he believes to have been written are generally considered by others (see nn. 4-9) to have been preached.

[4] E.g., B. DE MONTFAUCON, *Sancti Patris Nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opera omnia quæ exstant, uel quæ eius nomine circumferentur*, 13 vols, Paris, 1718-1738, who adduces the argument to explain the poor quality of the homilies on Acts (IX, *Præf.*, v = PG 60, 5-8) and the seemingly less polished character of I and II Thessalonians (XI, 424 = PG 62, 391-392). In

default to Antioch.[5] It is automatically invoked when a series appears to have been edited from stenographic notes,[6] and can be traced back as far as Photius.[7] It is prevalent in the work of Stilting and Montfaucon, and to a lesser extent in that of Tillemont.[8] Later traces of it are to be found in the influential work of Baur and von Bonsdorff and can be seen to endure in scholarship produced as recently as the late 1980s.[9] The hypothesis has a very long and persistent history. Kelly, while not explicit on the topic in his recent biography, also assumes a lower rate of preaching, although he probably derives his figure of once a week on a Sunday, plus feast days, from Pargoire.[10] The problem with this hypothesis, however, is that it rests upon an argument that is speculative and somewhat circular. A particular series (say, for example, on the Gospel of John) is said to belong to Antioch because John could not have had time to preach or prepare such a long series at Constantinople. He could not have had time to preach or prepare such a long (or polished) series in the capital, it is argued, because the assignment of other

adducing this argument Montfaucon follows in the tradition of H. SAVILE, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπίσκοπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὑρισκομένων τόμος (α΄ - η΄) - Δι' ἐπιμελείας καὶ ἀναλωμάτων Ἑρρίκου τοῦ Σαβιλίου ἐκ παλαιῶν ἀντιγραφῶν ἐκδοθείς*, 8 vols, Etonae, 1612-1613 (see, e.g., VIII pp. 623-624); and Photius (see n. 7 below).

[5] So STILTING, *Acta S. Sept.* IV, p. 496 regarding II Timothy (CPG 4437).

[6] See, e.g., MONTFAUCON, XII, *Praef.*, III-V; STILTING, *Acta S. Sept.* IV, pp. 558-559; and J. QUASTEN, *Patrology*, III, Utrecht/Antwerp, 1960, p. 450, with regard to the series on Hebrews.

[7] PHOTIUS, *Bibl.* 172-174 (119a-b) = R. HENRY (éd.), *Photius. Bibliothèque*, II, Paris, 1960, pp. 169-170.

[8] L.S. LENAIN DE TILLEMONT, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, XI, Paris, 1706, pp. 39ff (Articles XV-CXLIX) and 559ff (Notes XVII-CXVIII).

[9] See A. DEVINE, *The Manuscripts of St. John Chrysostom's* Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles: *A Preliminary Study for a Critical Edition*, in *Ancient World* 20 (1989) 112; and A. CAMERON, *A misidentified homily of Chrysostom*, in *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 32 (1988) 35-36, who adduces the argument to account for John's lack of involvement in writing the titles appended to certain Constantinopolitan homilies (CPG 4392-4399 and 4528).

[10] J.N.D. KELLY, *Golden Mouth. The Story of John Chrysostom - Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop*, London, 1995, p. 130. Cf. J. PARGOIRE, *Les homélies de s. Jean Chrysostome en juillet 399*, in *Échos d'Orient* 3 (1899-1900) 151-162, who, in the course of establishing his case, assumes that John was preaching only on Sundays.

series and homilies to Constantinople and the presumed distribution of those series throughout the available years at that destination do not allow space for it. There is no space for it at Constantinople so one must come up with a reason justifying attribution of it to Antioch. Bishops are busy people. It therefore seems reasonable to assume that John did not have as much time to prepare or edit sermons when he became bishop. He did not have as much time as bishop, therefore there is no room, so it must be assigned to Antioch. This is a somewhat exaggerated outline of the argument, but faithful to its essential elements. What is significant is that the argument disintegrates when the possibility that the exegetical series are not homogeneous, and therefore there is no need to assume that they were preached at one location in regular sequence, is introduced. Furthermore, as Pauline Allen and I have demonstrated and argued in several articles on the subject, the number of reliably assigned Constantinopolitan homilies is drastically reduced when the homogeneity of the so-called Constantinopolitan series is challenged.[11] As a result of our work there is now ample space, if one wished, to assign to Constantinople a large number of the miscellaneous homilies, or a series or two, currently assigned by default to Antioch. This is not to argue that one should now do so – that would be no less irresponsible – but simply to point out that the basis for assuming a greater and more distracting non-homiletic workload at Constantinople rests on a specious argument, which is in turn based on a picture of John's workload derived from sources which are virtually silent about Antioch and heavily biased towards Constantinople.

The point which must be emphasised here is that we know in reality very little about John's actual workload as a presbyter at Antioch and about how the pressure of his non-homiletic duties affected the frequency with which he was able to preach there. In the past it has generally been assumed that he had a greater amount

[11] See P. ALLEN-W. MAYER, *Chrysostom and the Preaching of Homilies in Series: A New Approach to the Twelve Homilies* In epistulam ad Colossenses *(CPG 4433)*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 60 (1994) 21-39; EAED., *Chrysostom and the Preaching of Homilies in Series: A Re-examination of the Fifteen Homilies* In epistulam ad Philippenses *(CPG 4432)*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 49 (1995) 270-289; and EAED., *The Thirty-Four Homilies on Hebrews: The Last Series Delivered by Chrysostom in Constantinople?*, in *Byzantion* 65 (1995) 309-348.

of leisure at Antioch in which to write and preach.[12] More recently it has been proposed that he performed some kind of star preaching role in that city under the aegis of its bishop.[13] Together, these assumptions naturally lead to the conclusion that at Antioch he would have preached with particular, perhaps even exceptional, frequency. Coupled with that conclusion, the notion that as bishop he was burdened by other duties and distracted by political events, which suggests that he preached at Constantinople at a less than optimum level, leads to the expectation that the divergence between the level of preaching activity at Antioch and the level at Constantinople would not just be minor, but ought in fact (if these assumptions are correct) to be substantial and therefore noticeable. But is this really the case? When local norms and other factors are taken into consideration, does a comparison of the two rates of preaching support this conclusion?

In order to address this question we are obliged to return to our first point of investigation. How often did John in fact preach at Constantinople? However, the answer to this question is no longer sufficient. Instead, a number of additional related questions must now be addressed. For instance, in order to do an effective comparison, we must also establish whether the actual opportunities for preaching which were available to John at Constantinople were in fact as numerous as at Antioch. Given the number of opportunitites for preaching that can be established for Antioch, did John utilise them to the maximum, or did he on occasion not preach even though an opportunity was available? How does the Antiochene ratio of opportunity to practice compare to the Constantinopolitan? It must be established, too, whether John preached at the same rate over the entire period of his presbyterate or whether his rate of preaching varied significantly at certain points or between one end and the other. Only when all of this information is assembled can a reliable assessment of what the rate at which John

[12] The assumption is rarely stated explicitly but is implicit in statements such as those of Baur (nn. 2-3 above) and Montfaucon, V, *Præf.*, pp. 2-3 (on the size of the commentary on Psalms).

[13] See F. VAN DE PAVERD, *Zur Geschichte der Messliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 187) Rome, 1970, p. 15. KELLY, *Golden Mouth*, p. 57, does not deny that as presbyter John would have been distracted by other duties, but sees the demands of his special preaching office as overriding the weight of these.

preached at Constantinople means in relation to his exercise of the episcopacy, and what implications that rate has for our understanding of both that office and the role of presbyter, be made.

To return then to the question of how often John preached at Constantinople, what are the theories currently put forward and how reliable are their conclusions? Calculations of John's rate of preaching as bishop vary, but fall into two main camps. Pargoire, followed by Kelly, posits that John preached only on Sundays, in terms of regular liturgical opportunities, while Kelly adds that he seems also to have preached on the liturgical festivals, and that during special seasons (i.e. Lent and the Paschal octave) he preached every day.[14] Alan Cameron,[15] following von Bonsdorff,[16] who in turn appears to follow Stilting,[17] takes a slightly less restricted view, arguing that while he preached often every day during Lent, at other times of year the rate varied between once and twice a week. A third view, put forward by Old in the second volume of his recent multi-volume work *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*, is unprecedented and claims that "in both Antioch and Constantinople, John Chrysostom preached daily or almost daily. Apparently this was not only the case during Lent but during the rest of the year as well."[18] This last view can be dismissed as a naive generalisation since Old almost certainly bases his claim on the exegetical series, assuming their homogeneity, and is also apparently unaware of the generally accepted view that there is a marked distinction between the level of preaching at each location. This is evident from the fact that he fails to draw to the attention of the reader or to address either of the alternative, well-established points of view with regard to John's rate of preaching at Constantinople. Certainly he adduces no compelling arguments to support his novel conclusion.

[14] See n. 10 above.

[15] Cameron, *Earthquake 400*, p. 349; repeated in A. CAMERON and J. LONG, with L. SHERRY, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage XIX) Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford, 1993, p. 100.

[16] VON BONSDORFF, *Zur Predigttätigkeit*, p. 99.

[17] STILTING, *Acta S. Sept.* IV, p. 558.

[18] H.O. OLD, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church* II. *The Patristic Age*, Grand Rapids, Mich.-Cambridge, UK, 1998, p. 173.

The first view, that espoused by Kelly and Pargoire, also has its problems. In the case of Kelly's assertion that John preached daily during special seasons, such as Lent, he appears to have derived his assertion from Cameron, who in fact makes this statement on the basis of not Constantinopolitan, but Antiochene evidence.[19] In reality we have no reliably attributed Constantinopolitan sermons which indicate the rate at which he preached during those seasons in that city. The next problem rests with the assertion that John preached at Constantinople only on Sundays. Again Kelly appears to have derived this opinion from an earlier scholar, in this case Pargoire, whose reasons for assuming that John preached only on Sundays rest with his belief that the tenth of the *Novae homiliae* was preached two Sundays after the homily *Contra ludos et theatra* (CPG 4441.7) and that together with the twelfth and thirteenth of the *Novae homiliae* these two homilies constitute a series of four homilies preached in July 399, all of them on Sundays. I have dealt with Pargoire's arguments at length in another article. There I demonstrate that not only is *Contra ludos et theatra* most probably not the sermon to which *In illud: Pater meus usque modo operatur* (CPG 4441.10) refers, but also there are no compelling internal grounds for assuming that *Nov. hom.* 7, 12 and 13 could each only have been delivered on a Sunday.[20] On the contrary several of the other *Novae homiliae* contain evidence which suggests that they were not delivered on a Sunday. We will examine that evidence shortly.

If we have no direct evidence for how often John preached during Lent and other such seasons, and Kelly and Pargoire's supposition that he was preaching ordinarily only on Sundays is also without foundation, then is the view put forward by Cameron, von Bonsdorff and Stilting, namely that the rate at which he ordinarily preached varied between once and twice a week, able to be substantiated? Once again, the view they espouse is not without its difficulties. All three scholars base their conclusions on the series of homilies on Acts (CPG 4426), in particular on the scant evidence

[19] CAMERON, *Earthquake 400*, p. 349, adduces evidence from the Homilies on the Statues (CPG 4330) to support this conclusion.

[20] W. MAYER, *"Les homélies de s. Jean Chrysostome en juillet 399". A second look at Pargoire's sequence and the chronology of the* Novae homiliae *(CPG 4441)*, in *Byzantinoslavica* 60/2 (1999) forthcoming.

contained in *hom.* 32 and 44,[21] with some support from *hom.* 29.[22] There are two difficulties with this evidence. Once again we face the problem of homogeneity: were all of the homilies in this series, most notably these three key homilies, preached at the one location? If one does accept the Constantinopolitan provenance of these homilies, the other difficulty relates to how one interprets the key statement in *hom.* 44 – that John has been preaching before the audience of that sermon not every day and night, but often every third or seventh day.[23] Von Bonsdorff takes it to mean that John preached on Sundays and Wednesdays, but admits also the occasional Saturday and Sunday (the latter presumably on the basis of *hom.* 32, which refers to a homily preached on the preceding day).[24] There is a problem with this interpretation since it is not at all certain, and is indeed unlikely, that Wednesday can have been an ordinary day of preaching at Constantinople.[25] Cameron avoids the problem of calculating precisely which days are meant by simply inferring that the phrase indicates that John preached once or twice a week. However, if John's comment that he preached **often** every third day (διὰ τριῶν...ἡμερῶν) is taken seriously, then it is possible that in a number of weeks throughout the course of the year he preached not twice, but in fact three times a week. The question then is how this comment fits in with the regular liturgical calendar at Constantinople. Either we must assume that von Bonsdorff is correct and there really was a regular mid-week synaxis at which a sermon was preached, or, since John is simply talking

[21] *In Acta apost. hom.* 32 (PG 60, 236 59-61: ...χθὲς περὶ ὀργῆς διελέχθημεν· οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύει καὶ τήμερον·); *hom.* 44 (PG 60, 312 34-37).

[22] *In Acta apost. hom.* 29 (PG 60, 217 42-60: ...τοσούτων μὲν προφητῶν δεύτερον τῆς ἑβδομάδος ὑμῖν διαλεγομένων, τοσούτων δὲ ἀποστόλων, εὐαγγελιστῶν...).

[23] PG 60, 312 36-37: διὰ τριῶν δὲ πολλάκις ἡμερῶν ἢ δι' ἑπτὰ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες.

[24] *Zur Predigttätigkeit*, p. 99.

[25] VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, p. 68, concludes that at neither Antioch nor Constantinople was the eucharist celebrated on a Wednesday. If one assumes that the Service of the Word preceded the eucharistic liturgy at ordinary synaxes, then this would exclude the possibility that a sermon was ordinarily preached on that particular weekday. Instead van de Paverd adduces evidence to demonstrate that at Antioch eucharistic liturgies were celebrated regularly on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays, and that at Constantinople this was restricted to Saturdays and Sundays.

about the opportunities for his listeners to receive his instruction, it may be that John casually includes festival, that is extra-ordinary, synaxes in his calculation. Either way, this comment suggests a slightly higher rate of preaching than is adopted by Cameron and his predecessors.

What evidence, then, do we have to support this comment? The data are minimal, but nonetheless helpful. In *In Illud: Pater meus usque modo operatur* John talks of a sermon which he preached recently and then refers to the Sunday after that one,[26] indicating that the sermon in question was preached on a Sunday, but this is the only clear evidence we have for a particular day of the week. In *In Acta apost. hom.* 32, assuming Constantinopolitan provenance, he refers to the sermon on anger that he preached yesterday (ostensibly *hom.* 31),[27] indicating that on non-festival occasions he could preach on two successive days. In the case of *In Col. hom.* 2 and 3, the second of which was clearly preached at Constantinople,[28] he speaks, on the one hand, of continuing the topic 'tomorrow',[29] and on the other, picks up and continues with the topic that he spoke on 'yesterday',[30] again indicating that it was not uncommon for him to preach on successive days. In the case of at least one of the *Novae homiliae* (*In illud: Messis quidem multa*: CPG 4441.11) and one other definitively Constantinopolitan sermon (*In illud Isaiae: Ego dominus deus feci lumen*: CPG 4418),[31] he indicates that the day on which he is preaching is both ordinary and one on which there were also held horse races.[32] If the legislation of 17 April 392 (*CTh* II.8.20), reiterated on 27 August 399 (*CTh* II.8.23), and in both cases promulgated at Constantinople, was enforced, then we

[26] PG 63, 511 39-44: ...τῇ προτεραίᾳ...ἐπιούσης τῆς κυριακῆς τῆς μετ' ἐκείνην...

[27] See n. 21.

[28] See ALLEN-MAYER, *A New Approach*, pp. 36-37

[29] PG 62, 313 50-53: ...σήμερον ἀναβαλλομένους αὔριον τοῦτο προσθεῖναι δεῖ...

[30] PG 62, 317 12-16 *a.i.*: Τήμερον ἀποδοῦναι ἀναγκαῖον τὸ ὄφλημα, ὅπερ χθὲς ἀνεβαλόμην...

[31] Regarding the provenance of this homily, recently confirmed by the manuscript tradition, see M. AUBINEAU, *Restitution de quatorze folios du codex hierosolymitain, Photios 47, au codex Saint-Sabas 32. Prédications de Chrysostome à Constantinople et notamment à Sainte-Irène*, in *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 43 (1992) 532-535.

[32] PG 63, 517 49-59; PG 56, 141 5-9 *a.i.*

must suppose that the day in question cannot have been a Sunday. In two other instances (*De studio praesentium*: CPG 4441.5; *In illud: Ne timueritis hom.*1: CPG 4414.1) reference to the distractions caused by the conducting of business and legal affairs may likewise suggest that the day in question is not a Sunday.[33] In the second of these two homilies John further states that the audience is expected to turn up twice a week,[34] implying that two synaxes a week at which preaching was offered was the norm for Constantinople.

If we add in the evidence for festival sermons, then the impression that he preached on occasion at least twice a week, and not only on a Sunday is reinforced to the point that it becomes possible to accept his statement that he often preached every third day and that this could on occasion add up to three, perhaps even four times a week. Of the *Novae homiliae* five were delivered on festival occasions (CPG 4441.1-3, 6, 15). Of these two make reference to the conducting of business, since this is cited as a distraction (3 and 6),[35] but the business referred to may well be the markets associated with such festivals and therefore non-determinative;[36] another two, delivered on successive days (1-2), represent an exceptional occasion (the importation and reburial of martyrs' remains);[37] while the final sermon (15), was delivered on a day of the week that is unable to be determined.[38] The homily *De s. Phoca* (CPG 4364) likewise records a two-day exceptional festival on an occasion when that saint's remains were received at Constantinople, which requi-

[33] PG 63, 485 35-44; PG 55, 499 24-27. Cf. *CTh* II.8.19 of 7 Aug. 389 (ed. Mommsen, Berlin 1905).

[34] PG 55, 501 55-59: ...οὐδὲ λέγω, Καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν σχόλαζε, ἀλλὰ δεύτερον τῆς ἑβδομάδος...

[35] *Quod frequenter conveniendum sit*, PG 63, 461 1-13; *Adversus catharos*, Stavronikita 6, f. 80v b.8-19 (the codex supplies the contents of the substantial lacuna which occurs in Montfaucon's text as presented in PG).

[36] See p. MARAVAL, *Lieux saints et pélerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1985, pp. 219 and 240-245; and further L. DE LIGT, *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and social aspects of periodic trade in a pre-industrial society* (Dutch monographs on ancient history and archaeology 11), Amsterdam 1993, esp. pp. 225-234. For a general description of this kind of market day at Antioch see *De b. Philogonio* (CPG 4319), PG 50, 749 46-750 35.

[37] *Hom. dicta postquam reliquiae martyrum etc.* and *Hom. dicta praesente imperatore*, PG 63, 467-478.

[38] *In martyres omnes*, Stav. 6 ff. 138v-146r (the homily is unedited).

red John to preach on both of the days in question.[39] Festivals, whether commemorating a martyr or celebrating a significant day in the liturgical year, had their own fixed dates and rhythms and so could fall on either a day of regular synaxis or other days of the week. As we observe at Antioch, such festivals, all requiring a homily, could increase the rate of preaching in a given week considerably. Thus, if we assume that the regular opportunity for preaching was twice a week, it is perfectly in order for John to claim, by taking festivals into account, that he often preached every third day at Constantinople.

While in itself somewhat speculative, this picture of John's preaching habits at Constantinople may possibly be reinforced by evidence supplied by Severian of Gabala. If we assume that as John's locum during the latter's absence in Asia Minor Severian took over the rhythms established by John and undertook to maintain them, if we further assume that the bulk of the homilies which can be attributed to Severian and which were preached and recorded in Greek stem from his years at Constantinople, and we also assume that it is unlikely that Severian would have preached alone at Constantinople on festival occasions unless he was taking John's place on that day, then it is possible to augment the evidence supplied in John's own homilies with some of the data contained in Severian's.[40] From these it appears that Severian preached on the major liturgical festivals (we have evidence for Epiphany, Pentecost, and Holy Week),[41] while in other more ordinary homilies there is

[39] PG 50, 699-706, esp. 699 1-12.

[40] The state of Severian research, pending production of a set of editions of his homilies, is still very fragmentary. It may well prove subsequently that one or more of these assumptions is invalid and that the evidence adduced here and the conclusions drawn from it will need to be modified. The identity of the year and months during which Severian acted as John's locum at Constantinople, assumed to be late 401-late spring/early summer 402, for instance, has not yet been established with complete certainty. Nor is it clear what role Severian played as a preacher at Constantinople during the periods when John was present.

[41] *In Theophaniam* (CPG 4212); *In illud: In principio erat verbum* (CPG 4210); *In s. pentecosten* (CPG 4211); *In cosmogoniam hom.* 1-6 (CPG 4194); and *Quomodo animam acceperit Adamus* (CPG 4195). Robert Carter, in a paper delivered at the Thirteenth International Patristics Conference, Oxford, 16-21 August 1999, however, argues that the first two are to be dated to the years 400 and 401, respectively, and that the six homilies *In cosmogoniam* plus *Quomodo animam acceperit Adamus* are to be located in the last week of Lent and Holy Week 401. If this chronology is correct, then the argument that Severian can only

the occasional reference to what he said yesterday,[42] or two or more days prior to the present occassion.[43] In yet other sermons he either indicates that he is taking up a topic he promised to preach on earlier, or provides other indicators that he preaches before the present audience on a regular basis.[44] These same hints of regular preaching before a defined audience are found in certain of John's Constantinopolitan homilies.[45] Thus, even though the evidence contained within John's own homiletic oeuvre is somewhat fragmentary, the additional information supplied by Severian's homiletic corpus can perhaps help us to construct a slightly more solid picture. That picture is of a bishop who preaches on liturgical festivals and other major liturgical occasions, as well as one who preaches with reasonable frequency before a particular audience or audiences.

have preached by himself on major liturgical festivals as John's locum tenens cannot be sustained and the evidence adduced here would have to be dismissed. On the other hand, some of the homilies preached by Severian in 400 may possibly be accounted for by the fact that he was preaching for John in a *de facto* way as locum tenens while John was caught up in political matters associated with the activities of Gainas.

[42] See *In filium prodigum* (CPG 4200), PG 59, 627 4 *a.i.*-629 4 ; *De spiritu sancto* (CPG 4188), PG 52, 813 1-4. Cf. *De serpente homilia* (CPG 4196), delivered, according to Robert Carter, in mid-August 400, which refers to *In illud: In qua potestate haec facis* (CPG 4193) as having been delivered the day before (PG 56, 505 9-14).

[43] *In ascensionem* (CPG 4187), PG 52, 775 22-30 (Paris gr. 1186 adds at 782 28: πρὸ τῆς χθὲς ἦν ἀνάληψις).

[44] *De sacrificiis Caini* (CPG 4208), K.H. UTHEMANN et al., *Hom. pseudo-chrysostomicae* I, Brepols, 1994, p. 124 14-17 (suggesting that he is preaching with regularity on the topic of Genesis); *In Noe et filios eius* (CPG 4232), *ibid.*, p. 89 8-17 (preached as part of a series, apparently during Lent); *Contra Iudaeos et Graecos et haereticos*, ibid., p. 185 2-8. This evidence of frequent preaching may, however, be irrelevant to the issue of how frequently John himself preached, if it proves that none of the homilies adduced here was preached on John's behalf or, alternatively, that some of these homilies were preached not at Constantinople, but at Gabala. Assuming that they were preached at Constantinople, however, they do at least provide evidence of the rate at which opportuntities to preach were available, even if it should prove that they bear no relevance to John's own rate of preaching.

[45] E.g., *In illud: Filius ex se nihil facit* (CPG 4441.12), PG 56, 247 28-36; *Contra ludos et theatra* , PG 56, 44-50; *In illud: Ego dominus deus feci lumen*, PG 56, 141 7-9 *a.i.*; *Adversus eos qui non adfuerant* (CPG 4441.4), PG 63, 477 32-33 *a.i.*; *De studio praesentium*, PG 63, 486 43-44.

The next question is: how does this information match up with our knowledge of the frequency of ordinary and extra-ordinary synaxes at Constantinople? Can a view of preaching from this perspective, that is, of opportunity to preach relative to actual preaching, help us to refine our conclusions? If, as Frans van de Paverd speculates, regular synaxes occurred at Antioch on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays, then the scant evidence for Constantinople points to Saturdays and Sundays only.[46] The main clue is provided not by internal evidence from John's homilies, but by the comments of Socrates and Sozomen regarding the Arian community's practice of holding all-night hymn-singing vigils within the city on the eve of important Nicene (and presumably also Arian) liturgical occasions. These are identified as Saturdays and Sundays, the days on which, Socrates claims, synaxes were customarily held throughout the city's churches.[47] Since in the main the evidence within both John's and Severian's homilies points to only two successive days of preaching, it seems reasonable to accept this claim.[48] The evidence of twice weekly synaxes located in *On Acts hom.* 29 and *In illud: Ne timueritis hom.* 1 supports this conclusion.[49] If van de Paverd is correct, then, in positing that at Antioch ordinary synaxes are likely to have occurred thrice weekly, then already it can be noted that, in terms of the ordinary rhythms of the liturgical cycle, at Constantinople John technically had one third less opportunities to preach.

This picture of diminished opportunity at Constantinople is further strengthened when one considers the rhythms of the festival calendar. Antioch appears to have had a plethora of local saints and martyrs, whose festivals were well-established in the Antiochene calendar. These festivals seems to have clustered, in particular, around the month of April and into summer, such that in some weeks (in addition to Lent and the paschal octave) it appe-

[46] VAN DE PAVERD, *Messliturgie*, pp. 69 and 422-424. The evidence cited from *In Heb. hom.* 8 to the effect that the Service of the Word was held two to three times a week can no longer be adduced as evidence for Constantinopolitan practice. See ALLEN-MAYER, *The Thirty-Four Homilies on Hebrews*.

[47] Socr., HE 6.8, GCS NF 1, 325 2-4; Soz., HE 8.8, GCS 50², 360 23-25.

[48] On the one occasion that Severian refers to a sermon of two days previously, the occasion referred to is a festival (Ascension) rather than an ordinary synaxis.

[49] See nn. 22 and 34.

ars that the Christians of Antioch had the opportunity to hear a sermon preached virtually every day.[50] Constantinople, on the other hand, had far fewer indigenous festivals and, although we have evidence for some common commemorations, such as the feast day of Sts Peter and Paul on June 29 and the festival of the Maccabees (presumably held on Aug. 1),[51] the fact that on at least two occasions John celebrates the inaugural commemoration of certain martyrs[52] indicates that those festivals were not available for celebration prior to that date. Even though the spectacular two-day celebrations associated with the reception of these remains mean that on each occasion John gets to preach two sermons instead of one, the circumstances are exceptional and only boost his rate of preaching temporarily in the year in question. This is not to say that there were not a reasonable number of festivals celebrated regularly within the Constantinopolitan liturgical calendar at this time, it is merely to suggest that, even though they were constantly growing, the number and frequency of such festivals are unlikely to have been as high at this point as at Antioch. That Lent, which provided the opportunity for daily preaching in the late afternoon from Monday to Friday, lasted for one week less at Constantinople

[50] See *Cat.* 8 (CPG 4472), SC 50bis, 247 1.1-4 (delivered in the week following Easter; refers to the recent opportunity to hear numerous sermons due to the martyrs' festivals of the preceding days); *De statuis hom.* 19, PG 49, 187 7-15 *a.i.*; *De Anna sermo* 1 (CPG 4411), PG 54, 634 7-20 (between Easter and the present date topics treated in sermons have included "many days" spent on the festivals of martyrs); *De ss. Bernice et Prosdoce* (CPG 4355), PG 50, 629 1-2 (the festival occurs less than twenty days after Good Friday); *In s. Julianum* (CPG 4360), PG 50, 672 26-674 25 (the weather is clearly pleasant, since John exhorts the audience to picnic near the martyrium rather than join in the pagan festivities commencing at Daphne on the morrow; the martyrial celebration apparently lasts two days [PG 50, 676 8-12]); *In illud: Domine, non est in homine* (CPG 4419), PG 56, 154 6-18; *In s. Ignatium* (CPG 4351), PG 50, 587 7-13. Regarding the existence of a particular two-day martyrs' festival in summer and the dates of the first two homilies (April 10-11) see F. VAN DE PAVERD, *St. John Chrysostom, The Homilies on the Statues. An Introduction* (OCA 239), Roma, 1991, pp. 290-292. The last two homilies refer to a cluster of festivals which occurred later in the year.

[51] See *Contra ludos et theatra*, PG 56, 265 3-18; and *De Eleazaro et septem pueris* (CPG 4441.13), PG 63, 525 15-23.

[52] Phocas and, if John Vanderspoel is correct, perhaps the Anaunian martyrs, Sisinnius and Martyrius. See J. VANDERSPOEL, *Claudian, Christ and the Cult of the Saints*, in *Classical Quarterly* 36 (1986) 248.

(seven, as opposed to eight),[53] meant that there were in addition a further five less opportunities to preach than in the calendar in use at Antioch. When the data for the number, frequency and duration of individual festivals are viewed in conjunction with the evidence for the number of ordinary synaxes per annum, which was also lower, it must now be conceded that the perception that John preached less at Constantinople could owe as much to the reduced opportunities available to him, as to the pressure of his episcopal duties.

If we set aside the possibility that the perceived smaller number of homilies preached at Constantinople relative to the duration of his career there owes something also to the habit of assigning to Antioch by default homilies that occur in series and contain no internal evidence of provenance, one further consideration can be introduced which challenges the assumption that accompanies this perception. If it is assumed that as bishop John preached and edited less because of the weight of his duties, then it also follows that as presbyter John had substantially more freedom to undertake both of these tasks. As we have already pointed out, it is in fact implied by some that John could not avoid preaching with considerable frequency at Antioch by virtue of the recognition of John's talent by his bishop, Flavian, who appointed him to some kind of special preaching office.[54] This view is offset, however, by another argument which claims that at Antioch, due to Flavian's considerable age, John increasingly took over the latter's duties, such that for much of the latter part of his presbyterate he operated in a *de facto* role as bishop.[55] Recent research concerning the manner in which John as presbyter established and exploited networks among the élites of Antioch for the purposes of pastoral care supports this conclusion.[56] If John is already performing many of the functions of a bishop at Antioch, despite his nominal role as presbyter, then the argument that episcopal duties tend to reduce rate of preaching ought to be applicable to this period of his life also. By the same

[53] VAN DE PAVERD, *Homilies on the Statues*, pp. 250-254.

[54] See n. 13 above.

[55] VON BONSDORFF, *Zur Predigttätigkeit*, p. 69 (who follows PUECH, *S. Jean Chrysostome et les moeurs de son temps*, Paris, 1891, p. 34); KELLY, *Golden Mouth*, p. 103.

[56] See W. MAYER, *Patronage, Pastoral Care and the Role of the Bishop at Antioch*, *Vigiliae Christianae*, forthcoming.

token, if the argument holds true, then we should not expect to see much difference in the relative rate of preaching between the second half or so of John's presbyterate and the years of his episcopate. Unfortunately we cannot as yet determine whether this is in fact the case. The problem here is that all of the arguments for dating and locating homilies within the latter part of his presbyterate rest upon the technique of filling in the blanks with the large blocks supplied by the exegetical homiletic series.[57] It is an unfortunate circumstance that the only securely datable Antiochene homilies all cluster within the first two or three years of his presbyterate.

To sum up the progress of the argument thus far, the assumption that John preached less as bishop because of the weight of his duties rests from the beginning on somewhat shaky grounds. Of the three arguments for the frequency with which John preached at Constantinople, one has no substance, the belief that he preached only on Sundays is readily dismissed, while the notion that he preached once or twice a week is likewise almost certainly a conservative estimation. Between the definitively Constantinopolitan homilies of John and those which were possibly preached there in his stead by Severian, it seems clear that John preached fairly frequently, that is, two to three times in some weeks, if only once in others. When this conclusion is matched with the evidence for the number of opportunities per annum available for preaching, it would appear that there were less opportunities available at Constantinople than at Antioch and that, within those constraints, John tended to take advantage of the opportunities that were available to him. In other words, without at this point going into a detailed analysis of how often John really did preach at Antioch during his presbyterate, given the rate of preaching relative to opportunity that emerges from the scant evidence for Constantinople, it is quite likely that the rate of preaching did not in real terms differ substantially from one location to the other. If we also acknowledge that in all probability John did in a *de facto* way take on a proportion of Flavian's duties during his presbyterate at Antioch, then the

[57] For an overview of the literature in relation to this problem see W. MAYER, *The Provenance of the Homilies of St John Chrysostom. Towards a new assessment of where he preached what*, doctoral diss., University of Queensland, Brisbane, 1996, Part I.

perceived distinction between the functions of bishop and presbyter are further blurred and we must dismiss the notion that as bishop John automatically preached less, in favour of other explanations.

The conclusion that John not only attempted to maintain a high level of preaching while at Constantinople, but viewed this aspect of his ministry as significant is perhaps supported by the manner in which he arranges for the care of his duties in anticipation of a lengthy absence necessitated by the state of affairs in Asia Minor. As Socrates and Sozomen both indicate, John devolved his administrative duties on his archdeacon Sarapion, but did not hand over his preaching responsibilities to one of his presbyters, as might have seemed natural, given that he himself is assumed to have often performed in this capacity at Antioch on behalf of Flavian. What he does instead is to devolve his preaching ministry at Constantinople upon a person of equal rank, in this case Severian, bishop of Gabala.[58] If it is acceptable to devolve his administrative duties, which presumably carried with them a certain degree of authority, upon a member of his own staff, who is not of episcopal rank, why does John find it desirable, or perhaps even necessary, to hand his preaching over to someone who is a bishop? His actions in this instance have, I think, several implications. Firstly, they indicate that his preaching ministry at Constantinople was not devolved. In other words, John did not hive off his preaching to one or more of his presbyters in response to the weight of his other responsibilities, but clearly considered it an aspect of his duties of sufficient importance to keep in his own hands. Either he valued it for itself or it was too intimately connected to his episcopal role for him to risk losing control of it. Secondly, his actions suggest that there was a substantial preaching ministry to be handed over. In other words, it serves to confirm our suspicion that John actively maintained his preaching level at Constantinople. Thirdly, the fact that he handed

[58] Soz., HE 8.10, GCS 50², 363 6-8, states that John entrusted the entire church to his care during this period, while Socr., HE 6.11, GCS NF 1, 330 13-14 simply states that while John was delayed at Ephesus Severian, because of his continued preaching, grew in popularity. The emphasis placed on Sarapion's administrative role by both authors and the highlighted subsequent ill-feeling between the two parties suggests, however, that Serapion continued his duties, regardless of Severian's official status for the duration of John's absence. Under this interpretation, Severian's most noticeable function is as locum preacher. Cf. KELLY, *Golden Mouth*, pp. 183-184, who arrives at the same conclusion.

it over to a person of equal rank, another bishop, suggests that he felt that preaching was in some way significant to that office, at least in so far as it was exercised in the see of Constantinople.[59]

Did John actively pursue preaching at Constantinople simply because he was skilled in that area and valued it, or did he maintain a reasonably high level of preaching precisely because it was so intimately connected to the status and authority of the bishop of the see that it would have been too risky for him to devolve it? The key to this issue lies perhaps in two particular Constantinopolitan sermons: *On Ephesians hom.* 11 and the tenth of the *Novae homiliae* (*In illud: Pater meus usque modo operatur*). In the first, John alludes to the fact that he is having problems with his audiences, who are being wooed away by a rival bishop who, it would appear, is preaching regularly at another church in the capital.[60] In the second, John describes the prevailing custom of yielding one's place as preacher to a visiting colleague, and how this caused him problems when he did not preach at all at the previous synaxis, permitting the elderly bishop of Galatia to do so in his stead. The audience objected violently, since they had come to hear John and not a substitute.[61] When these situations are considered in light of the impression given by Palladius, Socrates and Sozomen that, throughout the entire course of John's episcopate, the city of Constantinople was virtually flooded with visiting bishops (between twenty and forty on some of the more memorable occasions),[62] then the implications of these two sermons become mani-

[59] An additional influential factor may be that the weight of visiting bishops constantly present in the city made it impossible for him to hand this duty over to a person of a rank other than bishop without insulting his colleagues. It is also possible that Severian was in any case the best available alternative, with an already established reputation at Constantinople and an already-developed rapport with that city's audiences. See the comments of Ps.-Martyrius, *Vita* (CPG 6517), Paris gr. 1519, f. 465 b.8-13. The fact that John sought out the optimum replacement for himself would further serve to highlight the suspicion that he placed considerable emphasis on preaching.

[60] PG 62, 87-88. Regarding the provenance of this homily and this interpretation of John's comments see Mayer, *Provenance* (n. 57), pp. 346-350.

[61] PG 63, 511 41-512 6.

[62] Palladius, *Dial.* 8, SC 341, 164 91-97; 13, SC 341, 274 150-156. As Socrates, HE 6.11, indicates, Severian himself clearly spent the better part of three or four years there. When Epiphanius (another bishop) arrived (Socr., HE 6.12; Soz, HE 8.14), he had no trouble rounding up a number of bishops before whom to plead his cause.

fest. In the case of the second of the two sermons, it becomes immediately clear that had John religiously followed the cited custom, he would scarcely have preached again in the entire course of his episcopate. If, on the other hand, we assume that the sermon is early and reflects an experiment,[63] what we observe after this point is that John, rather than ever again allowing a visiting bishop to preach in his place, permits his colleagues instead to preach before him at the same synaxis.[64] By adopting this practice at ordinary synaxes, a practice which at Antioch had more or less been reserved for festival occasions,[65] John is able to satisfy the demands of courtesy in such a way that he always preaches last and consequently maintains control of his audience's loyalties. That audience loyalty is significant to him is indicated by the first sermon (*On Eph. hom.* 11), since, if his concern was simply that the Christians of Constantinople be fed spiritually through good preaching, he would not find it necessary to belabour the point that what his listeners who have swapped loyalty are doing is wrong (it is clear that they themselves are unaware that their behaviour is a problem), and to finish his sermon by pointing out that he is the only bishop in the city with legitimate authority.[66] Clearly for John, then, preaching does have an intimate connection to the episcopal office and, given the high level of competition available at Constantinople, is something to be held onto firmly and not permitted to slip out of one's control.

A further indication that preaching is vital to the maintenance by John of his episcopal authority is provided by his actions on return from his first exile. Sozomen records that his first action on

[63] See the arguments regarding the date of this homily in MAYER, *Pargoire's sequence*.

[64] Examples are numerous. See, e.g., *In illud: Ego dominus deus feci lumen*, PG 56, 141 9-19 *a.i.*; *In illud: Filius ex se nihil facit*, PG 56, 247 1-13; *In illud: Ne timueritis hom.* 2, PG 55, 511 11 *a.i.*-512 11 *a.i.*; *De Eleazaro*, PG 63, 523 14-21 *a.i.*

[65] The evidence for other bishops preaching before Flavian is slim, but see *De b. Philogonio* (CPG 4319), PG 48, 748 2-3 *a.i.* and 752 47-50, where John indicates that on the festival of Philogonius there are preachers other than himself and Flavian involved. The same situation is reflected in *De s. Babyla* (CPG 4347), SC 362, 296 5-8. On all of the occasions that John himself preaches before Flavian, a festival is involved, although it is possible that John may not have been unfamiliar with the idea of more than one homilist, including the presiding bishop, preaching on more ordinary occasions.

[66] PG 62, 88 28-35.

re-entering the city was to detour via the Church of the Holy Apostles where he preached to a receptive crowd a short extempore sermon.[67] Preaching was a vital means of establishing charismatic authority and John shows by his actions that he well knew its significance. The sermon which he preached on his return from Asia Minor is another example of John exploiting the medium as a means of re-establishing his authority and working to redress any weakening of his audiences' loyalties that might have occurred during his absence.[68] In the case of his predecessor, it could be argued that Nectarius did not need the charismatic status provided by preaching (Martyrius tells us that he was not very good at it),[69] since his networks amongst the senatorial class and the palace were sound and he did little during his seventeen years to upset the status quo. This observation, of course, does not mean that Nectarius did not likewise preach frequently at Constantinople. It simply establishes that his audiences did not respond very favourably to his offerings. John, on the other hand, with his penchant for reform, once he had started out preaching at a high level, was, I would suggest, obliged to maintain a high profile as a preacher as time progressed in order to maintain his popularity and to redress the discontent his non-homiletic activities engendered among his clergy and in other quarters. In other words, once he emarked on a regimen of frequent preaching he would in time have found that he could not afford to slow down for a variety of reasons.

This point leads us to one final question. Why did John undertake to preach frequently at Constantinople in the first instance? His predecessor had set a low standard, and, with his ability, John could presumably have maintained an acceptable degree of audience loyalty by preaching with less frequency. The key to this final question lies, I think, in Martyrius' comments concerning the effects of Nectarius' poor preaching upon attendance, and in the tone of the second sermon that John preached at Constantinople (*Contra Anomoeos hom.* 11: CPG 4324). Martyrius suggests that when John arrived in the city he inherited small audiences.[70] People expected good preaching and, if the bishop was not worth listening

[67] HE 8.18, GCS 50², 374 1-11.
[68] *De regressu* (CPG 4394).
[69] Ps.-Martyrius, *Vita*, Paris gr. 1519, f. 465 a.30-b.8.
[70] Paris gr. 1519, ff. 465-466.

to, they developed lazy habits and considered that regular church attendance was not necessary to their salvation. John, as his second and subsequent sermons suggest, had other ideas and was anxious to build up a small, as yet by no means dominant community. The key to this endeavour was to exercise leadership through preaching and to ensure that it became desirable for the Nicene Christians of Constantinople to attend. In both *Contra Anomoeos hom.* 11 and in *De divinitate Christi* (CPG 4325), delivered shortly afterwards, John emphasises the efficacy of regular attendance,[71] while he opens the latter semon by stating that there is a noticeable increase in attendance with each successive synaxis.[72] By the time we come to sermons such as *In illud: Pater meus usque modo operatur* and *In illud: Filius ex se nihil facit*, preached at successive synaxes probably within twelve months or so of those first few homilies,[73] from the audience's point of view other preachers are suffering by comparison with John and it would seem that his popularity is at something of a peak.[74] Thus, even if John quickly realised that such popularity was useful, if precarious and needing to be worked at to be maintained, initially it would seem that he embarked upon a programme of frequent preaching at Constantinople because of a desire to build up active church-going within the Nicene Christian community, since he considered this practice important and it had either lapsed during the episcopate of Nectarius or, under the leadership of Gregory Nazianzen, had in the first instance never effectively got off the ground.

To sum up this final section of our analysis, then, not only is it likely that John preached frequently at Constantinople relative to the opportunities available to him, but his actions in the case of Severian would appear to support this conclusion. The evidence further suggests that he embarked on a programme of frequent preaching right from the beginning of his episcopate and that, regardless of the pressure of non-homiletic duties, once he had established such a norm he would have found it difficult, perhaps even dangerous, to resile from it. In addition, we see both that he valued preaching in its own right as significant to the health of people's

[71] SC 396, 306-314; 352-356.

[72] SC 396, 318 1-3.

[73] Regarding the possible date of these homilies see the arguments put forward in MAYER, *Pargoire's seauence.*

souls, and that he considered this office to be attached firmly to his role as bishop. Indeed, in the face of constant pressure from visiting colleagues, he seems to have viewed control over this aspect of his ministry and over his audience's loyalties as vital to the establishment and maintenance within his see of his own personal charismatic authority. If this picture is correct, then contrary to the view with which we started out, namely that at Constantinople John Chrysostom preached less frequently, and that this was due to the weight of his episcopal duties, we are presented with a picture in which a significant late-fourth century bishop is seen to exercise personal choice over the duties that he undertakes in relation to those that he delegates. In consequence it becomes clear that, at least at this location at this particular point in time, administration is not necessarily a bishop's primary function. Contrary to the impression previously obtained, preaching constitutes a significant aspect of John's episcopal ministry. The questions still to be answered are how frequently relative to opportunity he actually preached at Antioch and whether the view of the bishop derived here has implications for the latter part of his presbyteral ministry. Finally, the chronology of John's Constantinopolitan sermons, not to mention the provenance of those sermons until now assigned to Antioch by default, also needs to be given serious reconsideration.

Summary

It has long been assumed that as bishop John Chrysostom was distracted by administrative and political concerns and that he therefore preached less at Constantinople. It can be shown that this premise is based on a number of false assumptions. A careful analysis of his preaching activity in this city as well as during his time at Antioch as presbyter suggests that, on the contrary, John maintained a high rate of preaching as bishop. This finding has important consequences for our understanding of the episcopal role, and for our view of John's activities in the second half of his presbyterate, as well as for the chronology of his homilies.

Theodore of Mopsuestia, interpreter of the prophets

by
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We are told that "the Antiochenes were fascinated by prophecy."[1] If so, they have little to show for it, outside of Theodoret of Cyrus, who could claim in 448 on the eve of deposition to have commented on "all the prophets, the Psalter and the Apostle."[2] Diodore of Tarsus, who presided over the Antiochene school of exegesis in its heyday, has bequeathed to us nothing on the prophets (that is, the Latter Prophets of the Hebrew Bible, not all the προφῆται, a term used of all the Old Testament authors in their capacity as inspired composers).[3] His better represented pupil, John Chrysostom, has left us among his vast extant corpus a single homily on Jeremiah 10.23,[4] whereas on Isaiah – "the most articulate of all the prophets,"[5] in his view – we have six homilies on the opening verses of ch 6[6] and one on 45.7;[7] regarding a longer commentary on Isaiah, scholarly opinion is divided as to whether a work on

[1] So Frances M. YOUNG, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, Cambridge, 1997, 168.

[2] *Ep.* 82 to Eusebius of Ancyra; Y. AZÉMA (ed.), *Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance* II (Sources Chrétiennes 98), Paris, 1964, 202.

[3] Cf use of the term in this sense also in the creed of Constantinople, "He has spoken through the *prophetai*" (DS 150).

[4] PG 56.153-62; cf CPG 4419.

[5] Hom.2 *In Oziam* (PG 56.108).

[6] PG 56.97-142; cf CPG 4417.

[7] PG 56.143-52; cf CPG 4418. Chrysostom's two homilies generally known as *De prophetiarum obscuritate* (cf CPG 4420; critical edition by S. ZINCONE, *Giovanni Crisostomo. Omelie sull'oscurità delle profezie*, Verba Seniorum NS 12, Roma, 1998), of course, deal not only with prophetic but with all Old Testament inspired works for reasons given above.

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1.1-8.10 extant in Greek or a complete commentary in an Armenian version should be accepted as authentically Chrysostom's.[8]

'HE COMMENTARY ON THE TWELVE PROPHETS

Of Diodore's other famous – or notorious – pupil, Theodore, all we have remaining whole and entire in Greek from his exegetical works is his Commentary on the Twelve Prophets (so-called in the Hebrew Bible, later somewhat pejoratively classed *prophetae minores*),[9] such being the effect of his fame or notoriety that the other works perished at the hands of his voluble and ultimately influential adversaries. (Christians of Eastern Syria fortunately – and ironically, considering his unkind remarks about Syriac-speaking commentators – retained a list of his works, and in the conspicuous case of the Commentary on John's Gospel preserved some of his writings in Syriac.) The Commentary on the Twelve is a work of his youth, before ordination and later appointment as bishop of Mopsuestia; his most vocal adversary, Leontius of Byzantium, claims "he was no more than eighteen years of age when he took to subjecting the divine Scriptures to drunken abuse,"[10] and the evidence is that in accord with tradition he began his exegetical career with a work on the Psalms (the Greek text also lost but recently

[8] Jean DUMORTIER, *Jean Chrysostome. Commentaire sur Isaïe* (SC 304), Paris, 1983, 14, accepts both the Armenian version and the Greek text as authentic, but neither as coming from Chrysostom's hand – only an editor's, based on stenographers' notes. Johannes QUASTEN, *Patrology* III, Westminster MD, 1960, 436, accepts the Armenian, judging the Greek to be only excerpts from homilies "stripped of their oratorical garb."

[9] By Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18, 29 (CCL 48.619) – though he intended no disparagement: "Quia sermones eorum sunt breves." Theodore would probably have been no more familiar with Augustine's term than was Theodoret, who at the opening of his Commentary (PG 81.1548-49) made the point that the Twelve Prophets constitute one book only for reasons of length, the latter term being current at least since Ben Sira (Sir 49.10).

[10] *Contra Nestor. et Eutych.* 8 (PG 86.1364). If this account is correct, Theodore's exegetical career must have spanned about sixty years, as he died at about the age of seventy eight in 428 (just as his pupil Nestorius was assuming the position of bishop in Constantinople).

partly reconstituted),[11] on which the Commentary on the Twelve directly follows. The Syriac historians also document work by Theodoret on the "four" major prophets (Daniel also included); we do not have it, and because Greek historians and conciliar animadversions do not refer to it, its composition has been questioned.[12] Internal evidence also suggests that, while the commentator on The Twelve is considerably – even exclusively – familiar with the Psalms, he does not resonate with echoes of the major prophets, even though at the outset he claims, with juvenile smugness, that his work is "an indictment of those who presume to apply themselves to the prophetic utterances without due preparation,"[13] the implication being that he himself is thus well prepared. When he comes to Obadiah, he notes no resemblance of vv.1-5 to the verbatim occurrence of these verses in Jer 49.14-16,19, nor does he note the resemblance of Micah 4.1-3 to Isa 2.2-4.[14] His previous work on the Psalms, by contrast, is frequently invoked: the confusion of past and future tenses by his Septuagint version he attributes to the original (claiming a grasp of Hebrew syntax he does not in fact possess), changing the LXX of Hosea 9.2, "They did not inhabit the Lord's land," to "They will not inhabit" on the grounds that the Bible "expresses it as usual with a change in tense, as was pointed out on many occasions in blessed David's usage." He thinks – wrongly – that he finds in Hos 12.9 the same reversal of tenses, "which I sufficiently demonstrated in the case of the Psalms as

[11] By R. DEVREESSE, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les psaumes I-LXXX* (Studi e Testi 93), Roma, 1939. For the Psalms Commentary being his first exegetical work we have the word of Facundus of Hermianae, *Pro defensione trium capitulorm* 3.6 (PL 67.602).

[12] By J. M. VOSTÉ, "La chronologie de l'activité littéraire de Théodore de Mopsueste," *Revue Biblique* 34 (1925) 69-70.

[13] PG 66.124. Theodoret, by contrast, who had already completed works on Daniel and Ezekiel (and the Song), opens his Commentary on the Twelve with an acknowledgement of indebtedness to his anonymous predecessors (including Theodore) and a typically modest claim to making some little contribution of his own (PG 81.1545-48). He was, however, no mere stripling when he composed the work.

[14] So Theodore does not aspire, as would Theodoret in opening his Commentary (PG 81.1548), "to use the divine word like a kind of lamp" to illuminate his text of the Twelve.

well."[15] A young person's intolerant attitude to his predecessors can also be detected in Theodore's generally scathing (and anonymous) references to earlier commentators on the Twelve, notably in the main from Alexandria like Origen[16] and Didymus in the absence of Antiochene exemplars. He thus did not help his cause, fuelling the fires of Leontius, who had reason to complain that "in his misinterpretation of the divine Scriptures that coarse fellow never ceased mocking and jeering at the efforts of the holy teachers who have worked on them."[17]

For a study of Theodore's interpretation of Old Testament prophecy, then, we have only this youthful work. Fortunately, it is not to the Syrian Nestorian church that we are indebted for its survival after the condemnation of his opera by the second council of Constantinople in 553.[18] The Greek text has come to us in direct tradition in manuscripts in the Vatican library, eminently in one from the tenth century, Vat.gr. 2204,[19] edited by the library's prefect Cardinal Angelo Mai in 1832 with a lengthy preface, recast in 1854, and this text appears in cols 124-632 of vol. 66 of Jean-Paul Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* together with both prefaces. We also have a more recent critical edition prepared by Hans Norbert Sprenger.[20]

Influence of Libanius and Diodore

The young Theodore, whether or not better prepared than his peers for the task of interpreting the prophets as he claims, could

[15] One would not, therefore, as does Christoph Schäublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese* (Theophaneia: Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums 23), Köln, 1974, 131-32, cite this as an instance both of Theodore's sound literary formation and appreciation of the LXX as a version of the Hebrew.

[16] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.32.2 (SC 41.138-39), speaks of Origen's books on the Twelve, "of which we found only twenty five."

[17] *Contra Nestor. et Eutcyh.* 11 (PG 86.1364).

[18] Cf DS 433,435-37.

[19] Cf CPG 3834.

[20] *Theodori Mopsuesteni Commentarius in XII Prophetas* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, Biblica et Patristica 1), Wiesbaden, 1977, which confirms the esteem accorded ms Vat.gr.2204 by Mai and Geerard. (Sprenger's text is referred to below as S. His edition, 432-53, does include also some brief fragments of a Syriac text of Hosea, Joel and Amos.)

count on his Antiochene formation in the school of Diodore and his earlier rhetorical education by the sophist Libanius[21] – advantages he shared with his friend John, later to earn the sobriquet Golden-mouthed (as Theodore, at least in some circles, would be known as "the Interpreter"). Both men left their mark on the young Theodore, particularly the former, whom the pupil may have only imperfectly understood. To the latter may be due his ability to respond to the figurative language of prophetic discourse and to subject his text to a degree of literary criticism. While failing to note the Isaian character of that passage in Mic 4.1-4, he does observe the vacillation between gloom and optimism in the prophet, and finds biblical precedent for it.

> After mentioning the disasters being inflicted on them to this point, however, he then mentions also what will happen to them after its capture, and the degree of change for the better that will ensue. This custom of the other prophets and blessed David we have often demonstrated, namely, the disclosure of pleasant things after the experience of harsh things and in turn mentioning baleful events in order that through both they might instruct them by the frequency of the disclosure, bringing them to their senses by the mention of baleful things and encouraging them by the brighter to hold fast to hope in God.[22]

He delights in finding examples of synecdoche in the text, thinking it a distinctively biblical figure, remarking on Hab 3.3, "Here too, note, he used differentiation to imply commonality, a practice of the divine Scripture which we have illustrated on many occasions: he says that heaven and earth are opened by the excellence of God, implying the totality of things, and that praise for him in his works should be recited by everyone."

Theodore thus fails to evince the same sureness of touch in literary appreciation of the prophets as Theodoret will exemplify, suggesting he did not fully profit from Libanius's tutelage. Perhaps his most conspicuous failing in this regard is his inability – or refusal – to recognise apocalyptic. Whereas he can resonate with certain literary genres, like the taunt song in Nahum 2.11-13, law suits and

[21] Cf Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6,3 (PG 67.665). Schäublin, whose basic position about Theodore's preparation for his exegetical career is that "Theodor sein Rüstzeug als Interpret der paganen Grammatik verdankt" (*Untersuchungen*, 158), has little to say about the influence on him of Libanius.

[22] PG 66.364; S 206.

judgement speeches in Hos 4, and a judgement oracle in Zeph 1, when he comes to what Paul Hanson describes as "full-blown" apocalyptic[23] in Deutero-Zechariah with its cosmic landscape and clearly eschatological references to Armageddon, he refuses to forsake his historical accent on "what will shortly happen," as in Joel he had taken no note of such a familiar apocalyptic manifesto as "Day of the Lord." It is as if Diodore, who had drilled into him the priority of τὸ ἱστόρικόν,[24] is cramping the literary style he had acquired from Libanius.

Again, he has Libanius to thank for his ability and readiness to guide his readers – and we gain little insight into the nature of this readership – through the sometimes quite obscure material in the Twelve by providing them with an opening statement of its *hypothesis*, as in the case of Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum and Habakkuk, the reason here being particular need of clarification of the historical situation or the nature of the material.[25] The classic case in this regard is the book of Jonah, which presents an Antiochene with an extreme challenge in the "novel and extraordinary things" recounted there, forcing Theodore to invoke as he had at the beginning of the Commentary a hermeneutical framework of the whole divine oikonomia, before relating the book's account of Nineveh's repentance to Nahum's account of that city's fall. It is a classic case, not just because it has been necessary to recall such a *hypothesis* so as to justify the incredible contents, but because in the process this Antiochene proves incapable of discerning the *skopos* of the author, a satire of prophetism in the person of this almost comic figure. Libanius again yields to Diodore: literary appreciation becomes a victim of Antiochene theological and hermeneutical principles - only partly understood.

For if Theodore is compromising the rhetorical education he received from Libanius, he is not doing full justice to Antiochene exegetical principles imparted to him in the school of Diodore, either. He can appreciate the *akribeia* of an author like Hosea for

[23] *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, Philadelphia, 1975, 369.

[24] A fragment of Diodore's work on the Octateuch enunciates the principle, "We far prefer the historical to the allegorical;" cf C. SCHÄUBLIN, "Diodor von Tarsus," *TRE* 8, 765, *Untersuchungen*, 84.

[25] There is no evidence from the mss surveyed in Sprenger's edition of a general introduction to the Commentary now lost. What occurs as an introduction to Haggai would confirm this.

supplying details such as the names of the prophet's father and King Jeroboam's and for detailing the items used to pay for his wife (money, barley and wine), and he commends Haggai for providing chronological details of his ministry (though here proving that "precision," *akribeia*, in the text and in the commentator does not necessarily imply in the latter "accuracy," a common mistranslation of the term, for he proceeds to miscalculate the number of Persian kings between Cyrus and Darius).[26] Where he sells this Antiochene principle short is in his use of the term *akribologia* to dismiss what he considers unnecessary efforts by his predecessors to chase up obscure details in the text of an historical, geographical, topographical or cultural nature, like the location of Tarshish in Jonah 1.3, for which some commentators had suggested Tarsus or Rhodes: "For my part, however, I consider this entire chase after detail to be irrelevant to the subject in hand in so far as the account by the prophet is just as equally beyond question, no matter which city you think it to be." He cannot be bothered locating the home towns of prophets, like Micah's Moresheth and Nahum's Elkosh, or investigating why it is that Malachi is to transmit a word of the Lord to "Israel" long after the fall of that kingdom. This impatience with detail sits strangely with an accent on *to historikon* in an Antiochene commentator, youthful though he may be.

THEODORE'S TEXT OF THE TWELVE

What Antioch did not impart to Theodore in preparation for Old Testament exegesis (or, rather, "commentary," since exegesis in the modern sense was beyond him)[27] was an ability to access the text in the original language. Though he has been credited with a knowledge of Hebrew (which would have made him a solitary fellow of Jerome among the Fathers),[28] this work reveals his complete

[26] Unless he is taking account of unnamed pretenders following the death of Cambyses, touched on by Theodoret also in introducing Haggai (PG 81.1861).

[27] Cf J. N. D. KELLY, *Golden Mouth. The Story of John Chrysostom, Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop*, Ithaca NY, 1995, 94: "Neither John, nor any Christian teacher for centuries to come, was properly equipped to carry out exegesis as we have come to understand it. He could not be expected to understand the nature of Old Testament writings."

[28] DEVREESSE, *Le commentaire*, vi, thinks such a knowledge of Hebrew went along with Theodore's "uncommon knowledge of the Bible," also unsupported by

dependence on a Greek version in his local form of the Septuagint (if we are not to follow Paul Kahle in confining that term to a later Alexandrian version).[29] Again with youthful impatience, he dismisses any commentator who would want to arrive at the meaning of a passage by reference to another version, especially the Syriac, even though the Peshitta of the Latter Prophets had attained authoritative status two centuries earlier.[30] When the Lord in Zeph 1.5 threatens those in Judah who had recourse to the idol Milcom, his local text retains the term whereas the Syriac reads "(their) king" (as in fact do other forms of the LXX). Not capable of referring to the Hebrew text and thus disputing the Syriac reading on linguistic grounds – whether, e.g., *malkam* in our Heb. text and not *melek* is appropriate – he simply claims to be "bypassing the fantastic notions of those who hanker after the Syriac lest I seem to fill up the divine Scripture with fooleries." He then sets about establishing on *a priori* grounds that the LXX outranks the Syriac.

> They ought to realise this before everything else, that whereas the contents of the divine Scripture are composed in Hebrew, they were translated into Syriac by somebody or other (his identity is unknown to this day). The translation into Greek, on the other hand, was done by seventy men, elders of the people, possessing a precise knowledge of their own language and a knowledge of the divine Scriptures, approved of by the priest and all the Israelite people as particularly suited to translating. Their translation and publication the blessed apostles clearly seem

this Commentary. L. PIROT, *L'Oeuvre exégètique de Théodore de Mopsueste*, Roma, 1913, 96-100, painstakingly assembles evidence to the opposite conclusion. Rowan A. GREER, *Theodore of Mopsuestia. Exegete and Theologian*, London, 1961, 100, without such evidence opines, "Theodore probably knew some Hebrew... He was not so proficient as Jerome." Nor was Origen, in the view of H. CROUZEL, *Origen*, Eng. trans., San Francisco, 1989, 12, "but he must have had enough to direct the compilation of the *Hexapla*, even if the actual work was done by some assistant." Jerome's unusual grasp of Hebrew he owed to his time in Chalcis c. 375, where he learnt it from a Jew, says KELLY, *Jerome. His Life, Writings and Controversies*, London, 1975, 50.

[29] KAHLE, *The Cairo Genizah*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1959, 257, holds for a Greek translation made in Antioch, later revised by Lucian, that was "probably written before the text came into existence which we normally call the 'Septuagint,'" which was fixed towards the end of the second century BC in Alexandria.

[30] So M. P. WEITZMAN, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, Cambridge, 1999, 253. This datum probably settles the question of Theodore's means of accessing the Syriac version canvassed by SCHÄUBLIN, *Untersuchungen*, 126 and n.163.

> to have accepted, and to the believers from the nations who formerly had no access at all to the contents of the Old Testament they passed on the divine Scriptures written in Greek in the translation of the Seventy. All of us, having come to faith in Christ the Lord from the nations, received the Scriptures from them and now enjoy them, reading them aloud in the churches and keeping them at home.[31]

When this version on which he pins his hopes comes up (by reading different forms from our Heb.) with an astral deity "Raiphan" (Remphan in his local text) in Amos 5.26, Theodore has to admit his lack of semitic science by citing "commentators who claim that in the language of the Hebrews the morning star is given this name," just as his friend Chrysostom – suffering an equal disadvantage from Diodore's school – will admit indebtedness to "those with a precise knowledge of that language" to determine the force of the Heb. plural "heavens" in Gen 1.8, adding that "those who know the language of the Syrians confirm this."[32]

For all his promoting the LXX above competing versions, Theodore is therefore unaware of its shortcomings as a translation of the Hebrew. Often, unbeknown to him, it is reading a form similar to but different from that found in our Heb. text. The LXX Jonah confides to the sailors in 1.9 that "I am a servant of the Lord," whereas his confession probably arises from reading *'ibdi* for *'ibri*, "I am a Hebrew." When the Lord in Amos 1.6 threatens Gaza with punishment for taking into exile "entire communities" to hand them over to Edom, the LXX has him saying, "I shall not shun them because of their taking captive Solomon into captivity," evidently reading *shalma* as "Solomon" and leading Theodore to comment, "I shall no longer put up with their committing many godless acts and persisting in their wilful depravity; I shall punish them in particular for the fact that, after Solomon took captive the people from Idumea and put them under the authority of the Israelites so that they remained for a long time in that condition, the latter attacked, did away with that captivity by the norms of war and obliged them to go back again to Idumea." If not to blame for the shortcomings of his version, neither is he capable of recognising them.

[31] PG 66.452-53; S 283-84.

[32] PG 53.43; translation from my *St John Chrysostom. Homilies on Genesis 1-17* (Fathers of the Church 74), Washington DC, 1986, 57).

Theodore is commenting on the Twelve Prophets in his local, Antiochene form of the LXX, unwilling to consider the Syriac, and in this case, unlike his work on the Psalms, not prepared to go to the trouble of checking those alternative Greek versions associated with the names of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, which could be found in a copy of the Hexapla along with another form of LXX. The provenance of the Antioch version, whether a revision of a standard LXX or an independent version, is much debated. Jerome, a contemporary of Theodore, spoke of three forms of the LXX current, respectively, in Alexandria, Constantinople-Antioch and "the provinces in between," the second being "another version which Origen and Eusebius of Caesarea and all the Greek commentators call the popular text, and which by most is now called the Lucianic text,"[33] that is, a revision or (less likely) a version by Lucian of Antioch a century before.[34] Theodore (we saw above) clearly accepted, like his contemporaries, not only the legendary account of the origins of the LXX given in the *Letter of Aristeas* but also the current belief that the work of the Seventy translators of the second century BC included not just the Torah but the whole of the Hebrew Bible; and with his limitations he was in no position to do anything but depend on it completely for the message of the prophets. Our knowledge of that Lucianic text comes from its citation by the Antiochene Fathers, like Theodore. We observe that its text of the Twelve (who occur in the order of the Hebrew Bible, incidentally, not of the LXX generally)[35] differs in places from other forms of the LXX, sometimes departing from them to agree with

[33] *Praef. in Paral.* (PL 28.1324-25); *Ep.* 106.2 (PL 22.838). The term "Lucianic" is acceptable to moderns like B. DREWERY, "Antiochien," *TRE* 3, 106, and S. P. BROCK, "Bibelübersetzungen I, 2," *TRE* 6, 166-67. D. BARTHÉLEMY, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (*VTS* X), Leiden, 1963, 126-27, prefers "texte Antiochien." N. FERNANDEZ MARCOS, "Some reflections on the Antiochian text of the Septuagint," in *Studien zur Septuaginta – Robert Hanhart zur Ehren*, Göttingen, 1990, speaks interchangeably of Lucian, Lucianic recension, Antiochian recen-

[34] S. JELLICOE, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, Oxford, 1968, 160-61, thinks there are no grounds for believing Lucian had enough Hebrew to produce an independent translation.

[35] Theodore's text is thus reflecting the intention of the Masoretes to arrange the Twelve in "actual or supposed" chronological order, whereas the LXX (for the first five) is guided rather by length; cf O. EISSFELDT, *The Old Testament. An Introduction*, Eng. trans., Oxford, 1965, 383.

our Hebrew, at other times being independent of both. In Hos 9.12b, for instance, Theodore is reading a subordinate clause, "because I have left them," found in Heb. but not in other LXX forms, like the phrase in Mic 7.12, "from sea to sea, from mountain to mountain." In Hos 10.13 Theodore reads, "Because you trusted in your chariots," a plural noun that, while departing from Heb. and LXX, makes better sense in the view of editor Mai and modern commentators. Zechariah's vision of several horses of different colours on different errands in 6.1-8 is inconsistent in Heb. and Grk, the Antiochene text making much better sense in matching horses and errands. And so on. The moral for modern exegetes is not to take "Septuagint/LXX" as a univocal term, but to scrutinise all forms, even if this means turning up the volumes of PG, so as to avoid making that erroneous comment that a particular reading is "missing in the LXX."[36]

ACCEPTING THE PROPHETS AS INSPIRED

It is in his local LXX text, then, that Theodore finds and interprets the message of the prophets. Rationalist though he was thought to be by Leontius[37] and Theodoret,[38] he has no difficulty conceding their divine inspiration. The question of biblical inspiration he had already been obliged to address, like many of the Fathers, in commenting on the opening to Ps 45, "My heart belched good news," the LXX verb ἐξερεύγομαι rendering a *hapax legomenon* in the Heb. text, which the Greeks find an apt term for the irresistible activity of the Holy Spirit. When the psalmist proceeds, "My tongue the pen of a fluent scribe,"

[36] A phrase that is heard from commentators who at least take the trouble to consult the versions, like D. STUART, *Hosea-Jonah* (Word Biblical Commentary 31), Waco TX, 1987, 362 (on Amos 6.8,14) and R. L. SMITH, *Micah-Malachi* (Word Biblical Commentary 32), 1984, 126 (on Zeph 1.5), 193 (on Zech 1.21). Editions of biblical texts emanating from the Septuagint project at Göttingen are therefore more helpful to commentators than a text like that of A. RAHLFS, *Septuaginta*, 7th ed., Stuttgart, 1962.

[37] Cf *Contra Nestor. et Eutych.* 13-16 (PG 86.1366).

[38] In prefaces to two of his commentaries, on the Song of Songs (PG 81.29) and the Psalter (PG 80.857), Theodoret castigates a predecessor, generally thought to be Theodore, for historicism. The Syrian catalogues do not confirm Theodore's composition of a commentary on the Song.

Theodore comments, "The Spirit, just like a perfect writer, fills, as it were with ink, the human heart with the perceptions of revelation, and from there allows the tongue to speak loud and clear and to formulate the sayings in language and articulate them distinctly for those who are willing to receive the benefit which stems from them."[39] In this he is largely capitalising on the thinking of his predecessors, especially Eusebius, though making a contribution of his own with the inclusion of the ink in the pen as "the perceptions of revelation from the Spirit;" and despite the involuntariness suggested by the LXX's "belching" he can perhaps be seen trying to maintain a balance between an instrumental notion of inspiration and Antioch's particular emphasis on authorial activity. If so, he is in this respect acknowledging the thinking of master Diodore, who on this term had supplied just such a rider, "I adjust my tongue to the extent possible to the movement of grace."[40]

The particular charism of prophetic inspiration, however, does not come in for immediate comment by Theodore, his focus being primarily on their historical situation. He does not respond to an early cue even from a verse like Hos 12.10, "I spoke to the prophets, I multiplied visions and took on a likeness at the hands of the prophets." Before he concludes, however, he will admit in connection with the figure of the martyred shepherd of Zech 13.7 that the prophet (the one author being responsible for both chs 1-8 and 9-14 of that book, in his view, of course) has been in receipt of many visions because "inspired," ἔνθους, by the Spirit. That particular book with its remarkable *apokalypseis* of horses of many colours on various errands in 1.8-11 and 6.1-8 had led him with his focus on *to historikon* (already seriously challenged by the "novel and extraordinary things" of the book of Jonah) to account for them – perhaps with a touch of rationalism – as a different charism from other communications.

> It is obvious, you see, that the whole revelation and what was seen in it as well as question, answer and suchlike were all products of the imagination in the revelation, the result being that the prophet received instruction from it all, and he both personally gained a firm trust in the future events and also imparted the benefit to others.[41]

[39] DEVREESSE, *Le commentaire*, 282. See my "Psalm 45: a *locus classicus* for patristic thinking on biblical inspiration," *Studia Patristica* 25 (1993) 95-100.

[40] *Commentarii in Psalmos I-L*, ed. J. M. OLIVIER, CCG 6, Turnhout, 1980, 269.

[41] PG 66.509; S 330.

Where Theodore more markedly parts company with his Antiochene fellows such as Chrysostom, who will so allow for authorial contribution as to see inspired composition of every kind, *propheteia*, as akin to the work of "a builder building a house, a shipwright making a ship,"[42] is where the term λῆμμα for "oracle" used at the opening of Nahum (also in Hab.1.1, Zech 9.1, Mal 1.1) he will relate to λαμβάνω to present ecstatic possession as the mode of inspiration for the prophets.

> It was by ecstasy, therefore, that in all likelihood they all received the knowledge of things beyond description, since it was possible for them in their minds to be quite removed from their normal condition and thus capable of devoting themselves to the contemplation of what was revealed.[43]

Only in this way, with the prophet-historian reduced on these occasions to the insensate condition of pagan *manteis*, can *to historikon* in biblical composition be preserved, he obviously feels – though thus once more compromising his Antiochene principles.

ACCENT ON HISTORY

For the mission of the prophets is twofold – teaching and writing – and their message primarily an historical one, in Theodore's view, and must be interpreted as such. As he says of Zechariah, "The prophet by divine revelation received knowledge of the essential elements of these events, and disclosed to the people what was to happen; and to their descendants he transmitted an account of them in writing."[44] He is therefore in haste to situate each of the Twelve in his historical situation and to identify "what was to happen," and when. He loses no time at the opening of the work relating Hosea to the previous *propheteia* of David, who had "foretold everything satisfactorily" for the intervening period until the Asssyrian incursions made further predictions necessary; not with-

[42] PG 55.184.

[43] PG 66.401; S 239. Theodoret will concede this sense of λῆμμα in meeting it in Nahum (PG 81.1789), but briefly, as though like Chrysostom uncomfortable with its implications for an understanding of inspiration.

[44] PG 66.569.

out historical lapses,[45] he proceeds likewise with all the others. When he reaches Haggai, he reviews the sequence thus,

> The blessed prophets Hosea, Joel, Amos and Micah directed their attention in general to all the Israelite people, both those of the ten tribes ruled by Samaria and especially those of the tribe of Judah, who dwelt in Jerusalem... Blessed Obadiah mentioned the punishment that would be imposed on the Idumeans at the time of the return. Blessed Jonah threatened the Ninevites with overthrow if they did not change their evil ways. Blessed Nahum clearly disclosed both the siege of Nineveh and the destruction of the whole kingdom of the Assyrians, which they were due to undergo at the hands of the Babylonians. After those in the ten tribes had already been deported by the Assyrians and had suffered total captivity and removal from their own place, the blessed prophets Habakkuk and Zephaniah charged those left behind, who were from the tribe of Judah and living in Jerusalem, with their acts of impiety and lawlessness.[46]

He thus envisages four eighth century prophets, three others still prior to the fall of Samaria in 722, and two prior to the fall of Jerusalem in the early sixth century. Haggai and Zechariah are assigned to the restoration, and Malachi to a time when the Temple has been rebuilt and some apathy of the community has already set in (the LXX not registering the Persian background of the term for "governor" in 1.8 suggesting a later date).

There is thus no need, in Theodore's limited perspective and limited conception of prophetic purpose, to look beyond those three centuries. He does concede at the outset that in his dealings with the prophets and people in those times God was "conducting affairs in their regard by way of preparation for the manifestation and coming of Christ the Lord:" the whole of the divine *oikonomia* is the context, and the Incarnation (*epanthropesis* not a term he uses, preferring *epiphaneia, parousia*) its goal. Of Theodore we can to some extent say, as Frances Young says of the Antiochenes generally, that "what we have here is an important stress on the 'reality' of the overarching narrative from creation through fall to incar-

[45] For example, listing of Assyrian kings to set the scene for the prophets omits Sargon II (not mentioned in the Bible) and Shalmaneser V, as happens also in Theodoret; Darius is "the fourth to reign over the Persians after Cyrus," an error Theodoret corrects.

[46] PG 66.473-76; S 303.

nation and redemption,"[47] with a priority given to *pragmata, aletheia* in prophetic statement taken as history. But "the Interpreter" has reduced the span of the arch to stretch only from David to Zerubbabel (or perhaps the Maccabees), the perspective effectively reduced to bracket out creation at one end and incarnation and redemption at the other; there is really not a New Testament dimension to Theodore's hermeneutic. Neither is a spiritual interpretation of prophecy required, the youthful commentator feeling no pastoral responsibility.[48] It is – perhaps predictably – a blinkered view of the minor prophets in an Antiochene neophyte drilled in (if not fully appreciating) the priority of *to historikon.*

Right from the outset, then, the task is "by the grace of God to bring clarity" to the historical sense of prophetic discourse and establish the facts (as he says in introducing Haggai). Though modern commentators may debate the factuality of Hosea's marriage in ch 1, it is beyond the realm of symbolism for Theodore: "The prophet obeys this command, and marries a prostitute, whose father's name he also mentions lest what was said should seem some trifling fiction and not a true record of events." The next prophet in Theodore's text is Joel, and likewise in his work what is to be looked for is principally "facts" and "outcomes" as a guarantee of their authenticity, or "truth."

> The theme of his work, in general terms, is that also of all the prophets, who were anxious to disclose what was going to happen in regard to the people according to the grace of the Holy Spirit given to them in regard to that. First place among them, as I said before, was held by blessed David, who long ago – in fact, very long ago – and well before the outcome of the events mentioned all that would happen in regard to the

[47] *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, 296. Cf SCHÄUBLIN, *Untersuchungen*, 170: "Der Bezug auf die 'Realität', die ἀληθεία, stellt aber die wohl entscheidende Komponente der antiochenischen 'historischen' Auslegung dar."

[48] To judge from his Commentary on Galatians, however, composed when he was a bishop (in Vosté's view, *La chronologie*, 78), Theodore never thought much of spiritual interpretation. On Gal 4.24 (according to the fifth century Latin version edited by H. B. SWETE, *Theodori Episcopi Mopsueteni in epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii* I, Cambridge, 1880, 74-75), he commented, "When they turn to expounding divine Scripture 'spiritually' - spiritual interpretation is the name they would like their folly to be given - they claim Adam is not Adam, paradise is not paradise, the serpent is not the serpent. To these people I should say that if they distort *historia*, they will have no *historia* left."

> people at different times. The same thing was done also by the other prophets, who later mentioned what had long before been said by him, and a little before the actual outcome of the events, the purpose being both to remind everyone of what had been prophesied and, by saying what would shortly happen, to disclose the truth of the prophecy.[49]

In fact, with this perspective limited to "what would shortly happen," it is only Peter's quotation of Joel 2.28-32 in Acts 2 that (perhaps because of its prominence in the liturgy of Pentecost) wrings a concession out of Theodore that "the reality of the account was found to be realized in the time of Christ the Lord."

The shortcomings of this hermeneutical approach, where Antioch's preference for *to historikon* is reduced to reading texts at face value and seeing a proximate fulfilment, soon become evident.[50] Apocalyptic material in Joel and Zechariah goes unacknowledged. The mythological figure of Gog from Ezek 38-39 is repeatedly paraded as one of Israel's historical foes the prophets have in their sights. Such an historical approach can, of course, degenerate into literalist historicism. The satire of prophetism in the book of Jonah is lost sight of in the commentator's overriding concern for the "novel and extraordinary things" recounted there. The prophet cannot be allowed to appear as the ridiculous, disobedient, ill-tempered figure the author means to portray, nor as one who achieves the conversion of the Ninevites with but a few words; and as for his time in the sea monster's belly, we just have to throw up our hands.

> It would, in fact, be a mark of extreme folly, after such extraordinary things happened to him, and most of all his salvation from the sea monster, to pry into the prophet's egress from the sea monster, and to think that one could grasp it by human reasoning and explain how it happened in our terms.[51]

The challenge the book presents to this literalist is such that he accepts the lifeline the evangelists throw him in portraying Jonah as a type of Christ (Matt 12.39-41, Luke 11.30), typology being a

[49] PG 66.212; S 79.

[50] Cf YOUNG, *Biblical Exegesis*, 168: "Whatever (the Antiochenes) meant by 'literal,' it was not exactly 'historical' in the modern critical sense."

[51] PG 66.337-40; S 184-85.

hermeneutic he will not generally adopt.[52] Allegory, unacceptable to an Antiochene, he only briefly dabbles in when addressing the prophecy of shepherds and their staffs in Zech 11 that has been classed as one of the most enigmatic in the Old Testament, and then only with the encouragement of the the psalmist.[53] Antioch's preferred hermeneutic, *theoria*, the discernment of a fuller sense in events and texts, Theodore does not invoke by name except in that passage at the opening of Nahum cited above, where the use of λῆμμα for oracle leads him to give an account of prophetic inspiration as ecstatic possession, which was not quite Diodore's sense in his work on the subject.[54]

Lack of a Christological hermeneutic

In fact, it is *theoria* that is conspicuously missing from this young commentator's approach to the Twelve Prophets, the blinkers one often notes in a serious neophyte producing a narrow field of vision, and discouraging a more flexible movement from one level of meaning to another. Though Theodore is prepared initially to set the prophets within the wide context of the *oikonomia*, with Christ at its endpoint (as he does at the beginning of the work), and to fall back on this wider interpretational framework when particular prophets challenge his historicist hermeneutic (as in introducing Jonah, Amos and Haggai), he consistently – even perversely –

[52] Though one can accept the statement of YOUNG, *Biblical Exegesis*, 193, that "the word 'typology' is a modern coinage," it goes beyond the evidence to claim (152) that "ancient exegetes did not distinguish between typology and allegory, and it is often difficult to make the distinction." While Theodore is prepared to adopt typology with New Testament encouragement, he speaks of allegory (in that comment on Gal 4.24 quoted above in note 46) as "blatant absurdity." Cf Chrysostom's discussion of the two in his first homily on Isaiah 6 *In Oziam* (SC 277.122), where he admits his audience tolerates the former, not the latter.

[53] Cf the summation of Theodore's approach in this work by VOSTÉ, "La chronologie," 65, as "littéral et historique, pas d'allégorisation, nulle application morale."

[54] To Diodore is attributed a work on the difference between *theoria* and *allegoria*; cf SCHÄUBLIN, "Diodore von Tarsus," and A. VACCARI, "La θεωρία nella scuola esegetica di Antiochia," *Biblica* 1 (1920) 3-36. Theodoret by contrast, right from the paradoxical account of Hosea's marriage (PG 81.1556-57), lectures on the need for *theoria* if the correct *skopos* of biblical texts is to be discerned.

refuses to recognise an eschatological and specifically New Testament or Christological sense in prophetic texts, even despite the encouragement of the New Testament itself. Texts such as the following are passed over without Christological comment or an acknowledgement of their New Testament echoes: "On the third day we shall arise" (Hos 6.2; cf Luke 24.7); "They will say to the mountains, Cover us, and to the hills, Fall on us" (Hos 10.8; cf Luke 23.30, Rev 6.6); "Son dishonors father, daughter rebels against her mother, daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law" (Mic 7.6; cf Matt 10.35-36, Luke 12.53); "A sun of righteousness will arise" (Mal 4.2; cf Luke 1.78, John 8.12, and the Advent liturgy). Not surprisingly in a commentator with the reputation Leontius perpetuates for demeaning the *Theotokos*,[55] Theodore does not find any Marian echoes in the clause, "Until the time the pregnant one will give birth" (Mic 5.4).

This exclusion stems partly (even from ignorance at times, one feels, but principally) from Theodore's insistence on recognising Zerubbabel at the time of the restored community as the fulfilment of messianic expectations, with Christ coming a distant second, if placed anywhere. With a misjudgement at variance with other scriptural data that will earn Theodoret's scorn,[56] he is encouraged to confer royal status on Zerubbabel from the LXX's reading Haggai's introduction of him as "son of Shealtiel, from the *tribe* of Judah" where the Hebrew employs an unfamiliar term of Akkadian origins *paḥath*, "governor (of Judah)." From the outset, then, Zerubbabel becomes a king, successor of David, falling neatly within Theodore's self-imposed foreshortened time-frame, "what would shortly happen." As soon as the promise appears in Hos 3.5, "After

[55] *Contra Nestor. et Eutych.* 10 (PG 86.1364).

[56] In comment, e.g, on psalms like 118 and 132; see my *Theodoret of Cyrus. Commentary on Psalms 73-150* (Fathers of the Church 102), Washington DC, 2001. To establish that there is in fact animus ("différend") in Theodoret's response to Theodore's treatment of Zerubbabel, Jean-Nöel GUINOT, "La cristallisation d'un différend: Zorobabel dans l'exégèse de Théodore de Mopsueste et de Théodoret de Cyr," *Augustinianum* 24 (1984) 537-47, catalogues the references to Zerubbabel in the Twelve by both Antiochenes, highlighting the historical accent of Theodore and the proportionally greater willingness of Theodoret to see him as a figure of Christ. In another article, "L'importance de la dette de Théodoret de Cyr à l'égard de l'exégèse de Théodore de Mopsueste," *Orpheus* 5 (1984) 68-109, Guinot documents the varying attitudes of Theodoret to Theodore, from imitation to neglect.

this the children of Israel will be converted and seek the Lord their God and David their king," the commentator brings his nominee into the picture: "He means this will in fact happen after the return, when they were actually under one king, Zerubbabel, a descendant of David, no longer holding that attitude by which the ten tribes deserted the reign of the successors of blessed David and chose other kings." He is aware that his predecessors have taken many of these references Christologically, but with youthful temerity he dismisses their interpretation, as with the promise in Zech 9.9-10, "Lo, your king comes to you."

> While, then, it is clear that here this refers to Zerubbabel, I am amazed at those adopting farfetched ideas, applying part to Zerubbabel and part to Christ the Lord, which results in nothing else than their dividing the prophecy between Zerubbabel and Christ the Lord. Now, this is the height of folly.

When pressed, however, he will make a concession (that gives the lie to the uncritical comment frequently heard that this work "contains nothing of Christological import") that a fuller realisation comes in the person of Christ, as he does when faced with the familiar reference in Mic 3.5 to Bethlehem, from where "will come for me the one to be ruler in Israel." Zerubbabel is the automatic and obvious referent; but this is susceptible of qualification.

> Now, he is referring to Zerubbabel: he was the one who at that time was reigning over the Israelites, a descendant of David, at the time of the return from Babylon and the assault on Jerusalem by those of Gog's company. It is also clear, admittedly, that though, consistently with what has gone before, this refers to Zerubbabel, a successor of David, yet the true fulfilment of the words is achieved in Christ the Lord. While the promise made to David about his descendants reigning seems at first flush to indicate his successors in the kingdom of Israel, in reality it foretells Christ the Lord in the flesh, who as a successor of David exercises the true and abiding rule over all.[57]

Gradually, then, this neophyte comes to see that taking texts "at first flush," *kata proton logon*, is not an adequate hermeneutic if the "reality" and "true fulfilment" is to be discerned in a process of *theoria*. But as with youthful brashness he continues being utterly definitive in his interpretation of obscure prophecies even as he

[57] PG 66.372; S 213.

nears the close of the work in Zechariah, he has still to learn the lesson that some admission of uncertainty and acknowledgement of one's betters is not a fault in an interpreter.

Despite Theodore's label as a *Ioudaiophron*,[58] it seems clear that Christ is not bracketed out of the hermeneutical perspective of the Commentary on theological grounds. It is rather that if he is to fix his gaze, myopically, on "what would shortly happen," a more proximate referent must be found for messianic prophecies, Zerubbabel in particular, and thus New Testament statement becomes irrelevant. In keeping with this narrow field of vision, he sees the Old Testament authors having no knowledge of, and making no reference to, the Trinity. So when he comes to the intriguing vision Zechariah has of horses of different colors sent on various errands, of a man riding a red horse and an angel speaking to him, he is typically dismissive of views by Hippolytus, Apollinaris, Eusebius and Jerome that the rider is Christ.

> Now, the statement of certain commentators, characterised by extreme error and stupidity, and not innocent of impiety, is to the effect that he saw the Son of God here, it being obvious that none of those who lived before the coming of Christ the Lord knew of Father and Son, none knew that God the Father was the father of God the Son, that God the Son was the son of God the Father, being what the Father is in also being from him. While terminology for father and son is to be found in the Old Testament, since God is commonly called father for his care when people are shown attention from that source, and they are called sons in having something more on the basis of relationship with God, yet absolutely no one of those living at that time understood God the Father to be father of God the Son, as I said before, or God the Son to be son of God the Father. You see, the people before the coming of Christ the Lord in their religious knowledge were aware only of God and creation, identifying God as eternal in being and as cause of everything, and creation (to put it in a nutshell) as what was brought by him from non-being to being.[59]

[58] On the evidence of editor Mai (PG 66.119-20), Theodoret having said as much in the preface to his Psalms Commentary, as did Leontius (PG 86.1365).

[59] PG 66.501-504; S 325. The passage is one of the few from the Commentary that Peter Bruns can find to document his article, "Das Offenbarungsverständnis Theodors von Mopsuestia im Zwölfprophetenkommentar," *Studia Patristica* 32 (1997) 272-77.

While the the term *homoousios* is not invoked, the thinking about God the Word is in keeping with that of the creed of Constantinople (the Commentary probably composed prior to that council of 381). There is never any diminishment of the person of Christ; we saw the widely Christological context being set at the opening of commentary and invoked when particular prophets presented a hermeneutical challenge, like Jonah. And when a text cannot keep Christ from challenging Zerubbabel for perfect fulfilment, like the mention in Zech 9.9 of the humble figure that comes "riding upon a beast of burden, a colt," the admission is made that "the contents were seen to contain their irrefutable reality in the case of Christ the Lord." It is therefore a pity that formal studies of Theodore's Christology make little or no reference to this work, and that its silence on the topic is given as the principal reason for its surviving the flames of hostility.[60]

External and internal evidence suggests this work was composed in Theodore's youth, when he bore no pastoral responsibilities. We noted he studiously avoids adopting the moralising manner of a preacher, with the exception of the lecture against divorce prompted by Mal 2.13-16 that seems lifted from a common stock; instead, he concentrates on cognitive aspects of the prophets, "by the grace of God bringing clarity" to them. He passes up the opportunity to develop a spiritual interpretation of the prophets' message, even when it almost demands it, as in the moving presentation by Hosea 1-2 of the Lord's uniting himself with his people in the intimate relationship of marriage, and in that distillation of refined Old Testament morality in Micah 6.6-8, with its hierarchy of cultic and moral obligations: "Has it been told you, mortal that you are, what is good, and what the Lord requires of you, other than doing jus-

[60] The verdict on this work by SULLIVAN, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Analecta Gregoriana 82), Roma, 1956, 1, that it contains "almost nothing of Christological import," is adopted verbatim by QUASTEN, *Patrology*, 405, to account for its survival, and likewise by D. Z. ZAHAROPOULOS, *Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Bible. A Study of his Old Testament Exegesis*, New York, 1989, 32. Sullivan, citing the work only twice, declares no interest in Theodore's exegetical works on the *a priori* grounds that in them "Theodore would not be expected to develop his theology so fully in its more technical aspects" (32). It is likewise ignored by R. A. NORRIS, *Manhood and Christ. A Study in the Christolgy of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, Oxford, 1963, and K. MCNAMARA, "Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Nestorian heresy," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 19 (1952) 254-78; 20 (1953) 172-91.

tice, loving mercy and being ready to walk behind the Lord your God?" If Louis Bouyer sees Antioch developing a spirituality that involves "asceticism without mysticism,"[61] Theodore sees it inappropriate for him in his situation to dwell even on the former, let alone the latter; it is sufficient to leave the prophets to speak for themselves. To this extent Rowan Greer is right to conclude of Theodore that "the Bible is allowed to speak in his commentaries (and in his theology) as it is in those of few, if any, of the patristic exegetes."[62]

THEODORE "THE INTERPRETER" PAR EXCELLENCE?

Whether his readers appreciated this reticence is debatable.[63] Also a matter for debate is the degree to which this Commentary on the Twelve supports Theodore's claim to the sobriquet "Interpreter" par excellence. In fact, one has to wonder whether its escaping the flames is due to his adversaries' opinion that it had little to recommend it; while it may not exemplify the "drunken violence" to which Leontius claimed he subjected the Scriptures, Photius thought his style generally to be extremely tautological, lacking charm, unpleasing, lacking clarity,[64] and certainly this work could document some of those epithets. Theodoret, smarting from the satire of Syriac-speaking commentators, and himself completing an entire commentary on the Latter Prophets, would likewise take issue with some of the encomiums of modern scholars who see

[61] *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, Eng. trans., London, 1963, 436.

[62] *Theodore of Mopsuestia. Exegete and Theologian*, London, 1961, 111.

[63] PIROT, *L'Oeuvre exégètique* 280, one feels, does well to suggest that readers would find Theodore's work "si sec comparé aux homélies si vivantes, si intéressantes, si instructives de Saint Jean Chrysostome" (though, admittedly, a comparison with Chrysostom's homilies on the Psalms is not quite fair).

[64] *Bibliotheca* 38,177 (PG 103. 69,72,517-18). With Photius, a modern reader would have to agree that Libanius did not succeed in teaching Theodore how to construct a good sentence (by comparison, say, with Theodoret); some of his periods ramble on interminably. Manlio Simonetti, on the other hand, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church. An historical introduction to patristic exegesis*, Eng. trans., Edinburgh, 1994, 71, finds that in Theodore "the tendency to conciseness is such that, on occasion, parts of his commentaries are nothing more than paraphrases of the scriptural text itself" – but, of course, paraphrase (not peculiar to Theodore), unlike precis, can be expansive and tend to gild the lily.

Theodore as "the most typical representative of the Antiochene school of exegesis" and "the foremost exponent of Antiochene exegesis."[65] A true assessment of his achievement lies somewhere in between the extremes. As a youthful interpreter he applied to the text literary skills he acquired from Libanius and hermeneutical accents from Diodore, though we saw the former being compromised and the latter only imperfectly understood; his limited and inflexible understanding of *to historikon* as a principle of interpretation forbade his moving from one level of meaning to another.[66] Hence the challenge a book like Jonah is to his literalism; hence the pat solution he finds in Zerubbabel for dealing with any eschatological suggestion in Micah and Zechariah; hence his acceptance of a mechanical notion of prophetic inspiration. Despite its limitations, however, we are grateful for its survival as an exemplar of Antioch's approach to prophecy, and regret the widespread unfamiliarity with it.

Summary

With the exception of the bishop of Cyrus, Antioch has left little of its biblical commentary on the prophets. Yet Theodore's sparse remains include a work on the Twelve revealing both his inadequate response to Libanius's tutelage and his flawed grasp of Diodore's hermeneutical principles. With him the salutary Antiochene accent on the reality of biblical discourse becomes a literalist insistence on finding exclusively within the Old Testament an historical fulfilment of prophecy, exemplified in the replacement by Zerubbabel of the prefigured Jesus. In short, through his limited and inflexible understanding of *to historikon*, albeit in his youth "the Interpreter" betrays a perversely foreshortened hermeneutical perspective, with which Theodoret will later take issue.

[65] QUASTEN, *Patrology* III, 402; SULLIVAN, *Christology*, iv. Cf SCHÄUBLIN, *Untersuchungen*, 171: "Sicher hat die Schule mit den Kommentaren des Bischofs von Mopsuestia ihre ἀκμή erreicht." Origen might also have taken umbrage at another fulsome compliment to Theodore by Zaharopoulos, *Theodore*, 47: "For the first time in the history of the church a book of the Bible was expounded from the perspective of a critical method by a scholar."

[66] Cf GUINOT, "La cristallisation," 546: "Théodore paraît appliquer sans grande souplesse les principes d'herméneutique hérités de Diodore de Tarse."

Ein anonymer Aratorkommentar

in Hs. London, Royal MS. 15 A. V.

Editio princeps, Teil II

(Arator, *Historia apostolica* 1, 515 - 2, 1250)

von

A. P. ORBÁN

(*Utrecht*)

SIGLA

	= addendum (fehlt in der Handschrift)
	= delendum (steht in der Handschrift)
	= ausradierte Stelle, nicht lesbar
add.	= dditur
C	= Cambridge, University Library, Trinity College, B 14.3, Saec. IX-X-XI, 66 fol.
.corr] .a.c	= ...correctio (codicis)] ...ante correctionem
.i.	= id est
.i.e.	= id est
lege	= lege(ndum) [verdeutlicht eine schwierige, aber nicht fehlerhafte, orthographische Lesart der Hs.]
Lo	= Hs. London, Royal MS. 15 A. V.
McKinlay	= A. P. McKinlay, *Aratoris subdiaconi De actibus apostolorum.* CSEL 72. Vindobonae 1951.
Pl	= Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2773, Saec. IX-X, 123 fol.
Pm	= Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 3862 (olim 589), Saec. XI, 46 fol.
.s.	= scilicet
ss.	= suprascriptum est
Vulgata	= *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam uersionem adiuuantibus B. Fischer OSB, I. Gribomont OSB, H. F. D. Sparks, W. Thiele recensuit et breui apparatu instruxit R. Weber OSB.* Tom. I - II. Stuttgart 1969.

Teil I ist erschienen in: *Sacris Erudiri* XXXVIII, 1998-1999, S. 317-51

<TEXTVS>

Interea .i. dum multitudo populorum conuenit ad fidem predicationis apostolorum. Zelo .i. inuidia. Mordente .i. stimulante. Priores .i. principes sacerdotum, scribe uidelicet et pharisei. Creuisse .s. in fide Xpisti. Colonos .i. cultores animę. Colonus dicitur terre cultor, colonos autem animę apostolos dicit. Eosdem uocat sarculos, qui uerbis predicationum corda colebant auditorum. Hos ergo relegant in custodia carceris. Relego est separo. Delego, deputo. Allego .i. commendo. Ne spargant .i. seminent .s. in cordibus fidelium. Metant .i. colligant. In sedes .s. carceris. Relegunt .i. reponunt. Vt desint .i. ut non sint. Nascenti: credenti renascenti populo per baptismum. Sarcula .i. uerba predicationis. Messem uocat populum credentem. Seruat metaforam. Superius dixit 'colonos' et modo 'sarcula'. Sarcula enim sunt rustica instrumenta, quibus utuntur coloni et de quibus area planatur. Hoc autem nomen, quod est sarculum, uenit a uerbo sarrio sarris. Sarrire uero est terram purgare. Adueniens .s. illis pos[s]itis in carcere. Volumina .i. obscuritates. Carcer dicitur quasi arcer ab arcendo, eo quod arcet homines, ne eant, cum missi fuerint. Carcerem uero singulariter dicimus custodiam hominum, carceres uero pluraliter equorum. (520) Astra .s. loca. Sereno .s. lumine. Erumpens .i. gradiens. Dies .i. ipsa lux. Alieno .i. in media nocte. Nox enim aliena diei. Ad templum .s. quod erat Ierosolimis. Cardine .i. ostio clauso: totum pro parte posuit. Cardo est cor ostii, ubi | uertitur ostium. Irrita, frustrata euacuata ab apostolis. Signato antro dicit, quia sigillatum erat sigillis princip[i]um. Irrito irritas producit *ri.* Irritus uero nomen corrupit. Foribus .i. in ostiis. Crepidine .i. ambitu uel munimine carceris. Crepido est proprie summitas tecti altaris, unde est stans *super crepidinem altaris.* Hic autem pro ambitu carceris posuit. Clausis ianuis exierunt apostoli, sicut Xpistus ingressus est inter apostolos clausis foribus. Pandit .i. aperit. Gressibus .i. incessibus. Vigiles .i. custodes. Illudit .i. decipit. Fallax .i. deceptrix, quia illi putabant, quod clausos custodiebant apostolos. O: uox poetę cum admiratione. Numquam neglecta .s. a deo. Fides .s. apostolorum siue credentium. Cui .s. fidei. Subiacet .i. oboedit, quia natura contradicit corpus

4 Colonus - cultor] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 9, 4, 35; 10, 53; 15, 2, 9. 5 uocat sarculos] Arator 1, 518; cf. *1 Reg.* 13, 20; *Isai.* 7, 25; Ambros. Autp. *Sermo de cupiditate* 1, 17; Petrus Damiani, *Sermo* 6, lin. 155. **15/18** Carcer dicitur - equorum] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 5, 27, 13; 15, 2, 46; 18, 32. **21** Cardo - ostii] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 7, 7. **25** super crepidinem altaris] *Leuit.* 1, 15. **26/27** Xpistus - foribus] cf. *Ioh.* 20, 26.

4 colonos *McKinlay*, colones *Lo* 8 sedes] sede *McKinlay* 9 relegant *McKinlay*

intrare per clausum ostium. Quotiens .i. quandocumque. Vicissim .i. alternatim, per singulas uices. (530) Posse .s. esse. Mirata .s. ipsa natura. Tunc admirata fuit natura et perdidit suam legem, quando Sara sterilis peperit, quando rubus uidebatur ardere et non ardebat. Si quis .i. si aliquis. Fragili .i. mortali. Meditetur .s. de infidelitate Thomę. Tunc .s. quando dominus ingressus est ad apostolos. Nimirum est .i. non est mirum. Irronice dicit. Corpore .i. per corpus. Portam uocat ianuam domus, ubi apostoli erant. Non est mirum, si Xpistus iam inmortalis ad discipulos intrauit clausis ianuis, qui moriturus ueniens non aperto utero uirginis exiuit. Rogo .i. interrogo. Ne suscitet .s. ipsam carnem. Inde .i. e morte. Exibuit .i. ostendit. Pro teste .i. pro testimonio. Cum dubitasset Thomas, ostendit illi Xpistus latus suum, ubi erant cicatrices .i. signa uulnerum, ubi fuit uulneratus de lancea. Cicatrices enim non sunt nisi in uero corpore. Fauillas .i. cineres. Exemplo .i. resuscitatione. Nouandas, quia per suam resur<r>rectionem docet nos esse resur<r>recturos in die iudicii. Vulneribus .s. clauorum. Probans .i. demonstrans. Vulnera hic posuit pro cicatricibus, que sunt signa uulnerum. (540) Quam .i. quantum. Licuisse .s. ut exiretis a carcere ianuis clausis. Didimus interpretatur simillimus, | quia secundum carnem similis erat domino. Didimus Grece /98r/ dubius Latine. Thomas Ebraice abissus Latine interpretatur, quia resurgente domino diutius cęteris dubitauit, eiusdem resurrectionis profundius et perfectius postea palpato domino cognoscere meruit. Subit .i. subintrat. Xpistus ait: *Vos estis lux mundi.* Non indiga .i. non egens, non indigens. Sancti .s. apostoli. Dixit .s. Xpistus. Opima, fertilia. Parans, preparans. Fulgere: infinitiuus. Arce .s. in .i. in sublime. Et *nemo mittit candelam sub modios, sed in candelabra, ut omnes, qui domum ingrediuntur, lumen uideant.* Nox .i. tenebrositas. Retentat .i. retinet .s. tot apostolos, tot soles. Ipse .i. est Xpistus. Lux, ipse sol. Dona .i. premia. Ferentes, dantes .s. illis. Meruerunt .s. sequi .i. habere. Qua lege .i. potestate. Tot soles .xii. apostolos .s. nulla potestate poterat. Occuleret .i. occultaret. Locus, carcer. (550) Tenebras .i. ignorantes. Lucem .i. Xpistum, qui dixit:

34 Sara sterilis] cf. *Gen.* 11, 30. 35 rubus - non ardebat] cf. *Exod.* 3, 2-3. 50 simillimus - domino] cf. Iohannes Beleth, *Summa de eccles. officiis* 157: Et dicitur ille, scilicet Iacobus, frater domini, quoniam omnes cognati Hebreo idyomate fratres uocantur, uel quia simillimus erat Christo. 51 Thomas - interpretatur] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 7, 9, 16. 54 Vos - mundi] *Mat.* 5, 14. 56/58 nemo - uideant] *Luc.* 11, 33; *Mat.* 5, 15.

36 meditatur *McKinlay* 37 nimirum] mirum *McKinlay* 41 ne] nisi *McKinlay* 42 exhibuit *McKinlay* 45 fauillas *McKinlay*, fauilla *Lo* 59 ferentes] ferentem *McKinlay* 60 meruerunt] meruere *McKinlay* 61 occuleret *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, occulerit *McKinlay*^{rectus}

Ego sum lux mundi. Soles dicuntur apostoli a uero sole, sicut pastores a uero pastore.
Iura .i. leges. Mi<ni>sterii .s. diuini .i. diaconatus. Apti .i. conuenientis. Altare dicitur quasi alta ara. Antiqui enim aras dicebant preces. Viris, diaconibus. Vndique .i. ex omni plebe. Lectos .i. electos. Leuita Ebraice interpretatur assumptus. Assumpti .i. ex omni populo electi. Diaconatus, mi<ni>sterium. Diaconia, ipsa res .i. dignitas ipsa, inde diaconus minister. Quam .i. quantum, preclara. Poeta. Manus .i. multitudo. Pocula .i. haustum. Misceat, propinet. Porrigat .i. ministret tribuat. Manus eclesie appellat apostolos, quia sicut manus hominum cibaria ministrant, ita et apostoli fidelibus uerbum dei. Vinum et aqua offertur in sacrificio dei. Per aquam genus humanum significatur, sicut Iohannes dicit: *Aquę enim multę populi sunt.* Per uinum passio Xpisti intelligitur. Quicumque ergo in sacrificio dei uinum sine aqua offert, ostendit passionem Xpisti esse, sed non profecisse generi humano. Similiter qui aquam offert sine uino, putat genus humanum posse saluari sine passione Xpisti et ideo dicit 'po<r>igat'. | Latices cum sanguine agni .i. uinum cum aqua. Sacramenta /98^{v}/ .i. misteria, per que .s. sacramenta septenari<a>. <Non> patitur .i. non permittitur. Mensura .i. breuitas huius libri. (560) Minus .s. quam oportet dicere. Ideo totum dimitto misterium septenarii numeri. Ministris .i. diaconibus. Re[d]dit ad narrationem. Officium .i. ministerium. Librare .i. ponderare uel celebrare ministrando altari. Septenarius numerus misticus est .i. secretus. Septem diaconi electi sunt, vii sunt dona spiritus sancti, que super deum requieuerunt: *spiritus sapientie et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientie et pietatis, et repleuit eum spiritus timoris domini.* Sunt etiam vii ecclęsię in Asia, quibus scripsit Iohannes in Apocalipsis, et per illas vii designatur plenitudo scripturarum et ecclesia-

63 Ego - mundi] *Ioh.* 8, 12. 66 Altare - ara] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 4, 14. 67/68 Leuita - assumptus] cf. Greg. M. *Moralia in Iob* 5, 33; Philipp. de Harvengt, *De dignitate clericorum*, col. 681; Rupert. Tuit. *De sancta Trinitate et op. eius* 23, *In libr. Reg. II*, pag. 1275, lin. 1399. 74/75 Aquę - sunt] cf. Hier. *In Abacuc* 2, 3: aquae multae, hoc est uel populi multi; Hier. *Tract. in Psalm.* 76, lin. 154: 'aquae', inquit, 'multae populi multi sunt'; Bernard. Claraeu. *De consideratione* 2, 16, 3: siquidem aquae multae, populi multi; Hugo de S. Vict. *Sentent. de diuinitate* I, pag. 933, lin. 192 (CCCM 171): Aque populos significant, unde aque multe populi multi; Iohannes Beleth, *Summa de eccles. officiis* 41: Vnde: Aque multe populi multi. 86/88 spiritus sapientie - domini] *Isai.* 11, 2-3 (repleuit] replebit *Vulgata*). 88 scripsit Iohannes] cf. *Apoc.* 1, 4.

71 tribuat *C Pl*, tribuet *Lo* 78 saluari *C Pm*, saluare *Lo* 80 non patitur *McKinlay* 83 ministerium^{corr}] misterium$^{a.c}$ 85 vii] qui *Lo*, septem *Pm*

rum. Vna enim eclesia est in toto mundo. Salomon dicit: *Amica mea sponsa mea.* Sed misterium numerum commemorat vii, quia per istum numerum, ut superius dictum est, designatur plenitudo scripturarum. Quo amictu .i. quo honore uel habitu. Ordo .i. numerus. Misticus .i. spiritalis. In numero .s. septenario. Formam .i. numerum. Promissum .s. ne plura loquar, quia promis[s]i me breuiter dicturum. Quia vii planetęsunt in cęlo. Coetus .s. apostolicus .i. multitudo apostolorum. Nos conuenit .i. oportet. Omnes, apostolos. Redit ad ystoriam. *Non,* inquit, *rectum est nos relinquere uerbum dei et ministrare mensis.* Ideo constituerunt vii uiros plenos spiritu sancto, ut ministrarent mensis .i. altaribus. Gloria diues: laudat apostolos in hoc, quod nolunt dimittere ministerium uerbi dei. Plebem .s. dei. Dispersa talenti .i. distributa per multos. Crescere solet. Verbi gratia. Ille qui dat VI denarios ad usuram, accipit XII. Ita et sermo diuinus quo amplius seritur, amplius augetur. Crescere .i. multiplicari. Summa .i. numerus talenti. Multa genera sunt talentorum, ex quibus iii[a] sunt principalia. Minimum .L. librarum, medium .LXX. duarum librarum, maximum | centum XX librarum. Com<m>issa, a deo data. Lingue, /99[r]/ sapientie. (570) Euangelium tangit, ubi legitur: *Homo quidam peregre proficisscens.* Ille qui V talenta accepit, X reddidit et qui duo, IIII, ille uero qui unum accepit, unum solum reddidit, et ideo displicuit. Ita et sapientia data cum uerbo si non distribuitur per corda fidelium, displicet. Locus .i. hec scriptura. Rudi .i. nouo. Fercula disci uel cibi .i. predicatio. Mentis .i. anime. Fusę .i. diffusę. Per membra .s. hominum. Melior est, inquit, cibus .i. sermo diuini uerbi, qui cęlestes animas pascit quam ille corporeus, quo pascuntur mortalia corpora. Pecunia diuina .i. uerbum diuinum quo amplius datur, eo amplius crescit; humana uero pecunia, aurum uidelicet etcetera, quo plus spargitur, eo amplius decrescit. Late .i. ubique. Pinguedo .i. abundantia. Superni .i. diuini. Alimenta .i. nutrimenta cibi

90/91 Amica - mea] *Cant. cant.* 2, 13-14 (*Vulgata*): Surge amica mea, *speciosa* mea et ueni columba mea in foraminibus petrae; Beda, *In Cant. cant.* (Textus Cant. cant., lin. 45): Surge amica mea sponsa mea et ueni, columba mea in foraminibus petrae; Beda, *In Cant. cant.* 2, 2: Surge amica mea sponsa mea; Bernard. Claraeu. *Sermo super Cant. cant.* 61, 1, 1: Surge, amica mea, sponsa mea, et ueni. **97/98** Non - mensis] *Act. ap.* 6, 2 (rectum] aequum ... derelinquere *Vulgata*). **104/06** Multa genera - XX librarum] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 16, 25, 22. **107/08** Homo - proficisscens] *Mat.* 25, 14. **114** Pecunia diuina] cf. *Liber Quare,* Appendix II, add. 95 (CCCM 69): pecunia diuina scriptura, quae ad usuram danda est.

94 septenario] semtenario *Lo* **111** disci uel *Pm,* discribis *Lo* **113** sermo diuini[corr]] sermodi uni[a.c]

uidelicet. Saginę .i. ping<u>edinis. Hoc saginum et hec sagina dicimus. Esuriente .i. sermone dei egente. Ieiunia .i. famem. Ab ore .s. doctoris per predicationem uerbi diuini. Vberibus, cum pinguibus uerbis. Conuiua .i. Xpistus. Recumbit .i. residet. Fulcra .i. sedilia. Hoc fulcrum et hec fulcra dicimus, neutraliter et est lectus a fulciendo dictus. Abstractus .i. reiectus. Ideo dixit fulcra, quia antiqui prandentes in lecto recumbebant, uel fulcra dicuntur ornamenta lectorum. Hic tangit euangelium, ubi legitur: *Intrauit sponsus ad nuptias, ut uideret discumbentes, et uidit ibi hominem non habentem uestem nuptialem, et dixit illi: Amice, quomodo huc intrasti* etcetera. *Et tunc ligatis manibus et pedibus ęiectus est in tenebris inferioribus.* Ita et quisquis pollutus uenerit ad illam mensam .i. ad expositionem scripturarum, sicut heretici, qui non bene intellegunt expositionem scripturarum. Deformis, sine caritate. (580) Sordente .i. non bene loquente. Esca .i. cibus diuinus. De pane .i. de Xpisto. Gula .i. mens uel animus. Gulam pectoris uocat animam. Ambiat .i. cupiat. Palato .i. gutture. Interior .i. anima. Nostrum caput ad similitudinem cęli factum est, quia sicut celum | circumdatur VII planetis, ita et cerebrum VII ossibus. /99^{v}/ Palatum quoque ad similitudinem celi curuatum est et Grece dicitur uranus. Ne uilior .i. ne uile putaretur ministrare pauperibus. Causa .i. administratio mensę. Relicta .s. apostolis. Tractanda .i. com<m>issa VII diaconibus. Creditur .i. committitur. Apostoli uerbo dei assidue uacantes, quia pretiosior et excelsior est elemosina celestis, qua celestes animę aluntur, quam terrena elemosina, qua mortalia corpora nutriuntur, constituerunt tamen VII uiros, ut administrarent altaribus, etiam et mensę .i. dispositionibus substantię, ne uilis esse putaretur ipsa res pretiosa .s. ipsa causa. Supernum .i. misticum septenarium.

Emicat .i. exilit resplendet. Hinc .i. ex hoc loco et numero VII diaconorum. In agone .i. in certamine. Nominis .s. sui. Eres .i. possessor, quia illud quod in nomine sonat, habuit in actu. Nam Stephanus interpretatur coronatus. Stephanum dicunt Greci coronam. Ebraice interpretatur norma .i. regula, quia omnes martires normam .i. regulam illius secuti sunt. Agon Grece certamen. Inde agonisteta dicitur certator .i. pugnator.

121/22 Hoc fulcrum - dictus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 19, 26, 3. **123/24** uel fulcra - lectorum] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 19, 26, 3. **125/28** Intrauit sponsus - inferioribus] cf. *Mat.* 22, 11-13. **135/36** Palatum - uranus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 11, 1, 55. **146/48** Nam Stephanus - normam] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 7, 11, 3.

118 sagina] sigina *Lo* **124** ornamenta^{corr}] ormenta$^{a.c}$ **134** celum^{corr}] celum celum$^{a.c}$ **142** causa^{corr}] causa causa$^{a.c}$ **145** eres] *lege* heres *McKinlay* **149** agonisteta^{corr}] agoniteta$^{a.c}$

De quo .s. Stephano. Prenuntia .i. prenuntians. Palmę .i. coronę uictorię. Vox .i. nomen, quo Stephanus uocabatur. Causa .s. martirii, passio, coronam uidelicet. Sere .i. semina uel committe .s. o Stephane. Apostropham facit ad ipsum martirem. Felices .i. beatas. Neces .i. mortes. Vbi .i. in passione poena est gloria, quia per illam transeunt ad cęlestem gloriam. (590) Cadere .s. ubi. Or[na]tus .i. natiuitas, quia tunc oriuntur ad uitam; unde natalicia dicuntur martir<um> .i. festiuitates. Iugulis .i. interfectionibus. Iugulum est proprie collum, inde iugulare dicimus decollare. Parantibus .i. preparantibus. ęuum .i. uitam, ęternitatem. Nascitur .s. martir. Complectens, accipiens .s. ipsum aeuum. Sic .i. tali modo, sicut mortuus est Stephanus. Rebellis .i. contumax. Limphata .i. insaniens, sicut cerrita a Cerere. Rapis, proicis. Duro, | pessimo, quia dixisti: *Sanguis eius.* Saxea, /100r/ lapidea. Per uulnera .i. per lapidationem. Sanguine .i. sua morte. In premia .i. remunerationem celestem. Hac uia .s. martirii. Properare .i. ire. Metitus .i. mensurans. Honorem .i. dignitatem. Callis, itineris. Fastigia, culmina. Regis .i. Xpisti. (600) Per tot, quibus lapidatus fuit. Quis furor .i. indignatio. Nouus .i. magnus. Feritate .i. crudelitate: sed primus, non secundus. Parcere .i. indulgere. Non secundus, quia nullus fuit crudelior .i. ferocior quam ille. Innocens cum lapidaretur, pro persecutoribus parabat preces. Vibrantibus, torquentibus proicientibus. Acta, compulsa. Lacertis, brachiis. Lacertum est pars brachii, sed pro toto brachio ponitur. Amicę .i. dilectę, quia talem desiderabat mortem. Grando est aqua congelata .i. pluuia, sed hic pro densitate lapidum ponitur. Pro populo .i. lapidatoribus. Tela .i. arma. Graues .i. magnas. Quem .s. martirem. Colono, quia sicut colonus excolit terram, ita et Stephanus fine suo parauit exemplum martiribus, ut per illam uitam ad Xpistum peruenirent. Seminat .s. aliis martiribus. Quo .s. exemplo. Vinea .i. martires. Calicem .i. sanguinem uel passionem. Conuiuia festa .i. multi martires. Coronent .i. adimpleant. Sicut ipse dixit discipulis ante passionem: *Potestis bibere calicem* etcetera. (610) Cordis, quia mente uidit eum, non corpore. Lateat .i. absconsum sit. Ideo uidit eum stantem, ne oc<c>ultaretur, quod facit Xpistus martiribus et pro cunctis fidelibus. Confessio nostra .i. fides eclesię.

161 Sanguis eius] *Mat.* 27, 25. 168/69 pro - preces] cf. *Act. ap.* 7, 59. 171 grando] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 13, 10, 5. 178 Potestis bibere calicem] *Mat.* 20, 22; *Marc.* 10, 38.

156 martyrum *P1* 167 nullus^{corr}] nulus$^{a.c}$ 175 uitam] uiam *C*

Celebrare .i. dicere. Stantis dei est preliantis et adiuuantis, sedentis uero regnantis et iudicantis. Caro .s. Xpisti; quia caro Xpisti ipsa est caro Stephani. Ideo sibi ipsi fauet in Stephano, quia sicut in Stephano rursus patiebatur Xpistus, ita et in cunctis martiribus, sicut ipse dixit Saulo: *Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris?* Et sicut dixit Petro: *Venio Romam iterum crucifigi.* Dux .i. Xpistus. Prescius: quia antequam esset mundus, iam sciebat Stephanum futurum esse martirem suum, sicut profeta dicit: *Ea fecit predestinando, que facturus erat operando.* Armat .i. roborat .s. sanctos. Dimicet .i. prelietur. Corpus | .s. Xpisti. Munere .i. remuneratione. Testi /100v/ .i. martiri suo. Velamina .i. uestimenta sua. Seui .s. Iudei. Vtrisque .i. Stephano et Iudeis. Hinc .i. ex martirio. (620) Carnifices .i. Iudei lapidatores. Sors .i. electio, qua electus est Stephanus. Talia .s. qualia fecit Stephanus. Fluit .i. uenit. Hoc .s. meritum. De fonte .s. martirii. Occidentibus .i. interficientibus. Succedant .i. sequantur. Morientibus .s. Xpisti amore. Astra .i. celestia regna. Patescant .i. aperiantur. Saulus interpretatur infernus Hebreo nomine uel a Saulo rege superbo. Sed mutato nomine dicitur Paulus, quod interpretatur minimus, sicut ipse dixit: *Ego sum minimus apostolorum.* Vel sicut consules dicebantur antiquitus a regionibus, quas deuincebant, ut ab Africa Africanus, a Getulia Getulicus,

182/83 Stantis dei - iudicantis] cf. Ambros. Autpert. *Expos. in Apocal.* 3, 5, 6: Sedere enim regnantis et iudicantis est, stare autem consolantis et adiuuantis; Ambros. Autpert. *Expos. in Apocal.* 4, 7, 10: Sedere enim regnantis et iudicantis est. **186** Saule - persequeris] *Act. ap.* 9, 4; 22, 7; 26, 14. **186/87** Venio - crucifigi] cf. Ambros. *Sermo contra Auxentium* (= *Ep.* 75a) 13: Respondit Christus: Venio iterum crucifigi; Ps.-Marcellus, *Passio Petri et Pauli* 61 (ed. Lipsius, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 171): Et dixit mihi: Sequere me, quia uado Romam iterum crucifigi; Bernard. Claraeu. *Ep.* 256, 2, 8: Vox clamantis: Venio Ierosolymam iterum crucifigi; Thomas de Chobham, *Sermo* 11: Videamus igitur ne faciamus Christum mori in nobis <ut non> conqueratur dicens: Vado Romam iterum crucifigi; Thomas de Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi* 3: Beatus etiam Petrus bene sciebat quod occideretur ab illis quibus praedicabat, per hoc quod dixit ei dominus: Vado Romam iterum crucifigi. **188/89** Ea fecit - operando] cf. Zacharias Chrys. *De concordia euangelistarum* cap. 157 (PL 186, 512C): Deus fecit quae futura sunt. Fecit praedestinando, facturus est operando; Ioh. Scot. Erig. *De praedest.* cap. 3 (PL 122, 364D): Omne quod fecit, praedestinando uoluit. **197** a Saulo rege superbo] cf. Aug. *Sermo* 279 (PL 38, 1278): Saulus a Saule ... Saulus a rege saeuo, cum superbus; Isid. *Etym.* 7, 9, 9. **198/99** Ego - apostolorum] *1 Cor.* 15, 9.

188 profeta^{corr}] profecta$^{a.c}$ 196 aperi***antur *Lo* 200 a Getulia] Age tulia *Lo*

ita et Paulus dictus est a primo spolio, a Paulo uidelicet proconsule, quem primum conuertit ad fidem.

Sępe sibi socium fecit Petrus esse Iohannem. Petrus et Iohannes socii existebant in miraculis faciendis. Per Petrum designatur eclesia. Per Iohannem hi, qui uirginitatem obseruant. Propterea dicit: *Quia placet uirgo eclesię* .i. Petro, ut uirginitas eclesię sociętur. Quo iuncto .s. Petro. Vicina .s. loca. Samaria regio est uel ciuitas, que quondam erat caput .X. tribuum, que Sebastes prius dicta est .i. augusta. Sebastes Grece, augustus Latine dicitur. Signauit .i. confirmauit illos, quos Philippus baptizauerat. Affuit .s. per inpositionem manus Petri. Fecit .s. illos loqui uariis linguis sicut in die pentecosten. Lotus .i. ablutus. Non in pectore, quia conparare uoluit donum spiritus sancti, ut carius illud uenderet. (630) Hic .i. in Samaria. Simon ille. Enfaticos dicit .i. exaggeratiue. Enfasis enim Grece, exaggeratio Latine. Nescisse .i. non habuisse. Fidem .s. dei. Quia cum uoluit quasi in cęlum ascendere arte magica, corruit et expirauit deiectus diuina potentia. Contractibus .i. coadunationibus multitudinibus. Mercator .s. alius. Vnde et magicae hereses in mundo adhuc uigent. Attemptare .i. conari. Dixit | ei Petrus: *Pecunia tua tecum sit in perdi[c]tione.* Ad ista .s. adquirere. Sensu sumitur hoc, non auro. Corrupta .i. que corrumpit homines .i. cupiditas auaritie. Quaerat .s. contendere. In sorte .i. parte uel in dono sancti spiritus. Ad ista .s. dona spiritus sancti. (640) Dolis .i. machinationibus. Aliena .s. tibi gratia spiritus sancti. Felle. Coruus amarum habet osculum. Quia et simplex animal est. Per /101r/

201/02 Paulo uidelicet - ad fidem] cf. *Act. ap.* 13, 7. **204** Per Petrum - eclesia] cf. Greg. M. *Hom. in euang.* 2, 22, 2: Quid per Petrum nisi ecclesia designatur?; Paschas. Radb. *Expos. in Mat.* 8: Quia per Petrum ecclesia designatur. **204/05** Per Iohannem - uirginitatem] cf. *Speculum uirginum* 7 (CCCM 5): Iohannes uirgo recumbens. **205/06** Quia - eclesię] Arator 1, 625. **207/09** Samaria regio - Latine dicitur] cf. Hier. *In Osee* 3, 14; Hier. *In Amos* 1, 3; Isid. *Etym.* 9, 2, 53; 14, 3, 22. **213/14** Enfasis - exaggeratio] cf. Cassiod. *In Psalm.* 24 = 43 = 59: Quae figura dicitur emphasis, id est exaggeratio; Isid. *Etym.* 2, 20, 4. **218/19** Pecunia - perditione] *Act. ap.* 8, 20. **223** Felle - simplex animal est] cf. *PI*: Coruus amarum habet osculum per fel, quia in felle est omnis amaritudo et ira. Columba uero carens felle bonum habet osculum, quia simplex animal est. coruus = Simon magus] cf. Aug. *In Ioh. euang. tract.* 6, 18: Simon ille, qui non erat in ecclesia columba, sed coruus, quia ea quae sua sunt quaerebat, non quae Iesu Christi.

203 fecit *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, facit *McKinlay*^{textus} **210** affuit] adfuit *McKinlay* **218** Petrus *McKinlay*, Petro *Lo* **220** corrumpit^{corr}] corrumpuit$^{a.c}$ quaerat *McKinlay*, quidat *Lo* 221 dono^{corr}] domo$^{a.c}$

columbam designantur uiri iusti, per coruum uero impii et iniusti. Atria .i. habitacula illa. Subit .i. subintrat. Que .s. atria nitescunt .i. splendescunt. Simplicem enim corde diligit deus. De uoce .s. Petri .i. de istorica lectione. Lux .i. intellegentia. Modo allegorizat. Prestabat .i. tenebat. Machina .i. arce. Constructa .i. fabricata. Clausis .s. hominibus. Instar .i. similitudinem. Vaga .i. usquequaque discurrens. Loetales .i. mortales. Pateretur .i. sustineret. Turba .s. hominum. Procellas .i. aquas diluuii. Ad uitam .i. ad sacramentum baptismatis. Arca Noe, que fuit ex lignis leuigatis .i. dolatis uel planis, significat eclesiam, que non habet pondera peccatorum, et sicut arca recepit coruum et columbam, ita et eclesia recipit iustos et iniustos. Soli uero boni in celo sunt, soli uero mali in inferno. Eclesia media inter celum et terram utriusque partem recipit .i. iustos et iniustos. Ipsa .s. aqua. Deluit .i. purgauit. Diluo est permisceo, inde diluuium a diluendo .i. permiscendo. Deluo uero purgo. Concordia .i. unanimitas. (650) Vtrosque .i. columbam et coruum. Subduxere .s. subduxerunt deceperunt. Vię .i. a uia sua. Noę misit foras post diluuium per fenestram cristallinam coruum et columbam, et diuersos tenuerunt calles. In funere .i. in cadaueribus mortuorum. Pasci .i. nutriri. Sequi .i. assequi, quia mortalibus adherens in aquis periit. 'Amica frugibus' dicit, quia semper frugibus utitur et nichil inmundum comedit. Columba dicitur quasi cellę alumna, quia sicut columba in foraminibus petrarum requiescit, ita et eclesia in latere Xpisti. Succumbit .i. periclitatur. Naufraga .i. non passa naufragium. Limfis .i. aquis | . De morte .s. cadauere. Documenta .i. indicium. Studio .i. ramo oliuę, quem detulit in ore, sicut legitur: *Manibus tuis labora operando, ut <h>abeat unde tribuas necessitatem patienti.* Deuota operi .s. bone. Plus .s. quam uerbo .i. ut quod fide tenet aliquis, operibus exornet. Fides enim sine operibus mortua est. Rostrum est osculum columbę. Pignus .i. uadimonium, signum pacis. Pignus et a<r>ra idem est, sed hoc distat, quia arra datur et non accipitur, sed potius augetur, pignus uero datur et recipitur. In ore: quia illi qui se diligunt, unus /101^{v}/

244 cellę alumna] cf. Cassiod. *In Psalm.* 54, 119: Columba enim dicta est quasi cellae alumna, quae uitam sine alterius grauamine peragit. sicut columba - petrarum] cf. *Cant. cant.* 2, 14: columba mea in foraminibus petrae. **247/48** Manibus - patienti] *Eph.* 4, 28. **251/53** Pignus et ar<r>a - recipitur] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 5, 25, 20-21.

231 lignis] linguis *Lo* **233** arca recepit *P1*, arcare cepit *Lo* **236** deluit] diluit *McKinlay* **238** utrosque .i.] utrosque .id *Lo* **244** cellę^{corr}] celę$^{a.c}$ **246** limfis] lymphis *McKinlay* **252** idem est] .i. demest *Lo*

alteri osculum prestat. Fructum pacis .i. osculum. Ex uno .i. ex receptaculo arcę. (660) Purgati .i. saluati. Vallante .i. circumdante. Freto .i. diluuio. Exulat .i. alienatur, exul efficitur. Reditu .i. reuersione: quia uidens cadauera forsitan adhesit et interceptus est aquis. Saluti .i. ad salutem: quia coruo non profuit, quia saluatus est in arca, dum postmodum a consortio aliorum recessit. Sufficit .i. prodest. Vnda .s. baptismatis. Sine felle .i. sine omni malicia .s. etsi non habeat simplicitatem columbę. Generatur .i. regeneratur. Aquis .s. baptismatis. Nam unusquisque paganus potest se lauare in aqua, sed nichil prodest ei, ni sit in mente columba. Simon hic .s. de quo loquimur. Contigerat .i. consecutus fuerat .s. a Philippo. Coruus erat .i. malitia cordis. Meruere .s. habere. Qui .s. deus. Arcere .i. repellere. Tangit hoc, quod in euangelio legitur: *Quia ingressus dominus templum cępit eicere uendentes et ementes in illo.* Iste uero magus ideo uoluit donum spiritus sancti conparare, ut carius uenderet. Meliora .s. quam ipse magus secutus sit. Vocat .s. nos. Ad ista .s. que sunt meliora. Ore dei. Quia dixit ei Xpistus: *Tu es Bariona.* Bariona .i. filius columbę. Bar enim filius, Iona columba. Merito .s. suo. Matre .s. columba uel eclesia, quia per columbam designatur eclesia. Sublimat .i. exaltat .i. homines, qui in deum credunt. Prolis .i. Petri, qui filius columbę dicitur .i. Bariona. (670) Habet nomen genitrix .i. eclesia .s. de ea in Canticis canticorum legitur: *Ista est columba.* Cęrni .i. uideri. Imagine .i. specie. | Alitis innocue .i. mitis columbe. /102r/
Angelus .s. dei. Virtute .s. miraculorum. Australem .i. meridianam. Celerare .i. ire. Viam .s. que ducit ad Ierusalem. Hec est deserta. Spado .i. euiratus, Grece eunuchus dicitur. Iugatis .i. coniunctis. Ethiopum .s. reginę. Pergebat ad Ierusalem, licet esset paganus, quia et[c]iam gentiles ex cun<c>tis regionibus solebant una uice in anno pergere ad domum

259/60 Sine felle ... malicia ... simplicitatem] cf. Aug. *In Ioh. euang. tract.* 6, 12: si columba est simplex, innocens, sine felle; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 61: columbae ... sine felle; Chrom. Aquil. *Sermo* 2: Vis ergo, o homo, esse columba? In ecclesia domini esto sine felle malitiae; Sigebert. Gemblac. *Vita Deoderici Mett.* pag. 480, 33: Clauditur hac tumba pridem sine felle columba. **265/66** Quia - in illo] *Mat.* 21, 12; *Marc.* 11, 15; *Luc.* 19, 45. **269** Tu es Bariona] *Mat.* 16, 17. **269/70** Bariona .i. filius columbę] cf. Hier. *Liber interpret. Hebr. nom.* s. v.: Bariona filius columbae; Hier. *Apol. adu. libr. Ruf.* 1, 19: Bariona, filius columbae; Isid. *Etym.* 7, 9, 4. **274** Ista est columba] cf. *Cant. cant.* 2, 10. 14; 5, 2.

256 reditu *McKinlay*, redita *Lo* **258** coruo[corr] coruuo[a.c] quia saluatus] quod saluatus *Pl* **272** deum *om. et ss. Lo* **277** celerare *Lo McKinlay*[varia lectio], celebrare *McKinlay*[textus] **279** reginę[corr] regię[a.c]

domini in Ierusalem orare. Fidus .i. custos reginę Ethiopie .s. Candacis. Mos est illius terrae a feminis regi, et dicuntur generaliter Candaces reginę, sicut dicuntur Cesares reges Romanorum et Tolomei reges Egiptiorum et sicut Arsacides reges Persarum. Opes .i. gazas. Volat .i. currit. Axe .i. curru. Citato .i. ueloci. Gaudia .i. baptismum. Fixa .i. mansura. Errorum .i. peccatorum. Iactare .i. ponderare. Rotas .i. uolubilitates. In curru, quo uehebatur, meruit absolui a rotis .i. a uolubilitatibus errorum. Per rotam intelleguntur errores, quia sicut rota nichil certum habet, sed in se uoluitur, sic et circa eum errores uoluebantur. Peccatores enim semper in quadam uertigine rotantur. Vnde et illud: *In circuitu impii ambulant* .s. errores. Bonorum .s. operum. Semina dicit incrementa uirtutum. Apostropham facit ad ipsum spadonem. Sterili, quia spado erat. Condis, reponis. (680) Meliore .i. spiritali. 'Sterili in corpore' dicit uel uacua fide et uirtutibus uel spoliato a membris genitalibus. Inpone .i. in curru .i. suscipe eum tecum. Quod .s. nomen Phylippi. Hebreus .s. sermo. Ait .s. interpretari. Honorem .i. actum. Probat, quia nomen eius indicabat ei suum actum. Cor oris interpretatur Philippus, quia quod in corde habebat, ore manifestabat .i. spiritalem doctrinam. Vel os lampadis, quia ore suo omnes illuminabat. Hunc .i. Philippum. Iure disscipuli docet Philippus, quia sicut discipulus interrogat magistrum, ita et iste, cum esset magister, eum interrogauit quasi discipulus dicens illi, cum sederet in curru et legeret prophet[ic]am, ubi legitur: *Tamquam ouis ad occisionem ductus | est. Putasne intelligis que legis? Et dixit: Quomodo intellegerem, nisi* /102v/ *aliquis indicauerit michi?* Bonus magister more discipuli docet .i. interrogando. Dabit .i. insinuabit tibi. Ipse .s. Philippus. De quo .s. deo. Sonant .i. locuntur. Fecerit .s. deus. Olim .i. in origine mundi. Qua .s. de. Satus .i. natus. Si credulus .s. spado. Audis .s. uerba illius. Et tibi .s. etiam.

282/83 Mos est - Candaces reginę] cf. Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 8: Moris quippe fuit illi nationi semper a feminis regi easque Candaces appellare. **283/84** sicut dicuntur - Persarum] cf. Hier. *In Ezech.* 9, 29: sicut apud Romanos 'Caesares' et 'Augusti' reges eorum appellantur ... apud Persas 'Arsacidae' ... et post Alexandrum in Aegypto 'Ptolomaei' usque ad Cleopatram. **290/91** In - ambulant] *Psalm.* 11, 9. **298** os lampadis] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 7, 9, 16: Philippus os lampadarum; Hier. *Liber interpr. Hebr. nom.* s.v.: Filippus os lampadis uel os manuum. **302/04** Tamquam - michi] *Act. ap.* 8, 30-32.

287 uehebatur[corr]] uebatur[a.c] **290** impii[corr]] impi[a.c] **298** spiritalem *P1*, spiritalis *Lo* **299** ore] ere *Lo* iure] *lege* more? *(cf. unten, Zeile 304: Bonus magister more discipuli docet)* disscipuli] *lege* discipuli **302** prophetam *P1* **305** sonant *Lo McKinlay[varia lectio]*, sonent *McKinlay[textus]* **307** credulus *McKinlay*, credulo *Lo*

Nascetur .s. Xpistus per fidem. Inde, ex fide uel baptismo. Illi .i. Xpisto. Modo red[d]it ad narrationem. Per hecbasin superiora locutus fuit .i. per euagationem. Conspectis .i. uisis. Properanter .i. repente. Cepit .s. dicens: *Ecce aqua* etcetera. Fecunda .i. magna. Mersus .i. inmissus. Onus .i. peccatum. Onus serpentis sunt squamę, sicut de Paulo legitur: *Et ceciderunt squamę ab oculis eius* .i. infidelitates. Plaustro .i. curru. (690) Meditatus .i. imitatus, quia sicut Helias raptus fuit igneo curru in cęlum liberatusque a persecutione perfidorum, ita iste sedens in curru cum Philippo meruit absolui a uinculis peccatorum, uel sicut Helias per plaustrum fuit saluus. Figurę .i. allegorię. Regionis .i. Ethiopie. Imagine .i. sub specie. Conprobat .i. laudat. Eptaticus .i. liber VII librorum. Quinque libri sunt Moisi de antiqua lege, VI^{us} Iosue, VII^{us} Iudicum, qui uocatur eptaticus .i. liber VII librorum. Vel: 'Conprobat omnipotens'. Tedarum .i. nuptiarum. Federe .s. cum .i. pacto. Ethiopiam .i. Etiopissam reginam. 'Tedarum federe' dicit, quia antiqui in nocte, non in die nubebant et ideo tedis et faculis accensis cenabant. Moyses ergo iunxit sibi Ethiopissam, quia sociauit sibi eclesiam ex gentibus deturpatam nigredine peccatorum. Quem .s. Moisen. Dogmata .s. ueteris legis. Ore: os ad os .i. facie ad faciem. Cum iuncta fuit s<c>ilicet ipsa lex .i. Moises .i. Xpistus. Sponsa .i. eclesia. Sicut lex cum coniuncta fuit Moysi, crescere cepit, ita et eclesia coniuncta fuit .i. sponsa .s. Xpisto. De gente .s. Ethiopum. Cantica .s. [uel] canticorum, quibus dicitur: *Nigra sum, sed formosa.* Fuscam .s. persecutione infidelium. Pulcram .s. pace. Vocant | .s. eclesiam. Hec .s. regina uel eclesia. Ab austro .i. ab australi parte, post multum tempus. Quis, auster. Torret .i. urit. Ethiop[ic]um limum .i. terram Ethiopię, quia in ortu solis est. In ore .i. in specie Salomonis. (700) Ad quid pergit? Laudare suum .i. Xpistum. Quo .i. Salomone. Signatum .s. nomen, quod /103^{r}/

311 Ecce aqua] *Act. ap.* 8, 36. **312/13** Et ceciderunt - eius] *Act. ap.* 9, 18. **314** sicut Helias - in cęlum] cf. *4 Reg.* 2, 11-12. **323** Moyses - Ethiopissam] cf. *Num.* 12, 1; Hier. *Ep.* 78, 55, 16; Caesar. Arel. *Sermo* 95, 2; Isid. *Alleg. ex Vet. Test.* 62. **329** Nigra - formosa] *Cant.* 1, 4. **329/30** Fuscam - infidelium] cf. Beda, *In Cant. cant.* lin. 3: Obscuratam se persecutione infidelium Iudaeorum primitiua queritur ecclesia.

309 per hecbasin] perhec basin *Lo, lege* per ecbasin *Pl* **310** coepit *McKinlay* **318** eptaticus *Lo Pl McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, omnipotens *McKinlay*^{textus} **324** deturpatam *Pl*, deturbata *Lo* **326** fuit^{corr}] fut$^{a.c}$ **327** coniuncta] cum iuncta *Pl* **331** quis] qui *McKinlay* **332** Ethiop[ic]um] Aethiopum *McKinlay* limum] humum *McKinlay*

interpretatur pax. Salomon quippe interpretatur pacificus et significat Xpistum. Venit ergo mulier audire sapientiam Salomonis .i. eclesia Xpisti uocem. Dubita .i. futura. Custodem .i. eunuchum, thesaur<ari>um .i. uirginem. Premittit, ante se. Per custodem intelligitur uirgo aliquis, quia *uirgo* multum *placet eclesię*. Et opes eclesię sunt artes .s. Phicica, Ethica, Loica, que intelleguntur per munera magorum. Quia sicut illi tres magi uenerunt ad Xpistum, ita omnes gentes, que sunt ex tribus filiis Noe, ueniunt cum istis artibus ad eclesiam. Pignore .i. custode. Gazas .s. sanctę fidei. Incipiat .s. eclesia ipsa. Proferre .i. erogare. Honor .i. fides, quia baptisma sine fide nichil prodest. Ditius aurum .i. preciosius. Quam .i. quantum: admiratiue. Preuius .i. preiens. Huic .s. eclesię. Spado, euiratus uel uirgo. Qua .s. eclesia uel fide. Precedente .i. gaudente. Libido .i. inmundici[ti]a luxurię. Pellitur, proicitur. Capiunt .i. accipiunt. Pudici .i. casti. Preuius est spado eclesię .i. uirgo, quia eclesiam precesserunt uirgines. In antiqua uero lege non erant uirgines, quia lex maledicebat feminis, que non habebant semen.

Saulus ipse est Paulus. Acerba .i. acerbe, sicut toruum pro torue. Damasci .i. apud Damascum: nomen pro aduerbio. Damascus ciuitas est metropolis Sirię, dicta a Damasci nomine serui Abrahę, et interpretatur 'sanguinem lingens', quia ibi, ut Hebrei dicunt, interfectus est Abel a fratre suo. Amabitur .s. illic a Xpisto et a suis discipulis. Agnus .i. Paulus. (710) Quo .i. ibi .s. in Damasco. Seuire .i. insanire. Lupus .i. Saulus. Sors .i. euentus. Laeta .i. hilaris .s. fuit. Ruinę .i. casus. | Culpa .i. infidelitas. /103^{v}/ Ruina Pauli fuit, quando corpore caecus in terram cecidit, quia cum per-

335 Salomon - pacificus] cf. Hier. *Tract. in Psalm.* 119, lin. 422: Salomon autem interpretatur pacificus; Cassiod. *In Psalm.* 71, 1: Salomon interpretatur pacificus; Isid. *Etym.* 7, 6, 65: Salomon dicitur, id est pacificus. **339** uirgo ... placet eclesię] Arator 1, 625. **351** toruum pro torue] cf. Mar. Victorin.(?), *De soloecismo* frgm., pag. 34: et "toruumque repente clamat" pro "torue"; nomen positum pro aduerbio; Donatus, *Ars grammatica* II, 13 (Keil, GL, VI, pag. 385, lin. 25-27): nomina potius esse dicenda sunt [nomina] pro aduerbiis posita, ut est 'toruum clamat'; *Ars Ambrosiana, Comm. anonym. in Donat.*, De aduerbio, lin. 216: ut si dicas "toruum repente clamat" pro eo quod est "torue clamat" ... ecce <nomina> ponis pro aduerbiis; *Ars Laureshamensis, Expos. in Donat. mai.* 3, De soloecismo, pag. 201: Toruum est nomen, torue autem aduerbium; Hugo de S. Vict. *De grammatica* 16: ut toruum pro torue. **352/53** metropolis - Abrahę] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 9, 2, 3; 15, 1, 15. **353/55** Damasci - fratre suo] cf. Hier. *In Ezech.* 8, 27: "Damascus" interpretatur "sanguinem bibens", et Hebraeorum uera traditio est, campum in quo interfectus est Abel a parricida Cain fuisse in Damasco.

337 dubita] debita *McKinlay* thesaurarium *P1* **346** procedente *McKinlay*

gebat Damascum, circumfulsit eum lux de celo. Gradu .i. uirtute, in statu, in fide. Pectora .i. spiritales oculos. Agnoscitur .s. a Paulo. Discedente .i. recedente. <Die .i.> uisu oculorum. Quantum .i. quam magnam gratiam .s. habere. Exclamatio poetę. Post .i. post cecitatem oculorum. Maiora, quia *raptus est usque ad tertium celum et audiuit.* Mirabile fuit exemplum, quod ouis lupum domuit fideique iugo colla illius subdi fecit, uel mirabile exemplum dedit seclis, ne post culpam aliquis desperaret de misericordia eius. Annania interpretatur ouis uel gratia dei, quia Ebrea nomina multas habent interpretationes. Simon interpretatur oboediens uel audiens tristitiam et deponens merorem. Ergo Annanias .i. ouis excutit furorem lupi .i. Sauli, quia Annanias docuit Saulum et hoc est mirabile, quod ouis domuit et frenauit lupum. Clamabitur .i. predicabitur. Orbi .i. per orbem. Hoc precone .i. Paulo nuntio. Legis .s. Moysi. Exutus .i. exspoliatus. Ab umbra .i. obscuritate uelamine. (720) Erat .s. ipse Paulus. Per illius cecitatem designatur umbra legis, sub qua erat iste et non intellegebat. De sole .i. Xpisto. Canens .i. predicans. Ne desine .i. ne desinas. Apostrofam facit ad ipsum. Diem .s. conuersionis tuę. Multorum .s. beneficiorum, quia cęcitas illius multorum illuminatio fuit. Datur .s. a Xpisto. Hic .i. in tuo corpore. Nubila .i. cecitates. Mundi <.s.> nubila. Figuris .s. sacris. Documenta .i. narrationes. Sequar, prosequar. Quasi diceret poeta: hactenus locutus sum istorialiter, nunc loquar spiritaliter. Tectum .i. coopertum. Latebris .s. scripturarum .i. de ocultis. <Iubar>, spiritalem uidelicet intellectum. Quod gerit .i. eo quod habet. Exempli[s] sui, quia tribus diebus fuit cęcus. Virum .s. ipsum Paulum. Coactum | .i. conpulsum. Pena .i. cęcitas. Docet, quid? Ne respuat .i. /104r/ contradicat. (730) Chaos .i. infernum. Sic .i. post tertium diem similiter. Visus .i. lumen oculorum. Sicut Xpistus tribus diebus requieuit in sepulchro et tertia die resurrexit, ita et Paulus III^{bus} diebus fuit cecus et illa poena fuit illi magistra, quia insinuauit illi et demonstrauit resurrectionem Xpisti. Quod .s. eo quod. Ab orbibus .i. ab oculis. Orbes dicuntur circuitus oculorum. Squamę .i. infidelitates. Quod .s. quas squamas. Anguis .i. Iudee gentis. Ratione .i. misterio .i. spiritali intellectu. Viget .i. ualet, plenum est, et hoc significat Iudea .i. gens Iudaica. Vomit, quia

363 raptus - audiuit] *2 Cor.* 12, 2. **366** Annania - gratia dei] cf. Aug. *Sermo* 279 (PL 38, 1276): et Ananias interpretatur ouis; Hier. *Liber interpret. Hebr. nom.* s. v.: Ananias gratia domini; Isid. *Etym.* 7, 8, 24: Ananias gratia dei.

360 agnoscitur .s. a Paulo] .s. a Paulo agnoscitur *Lo* **364/65** subdi fecit] sub difecit *Lo* **375** apostrofam^{corr}] apostro$^{a.c}$ **382** exempli *McKinlay* uirum *Lo P1 Pm McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, sui *McKinlay*^{textus} **391** uomit *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, uomet *McKinlay*^{textus}

blasphemauit Xpistum. Multa genera sunt aspidis, sed generaliter dicuntur aspides. Quoddam genus est incurabile; aliud quod, cum incantantur ab aliquo, ne audiat uocem incantantis, ponit caput suum ad terram et unam quidem aurem premit .i. applicat in terram, aliam uero cauda sua obturat. Ita et Iudea obdurat aures suas, ne audierit uocem incantantis .i. Xpisti. Noster enim cantor est Xpistus. Coluber perfidię .i. diabolus. Obsequi<i>s .i. predicationibus. Iacit .i. proicit; quia antea non erat dignus cęlestibus uti mysteriis. Gerit .i. fert. Quia cum esset persecutor, mala prelia inferebat xpistianis, et postea doctor effectus meliora bella gerebat contra incredulos, sicut scriptum est: *Paulus conualescebat.* (740) Euadere. Paulus non per portas, sed per fenestras in sporta saluatus fuit. Et sciendum, quia non discipulis suis, sed a discipulis Xpisti, quia ille adhuc non habebat. Et modo allegorizabit, quid significat ipsa sporta. Texi .i. construi. Tegmina .i. operimenta. Quia per eam liberatus est. In honore .s. suo. Iuncus aquis, ne arescat: per quod designatur baptismum. Palma coronis: per quod intellegitur celestis remuneratio. Palma enim uictoribus dabatur. Iuuat .i. placet. <Ecclesiam .s.> de iunco. Vnda .i. aqua uel ratio. Martirii .s. iuuat. Nutriti .i. multiplicati. Sub dente .s. comedentium. Distendere .i. implere. Quadam uice satiauit | dominus de /104v/ quinque panibus et duobus pisscibus quinque milia hominum. In hoc loco uero de septem panibus satiauit IIII^{or} milia hominum et replete fuerunt sportę septem. Per illas septem sportas designant septem eclesias, quibus scripsit Iohannes. Tamen uniuersalis eclesia est in toto mundo, de qua Salomon: *Amica mea sponsa mea.* Sed ideo septem esse dixit, eo quod septiformis spiritus gratia roboratur et illuminatur. Ipsa enim .s. gratia spiritus sancti est mater et nutrix eclesię. Tot .s. septem, sicut fuerunt sep-

392/96 Multa genera - obturat] cf. *Psalm.* 57, 5; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 4, 12-13; Lucifer Calar. *Quia absentem nemo* 1, 25; Ambros. *De fuga saeculi* 7, 42; Arnob. Iun. *In Cant. cant.* 7, lin. 643; Arnob. Iun. *In Psalm.* 57; Aug. *Enarr. in Psalm.* 57, 9. **397** Coluber - diabolus] cf. Ambros. *Expos. euang. Luc.* 2, lin. 841. **401** Paulus conualescebat] *Act. ap.* 9, 22. **410/11** Quadam uice - milia hominum] cf. *Mat.* 14, 19; *Marc.* 6, 41; *Luc.* 9, 16. **413** Per illas - eclesias] cf. Aug. *Sermo* 95 (PL 38, 581): septem sportae ... perfectionem ecclesiae; Greg. Illib. *De arca Noe*, lin. 44: et septem sportae plenae ... septiformis ecclesiae imaginem indicabant; Paschas. Radbert. *Expos. in Mat.* 7: septem sportas quae sunt septem ecclesiae. **414** quibus scripsit Iohannes] cf. *Apoc.* 1, 11. **415** Amica mea sponsa mea] *Cant. cant.* 2, 13 (sponsa] speciosa *Vulgata*). **415/16** eo quod septiformis - illuminatur] cf. Ambros. *Expos. euang. Luc.* 5, lin. 987.

398 obsequiis *McKinlay* **408** ecclesiam .s.] *add. ex P1* **411** duobus^{corr}] dobu-

tem sportę. Hoc signant. Profecto .i. certe. Scriptura .s. Apocalipsis. Illic .i. in eclesia. Sic .i. tali modo. Signat .s. quot sunt nomina .s. illarum. Virtus .s. diuina. (750) In omnibus, eclesiis septem. Species .i. sporta uel eclesia. Militat .i. oboedit. Vas .s. electionis. In uase .i. eclesia uel Xpisto. Ab oste .s. Iudeorum. Doctor .s. factus eclesię. Cui .s. eclesię uel Xpisto. In armis .i. in uirtutibus. Vincit: adquisitiuum est .i. per illius rem. Vinco te .i. supero. Vinco tibi adquisitiuum est .i. propter tuam rem. Peruigil .i. ualde uigilans. Vigilię dicuntur nocturne, excubię uero diurne uigilię. Ouilis .i. gregis. Cuncta .s. loca sanctorum. Lustrauit .i. circuiuit. In ordine .i. per ordinem. Tulit .i. ambulauit. Gradus .i. pedes. *Lidda ciuitas est Palestinę in littore maris magni sita, que nunc Diospolis ap<p>ellatur.* Vbi .i. in Lidda. Asstans .s. Petrus. Defunctis: quia paraliticus erat. Lisis Grece solutio. Inde paralisis dissolutio. Corpore quidem uiuebat, sed membra quasi defuncta erant, quia nullo officio fungebantur. Laxata .s. anima ipsa. Mole .i. materia .s. corporis. Nodis, iuncturis. Mori .s. corpore. Corpore moriebatur, non moriente anima. Quando anima moritur, soluuntur nodi corporis. De isto uero antequam mortua esset anima eius, soluti fuerunt nodi .s. corporis illius. O surgens. (760) Conpone .i. reporta. Tardes .i. moreris. Portate .s. paralitice a lecto tuo, ut scilicet illum reportes, qui te diu portauit. Officium .i. seruitium. Quo munere .i. ex quo beneficio. Vocis .s. Petri. Stringitur .i. solidatur firmatur. Insolidum .i. infirmum corpus, quia dissolutum erat. Qui .s. Eneas. Fluxerat .i. dissolutus erat. Formatus .s. est. Cadauer dicitur a cadendo, eo quod penitus | per mortem cadat, uel etiam dicitur a carendo, quia caret anima. /105r/ Extinctos artus .i. mortua membra. Subrigit .i. eleuat. Monumenta .i. sepulcra. Cubilis .i. lecti. Cubile illud, in quo paraliticus iacuerat, illi pars

421 uas ... electionis] *Act. ap.* 9, 15. **425/26** Vigilię dicuntur - diurne uigilię] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 9, 3, 42. **427/28** Lidda ciuitas - ap<p>ellatur] Beda, *Nomina region. atque loc. in Act. ap.* lin. 171. **429/30** paraliticus - dissolutio] cf. Christianus Stabul. *Expos. in euang. Mat.* col. 1332: paralyticus uel paralysis Graecum nomen est et dicitur Latine dissolutio membrorum uel dissolutus membris. **440** Cadauer - a cadendo] cf. Tert. *De res. mort.* 18: ut exinde a cadendo cadauer enuntietur; Aug. *Quaest. in Heptat.* 3, *Leuit.* 20: cadauer, quod Latini a cadendo dixerunt; Aug. *Ciu.* 20, 10; 20, 21; Isid. *Etym.* 11, 2, 35; Isid. *De differ. uerb.* 522, 62. **441 ... a carendo]** cf. Isid. *De differ. uerb.* 116, 23: et caro a carendo uel a cadendo.

422 oste] ***lege*** hoste *McKinlay* doctor *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, ductor *McKinlay*^{textus} **429** asstans] adstans *McKinlay* **432** nodis *McKinlay*, nudis *Lo* **433** morientе *P1*, mouente *Lo* **436** portate *McKinlay*, porta te *Lo* **438** insolidum] in solidum *McKinlay* **442** subrigit] surrigit *McKinlay*

mortis erat, quia uelut mortuus in sepulchro iacet: ita ille immobilis iacebat et quasi sepulcrum erat illi. Quod .s. cubile. Misero .i. infirmo. Per illam .s. uiam, in qua infirmus sanatus erat. Stare .s. in fide: intuens sanatum esse infirmum. Multis .s. hominibus. Ampla .i. magna, quia multi crediderunt. Expulit .i. reiecit .s. illa pleps. Liquore .i. aquis baptismatis perceptis. Contagia .i. sordes. Inclusi morbi .i. antiqui peccati. (770) Leuans .s. illis. Firmas .s. o Petre. Alieno .i. sanitate illius egroti. Eloquar .i. dicam. Hinc .i. ex hoc loco. Arcana .i. misteria. Arcanum .i. secretum et est Grecum. Figure .i. allegori[c]ę. Cuius .s. Petri. Reddit .i. eleuat sanat. Proditur .i. manifestatur. Aetas .s. fuisse. Per hoc tempus .i. per octauum numerum. Deficit .s. ille paraliticus .i. Iudaicus populus. Ademptus .i. abstractus per circumcisionem. Sub lege .s. Moysi. Per egrotum octo annis iacentem designatur populus Iudaicus, qui octaua die circumciditur. Per hos octo annos octo dies intelliguntur, quibus circumciditur infans, et Xpistus consecrauit hoc opus, quia octaua die resurrexit. Ipsa fuit uera circumcisio eius, quando mortale factum est inmortale. Inde legitur: *Mors illi ultra non dominabitur.* Et nos circumcidemur uera circumcisione in die iudicii, in octauo seculi tempore, quando corpus animale dimittemus et spiritale accipiemus et quando liberabimur a malis. Sex sunt etates mundi, septima est dormientium, octaua est resurgentium. Habent .s. Iudei. Iugulantia .i. lacerantia .s. per circumcisionem. Saucius .i. circumcisus. Sanauit .s. Petrus. Ab illa .s. circumcisione. Grauem .s. paraliticum. Discrimine .i. a periculo. (780) Sollemne .i. celebre precipuum. Opus .i. baptismum uel diem resurrectionis. Veniente die, resurrectionis. In quo numero .s. octauo. Octauus annus .i. resurrectio Xpisti, que fuit octaua die. Egrum .i. infirmum, genus humanum uel

451 Arcanum .i. secretum] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 20, 9, 2. **456/57** octaua die circumciditur] cf. Aug. *Ep.* 55, 13; Aug. *Sermo* 231; Hier. *Comm. in Psalm.* 6, 9. **458** Xpistus - resurrexit] cf. Beda, *In princ. Gen.* 2, 7: quia uero post sabbatum, id est octaua die resurrexit a mortuis. **460** Mors - dominabitur] *Rom.* 6, 9. **463** sex sunt etates mundi] cf. Aug. *De cat. rud.* 17: quia post sex aetates mundi huius, septima aetate tamquam septimo die requieturus est in sanctis suis; Beda, *In prim. part. Sam.* 3, 16: post sex huius saeculi aetates et septimam quae nunc illa in uita geritur sabbati animarum quasi octaua aetas nostrae resurrectionis aduentura speratur. **469** Egrum] Arator 1, 779.

444 mortuus^{corr}] murtuus$^{a.c}$ **448** reiecit *P1*, reicit *Lo* **450** leuans *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, lauans *McKinlay*^{textus} **451** hinc *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, hic *McKinlay*^{textus} **452** allegorię *P1 Pm* **454** defecit *McKinlay* paraliticus *C P1*, paraclitus *Lo* **455** ademptis *McKinlay* **457** hos^{corr}] os$^{a.c}$ **462** liberabimur] liberemur *Lo* **465** circumcisus^{corr}] cisus$^{a.c}$

Iudaicum populum. Stat .i. manet, | temporis usus, in Iudeis, dum obse- /105v/
ruabant legem circumcisionis. Manet etiam in nobis usus temporis, dum aquis baptismatis abluimur, et ideo dicit 'uoto meliore'. Redux .i. reuertibilis: ipse usus, quia licet peccata solueret circumcisio sicut baptismum, tamen aditum regni celestis non reserabat, quod facit baptismum. Hinc <id> est ex circumcisione. Serpunt .i. trahuntur. Hinc .i. ex baptismo. Ablata .s. ipsa uulnera. Ruunt .i. cadunt. Regula .i. disciplina. Penis .s. angustię, quia uulnerare est magnam poenam suscipere. Medicina .s. dei. Vadis .i. in aquis. Priore .s. sub spatio circumcisionis. Dudum .i. olim tempore legis. Laxa pro laxata. Neci .i. morti uel circumcisioni. Stringuntur .i. firmantur, per aquas baptismi. Numero .s. in octauo numero annorum. Iterum loquitur poeta de illo paralitico, quem dominus diuinitatis suae potentia sanauit. Iners .i. infirmus, sine ulla arte. Quia ille paraliticus per octo annos iacuerat et iste per XXX et octo, et bene conueniunt numero. Quomodo? Propter octonarium numerum, quia in uno numero octonario finitur hic numerus, licet per plures iacuisset ille, quem dominus sanauit. Mota .s. ab angelo. Heu .i. prodolor. Siloa fons est decurrens de monte Moria, de quo fonte fit ista piscina habens quinque porticus, in quibus iacebant infirmi, et dicitur alio nomine Probatica piscina. Probatos enim Grece, pecus Latine; inde probatica, pecualis. Ibi namque lauabant sacerdotes animalia, que in templo offerebant. Veniebat autem ibi angelus semel in anno et mouebatur aqua et quicumque prius descenderet in aquam, sanabatur a quacumque infirmitate teneretur. Siloa interpretatur missus. Moria interpretatur uisio. Moria mons est, ubi edificatum est templum domini et, ut Ebrei dicunt, Abraham obtulit deo filium suum. Ideo interpretatur 'uisio', sicut legitur: *In monte uidebit dominus*. Siloa significat sinagogam, motio aquę seditionem Iudeorum significat, angelus Xpistum, quia in passione Xpisti magna seditio Iudeorum fuit. Quidam enim dicebat: *Tolle tolle*, quidam autem:

482 Iners ... sine ulla arte] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 10, 141. **488/89** quinque porticus - Probatica piscina] cf. *Ioh.* 5, 2. **489/90** probatica pecualis] cf. Beda, *In Cant. cant.* 4, 7: probatica piscina, id est pecualis. **493** Siloa interpretatur missus] cf. Ambros. *De interpret. Iob et Dauid* 4, 4, 15: fons Siloa qui dicitur missus; Aug. *Sermo* 135 (PL 38, 746); Hier. *Liber interpret. Hebr. nom.* s. v. Siloa. Moria - uisio] cf. Hier. *In Hierem.* 5 (CSEL 59, pag. 323): in monte "Moria", hoc est "uisionis", in quo Abraham Isaac filium optulisse narratur. **494** edificatum - domini] cf. *Paralip.* 3, 1. **496** In monte - dominus] cf. *Gen.* 22, 8: Deus prouidebit. **498** Tolle tolle] *Ioh.* 19, 15.

474/75 hinc id est *C P1* **484** octonarium^{corr}] hoctonarium$^{a.c}$ **492** a quacumque *P1*, aqua cumque *Lo* **493** Siloa] Solia *Lo* Moria *P1*, Maria *Lo*

Crucifige crucifige. Per quinque porticus designantur quinque libri Moysi, sub quibus erat populus Iudaicus. Ligata .i. circumdata. (790) Porticibus .s. quinque .i. quinque libris | Moysi. Atria .i. porticus uel quinque libros Moysi. Ad sua claustra .i. ad suam custodiam. Tenet .s. Iudea. Adepta .s. Iudea .i. consecuta. Ademtus .i. diminutus. Modum .i. qualitatem. Volumina .i. libros. Cuius .s. legis. Giro .i. ambitu circuitu. Debilis .i. infirma .s. ipsa Iudea. Sine munere .s. fidei. Eternum .s. in .i. in futuro die. Quia Xpistus ueniens plus offuit Iudeis quam profuisset. Egrota .i. languida. Quia sicut ille paraliticus iuxta aquam iacebat non ualens ibi ingredi, ita Iudea egrota erat et infirma in suis libris, quia non intelligebat legem spiritaliter, sed istorialiter. Vnum. Iste unus significat unitatem fidelium, quia unam eclesiam et unum baptismum habent. Qui .s. Xpistus. Tulit .i. abstulit. Quam figuram .s. unius paralitici .i. unitatem. Mundus .s. quia omnes in unitate coniunxit. Quem .i. mundum .s. paraliticum. Soluens .i. sabati obseruationem preponens. Impulit .i. coegit. Gratia .s. euangelii. Legem .s. Moysi: quia lex prohibebat aliquid facere in die sabbati. Ad eclesiam .i. ad populum xpistianum. Reuocat .i. reducit. Documenta: quia sicut Xpistus sanauit paraliticum per XXX et octo annos iacentem, ita Petrus, qui tip[p]um eclesię ferebat, sanauit paraliticum per octo annos iacentem. Cuius .s. Petri uel eclesię. Exilit .i. exsurgit. Vnus paraliticus .i. mundus. (800) At fide[m] gradiente .i. gradatim crescente fide .s. Xpisti. Vincula .i. peccata.

'Celestibus signis' dicit, quia celeste miraculum fecit ibi Petrus, quando suscitauit Tabitam. Iop<p>e: o. Canimus .i. enarramus uirtutes, que in te factę sunt. Ioppe ciuitas est maritima, ubi suscitauit Petrus Tabitam. Qua .i. in Ioppe. Mansuras .i. eternales. Fundabat .i. erogabat .s. pauperibus.

499 Crucifige crucifige] *Ioh.* 19, 15. Per quinque - libri Moysi] cf. Aug. *In Ioh. euang. tract.* 17, 2: quinque porticus lex est; Aug. *ibid.* 25, 6: ipsi sunt quinque libri Moysi, ipsae sunt quinque porticus. **509/10** Iste unus - baptismum habent] cf. Aug. *In Ioh. euang. tract.* 12, 9: ergo iste unus commendat unitatem ecclesiae; Aug. *Enarr. in Psalm.* 132, 6: unus solus sanabatur; unitatem ecclesiae figurabat; *Script. ord. Grandimont. - De confirm.* 41 (CCCM 8): Vnus autem hic qui sanabatur significat unitatem fidelium. 523 Ioppe - maritima] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 1, 19; Beda, *In Ezram* 1, lin. 1287.

502 adepta^{corr}] aepta$^{a.c}$ 510 fedelium *Lo* qui *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, cui *McKinlay*^{textus} 519 paraliticos *Lo*, paralyticus *McKinlay* at fide[m] gradiente] et gradiente fide *McKinlay*, ad fidem. gradiente *Lo* 522 Ioppe *McKinlay* o *PI*, .s. *Lo* 523 qua] quam *Lo* 524 Iappe *Lo* fundabat *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, fundebat *McKinlay*^{textus}

Tabita proprium nomen est, dicitur autem Dorcas et interpretatur dammula. Damule sunt bestię, hę sunt et dorcades et dicuntur apotu dorceste .i. ab acuto uisu. Munere .i. dono suo, non tamen natura, sed mater erat egenis, quia fouebat illos. Clauso .i. finito. Lacrimis .s. pauperum. Plus .s. quam aqua. Feretrum dicitur a ferendo et dicitur Latine capulus, eo quod capit corpora mortuorum. Post funus .i. post | mortem. Funus /106v/ dicitur mors a funibus .i. a candelis. Candele enim sunt funes cera obliti. Fiducia .s. hominum. Euocat .i. mandat uenire. Pignus .i. honus caritatem. Vacet .i. cesset, ociosus sit. Vota .i. deprecationes .s. pauperum. Petenti .i. properanti. (**810**) Inopes pro inopum. Vidui pro uiduarum. Lugentia. Metonomia figura est, per id quod continet, id quod continetur ostendens. Non enim lugere ualent tecta, sed illi qui in eis habitant. Exuuiis .i. uestimentis. Onerata .i. induta. Exuuię dicuntur uestes ab exuendo, proprie uero exuuie dicuntur pelles ferarum. Dorcadis .i. Tabite. Qualia .i. quanta. Fomenta .i. medicamenta auxilia. Dolor .s. pauperum. Fomenta dicuntur proprie plastra a fouendo .i. nutriendo. Murmure .i. clamore. Affectum .i. amorem. Agunt .i. demonstrant. Ab ore .s. sed a mente. Instrumenta .i. adiutoria. Officiis .i. indiciis .s. magis quam uoce. Quia quodammodo ipsa bona opera rogabant pro illa, sicut legitur: *Abscondite elemosinam in sinu pauperis, et ipsa orat pro uobis.* Repulsam .i. repulsionem, ut nichil loquerentur. Elegere .i. constituere. Lacrimis .s. cordis. Fecunda .i. abundans. Quia ille qui tacet et gemit corde, plus dolet quam ille, qui plorat oculis. Sicut populus Israhel quando insequebatur ab Egiptiis, murmurabat et clamabat ad deum et solus Moyses tacebat, et illi dixit dominus: *Quid ad me clamas?* Cum ille non loquebatur ore, sed mente. Sonora .i. pulchra nominatissima. (**820**) Causa .i. affectus. Petit .i. rogat. Ab aure .s. Petri. Pulsante .i. uociferante. Qua .s. fide. Mentes .s. hominum. Ocius, uelocius. Petens .i. postulans uel audiens. Fusa .i. trans-

525/26 Tabita proprium - dammula] cf. *Act. ap.* 9, 35: Tabitas quae interpretata dicitur Dorcas; Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 9: Tabita quae interpretata dicitur Dorca, id est dammula; Hier. *In Ezech.* 12, 41: Tabitha id est dorcas et dammula. **526/27** Damule sunt - uisu] cf. Beda, *In Prou. Salom.* 1, 6: dammula mundum natura est animal uelox cursu uisuque acerrimum, unde et Graece apo tou derkein, id est a uidendo, dorcas nuncupatur. **529** Feretrum - ferendo] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 20, 11, 7. **530/31** Funus dicitur - candelis] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 11, 2, 34; 20, 10, 5. **535** Lugentia] Arator 1, 809. **535/36** Metonomia - ostendens] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 1, 37, 8. **537/38** Exuuię - exuendo] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 12, 4, 47; 18, 2, 8. **544** Abscondite - uobis] cf. *Eccli.* 29, 15. **549** Quid - clamas] *Exod.* 14, 15.

532 honus] *lege* onus **546** fecunda *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, facunda *McKinlay*^{textus}

missa. Mox .i. ilico. Volat .i. ascendit. Quanto magis Petrus humiliauit se et p<r>ostrauit ad terram, tanto magis exaltauit se ad cęlum, et excelsa petens preces illius exauditę sunt. Propriis: quia ipse habet claues regni caelestis. Propriis clauibus intrat .i. aperit sibi portas regni celestis. Mundana <sapientia> .i. o philosophi. Alloquitur seculares philosophos, qui dicebant non uiuere animas post corpora, conprobans hoc in resuscitatione Tabitę. Qua uirtute .i. audacia intellectu. Negas .i. contradicis. Corrupta .s. corpora. In se, ipsa. Que .s. mundana | sapientia. Vt .i. postquam. Quibus .s. muneribus. (830) Defleta .i. perfuncta. Reducta .i. reddita. Superesse .i. incolumis esse. Offert .s. eam. Illa manus .s. Thabitę. Reuertens .s. in corpus. Cetera .s. corporis. Subiit .s. uita. Hanc scilicet <T>habitam. Que causa .s. resurgendi. Mouemur .i. uentilamur. Figuris .i. allegoriis. Quam .s. animam .i. sinagogam. Depresserat .i. adgrauauerat. Vmbra .i. cęcitas infidelitatis. (840) Ad uocem .i. predicationem. Grauatum .i. languidum. In gremio .i. in uelamine legis .i. Mosaicę legis, que umbra erat euangelii. Altera .i. melior. Surgens .i. Thabita uel sinagoga. Eclesia presente .i. Petro presente, qui tipum eclesie retinet. Leuat .i. erigit. Petrus semper legitur typum eclesię per uniuersum mundum portasse. Et per illum <eclesia> designatur; per Thabitam, que mortua erat et per preces beati Petri suscitata fuit, designatur sinagoga, que caeca erat in libris Moysi et per predicationem Petri maxima pars credidit. Tenebras .s. infidelitatis et peccatorum. Repellit .i. reicit. Operum .s. bonorum. Comitata .i. secuta. Fidem .s. omnipotentis dei. Nam *fides sine operibus mortua est.* Que salus: quia lex non dicit resuscitari homines in hoc seculo. Quia .i. sed. Renatis .i. regeneratis. Gratia .s. euangelii. [.i.] Munera .i. <in>gressum caelestis regni.

Cesarea .s. Palestine. Tres sunt Cesareę. Vna est Capadocię, unde fuit beatus Basilius. Altera Palestine. Tertia Philippi. Iste uero fuit de Cessarea Palestinę. Gentili .i. de Romana. Satus .i. generatus. Dedita .i. consueta

567/68 legis - euangelii] cf. Ambros. *Expos. Psalm.* 38, 25, 1: umbra euangelii ... in lege; Sigebert. Gemblac. *Liber decennalis* 1, pag. 186: in lege ueteri, que est umbra euangelii. **570** Petrus - typum eclesię] cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Psalm.* 118, 13, 3: Petri, in quo erat typus ecclesiae; Ambros. Autpert. *Expos. in Apocal.* 3, 5, 6: Hinc Petro typum eclesiae gerenti dominus ait; Ambros. Autpert. *Expos. in Apocal.* 3, 5, 11: Hinc Petro typum eclesiae gerenti dicit. **575/76** fides - mortua est] *Iac.* 2, 26. **579/80** Tres sunt - Philippi] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 1, 18; 15, 1, 37; Beda, *Nomina region. atque loc. in Act. ap.* lin. 92. 99. 102.

553 ilico^{corr}] illico$^{a.c}$ **556** intrat - celestis] *om. et add. in marg. Lo* **559** qua *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, qua[e] *McKinlay*^{textus} **561** perfuncta *C P1 Pm*, pcuncta *Lo* **571** eclesia] *add. ex P1*

.s. ipsa uita. Causis .i. elemosinis et orationibus, quia bona opera bona semper sequuntur, et bona opera istius baptismus secutus est. Gerendo .i. faciendo bona opera. Solent enim bona opera precedere fidem, sicut hic. Hic enim Cornelius antequam baptizatus esset, bona opera gerendo <coepit credere> .s. in deum. (850) Stant .i. placent. Opes .i. elemosinę. Stat polissemus sermo est: stat pro placet et pro posita est. Verba .i. preces .s. stant .i. placent .s. deo. Premia .i. retributiones. Virtutibus .i. operibus tuis. Huc .i. ad te. Viam .i. baptismum, per quod uenitur ad Xpistum. Sic .i. tali modo. Finxit .i. constituit. Lauacris .i. undis baptismatis. Nona .s. | quando locutus est ei angelus. Rectius .i. conuenientius. Prodiret .i. /107v/ manifestaret panderet. Quod .s. docet. Tertia .s. hora .i. ternarius numerus. Sanctam .s. trinitatem. Docet ter trina .i. nona hora .i. nouenarius numerus. Figuram .s. sanctę trinitatis. Singula ter .i. ternarius numerus. <Ter> triplicata .i.nouenarius numerus. Fatentur .s. trinitatem. Quantum simplex ter .i. ternarius numerus signat .i. trinitatem, tantum sig<n>ent triplicata ter .i. nouenarius numerus, qui signat trinitatem sicut ternarius. Ter terni sunt nouem et nouenarius ducitur per ternarium. Ideo signat trinitatem, sicut ternarius. (860) Oculos .i. lucem. Orbi .i. mundo .i. illuminauit mundum. Quando Xpistus fuit in cruce, fuerunt tenebre a sexta hora usque ad nonam. Ab hora sexta sunt tres horę usque ad nonam, et hora nona illuminatus est mundus. Remeante .i. regrediente reuertente. De radiis .i. de braciis uel uirtute. Iubar .i. splendor solis. Onustum .i. plenum. Constat .i. decet. Gentibus .i. populis. Fulserunt .i. irradiauerunt. Hanc .s. horam. Denarius .s. numerus. Omnia .s. merita. Precepta .s. legis. Offert .i. dat. Recordatur illius sacrę lectionis euangelicę, ubi legitur quia pater familias misit operarios in uineam suam et illi qui hora nona uenerunt, similiter singulos denarios acceperunt sicut et primi. Operarii sunt homines electi, qui in presenti uita bonis operibus et recte uiuere student. Denarius, qui eis redditur, uita est eterna. Sed ipsa uita eterna licet una sit, diuerso tamen modo distribuitur. A nouissimis autem pater familias denarium reddere incipit, quia plerumque antea tarde conuersi remunerantur, dum prius de corpore exeunt. Eundem omnes denarium sortiuntur, quia unam retributionem accipiunt illi, qui in fine mundi uocati | sunt, cum illis, qui ab initio mundi domino seruierunt. /108r/ Tardos .s. illos, qui tarde uenerunt nona uidelicet hora. Aere .i. denario.

600/01 fuerunt - ad nonam] cf. *Mat.* 27, 45; *Marc.* 15, 33; *Luc.* 23, 44 607/08 pater familias - primi] cf. *Mat.* 20, 1-10.

590 finxit *Lo McKinlay*$^{\text{varia lectio}}$, fixit *McKinlay*$^{\text{textus}}$ 593 sanctam] sacram *McKinlay* 596 sig<n>ent] significat *P1* 608 uenerunt$^{\text{corr}}$] uerunt$^{\text{a.c}}$

Priores .i. qui primi uenerunt. Temporis huius .i. nostri baptismatis. Opem .i. ausilium. (870) Preuius .s. Cornelius, qui primus ex gentibus baptizatus est et fuit primitie gentium. O utinam: duo optatiui sunt. Petat .i. contingat. Actio .i. opus. Mortalis .i. labilis. Studium .s. hoc quod dico. Proponat .s. et utinam. Amor .i. desiderium. Honorem .i. deum. Ferat .s. nostra actio uitę uel mortalis origo. Exemplum .s. Corneli. Vndis .s. in .s. baptismatis. Fidei .s. sanctę trinitatis. Indice uoto .i. indicante uoluntate. Tres .s. suos milites. Confessio .i. sancta trinitas. Sic .i. tali modo: sicut illi tres uenerunt. Genera<n>tis .i. regenerationis. Tres misit uiros, ut baptizarentur per signum sanctę trinitatis et ut confessio trina teneretur in toto mundo .i. Asia, Europa et Libia. Tenebitur .s. confessio trina. In horis .i. in finibus. Per ipsum numerum .s. sanctę trinitatis. Tres sunt partes mundi: Asia, Europa et Libia. Asia dicitur a quadam puella, quam stuprauit Iupiter et pro munere stupri dedit illi, ut nomine illius uocaretur tertia pars mundi. Europa uero similiter dicitur a quadam puella, quam stuprauit Iouis conuersus in taurum. Similiter altera pars mundi ab illius nomine dicitur. Libia uero pars est Affricę et dicitur quasi lipsia .i. egens suco, quia arida terra est. Lodos Grece sucus. Inde Pliades dicuntur stellę siccę in cęlo, quia quando oriuntur, siccum solet esse tempus.

Ardua .i. excelsa. Torrente .i. ardente adurente. Sexta erat hora .i. media, quando Petrus in superiora ascendit: significat magnam eclesiam relictis cupiditatibus terrenis habituram in cęlo conuersationem. Instruit .s. nos .i. demonstrat. (880) Quod dicit 'despiciens solum', duppliciter potest intelligi: ut si ad Pętrum referatur, dicamus despiciens solum .i. omnia tempora; si uero ad domum intellegendum sit, quia ipsa domus despiciat solum, dum in altum erigitur. Etatem sextam. Largiri .i. dare. Saluantis .i. redemptoris. | Opem .i. ausilium. Illa sexta hora significat sextam ętatem /108v/ seculi uel mundi, qua Xpistus uenit in mundum, et significat sextum diem, quo Xpistus perfecit omnia inicio mundi, et significat horam sextam, quando Xpistus sedit super puteum rogans pocula mulierem Samaritanam, et significat horam, quando Petrus esuriuit. Numerus .s. senarius. Pretulit .i. presignauit. Exemplum .s. hoc. Quo .s. exemplo: quia sex diebus fecit dominus omnem creaturam et in septimo requieuit.

628/29 Tres sunt - puella] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 14, 3, 1; 14, 4, 1; 14, 5, 1. **643/47** Illa sexta hora - esuriuit] cf. Aug. *In Ioh. euang. tract.* 124, 6, 6-12.

618 ausilium] *lege* auxilium *C P1 Pm* **625** generantis *McKinlay* **627** horis] *lege* oris *McKinlay* **632** Iouis] = Iuppiter in taurum *P1*, instaurum *Lo* altera^{corr}] atera$^{a.c}$ **642** in altum erigitur *P1*, iterum elegitur *Lo* **643** ausilium] *lege* auxilium *C P1 Pm* **644** seculi uel] uel seculi *Lo* qua^{corr}] quia$^{a.c}$

Quem .s. mundum. Hac [.i.] ipsa est .i. sexta ętate uidelicet natus in carne. Ditione .i. lege. Premi .s. ipsum mundum. Sic .i. tali sacramento. Fertur .i. ostenditur .s. sitire Xpistum .i. salutem mundi. Multiplicat misteria senarii numeri. Cum pro quando. Puteus dicitur a potando, quasi potans. Super ora .i. super margines. Requiem .i. pacem. Vbique .i. in omni mundo. (890) Eclesię de fonte, baptismatis. Ad sua dona .s. omnes ad suam fidem. Addere .i. adiungere. Amans .i. cupiens. Prius, quia Xpistus sitiuit prius in illa hora. Quod significat illud, quod sitiuit Xpistus? Illud significat, quod esuriuit Petrus .i. simul Xpistus et Petrus cupiebant salutem humano generi. Nutrire .s. in cordibus credentium. Auxit Xpistus Petro honorem nominis, quia ille Simon antea uocabatur et Xpistus postea uocauit Petrum, dicens: *Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram ędificabo eclesiam meam.* Petros enim Grecum est et Petrus Latinum dictus a petra .i. Xpisto. Quod nomen Ebraice dicitur Cephas .i. agnoscens. Saturante .s. se. Fame .s. Petri. Que .s. fames. Fluit .i. emanauit. Dilitiosa, uino plena. Pinguior .i. fecundior crassior. Munere .s. terreno. Inanem .i. [in]uacuum. Relinquit .s. famis Petri. Sicut ille, qui de fonte Xpisti bibet et numquam sitiet, ita et de pane Petri .i. de predicatione numquam esuriet. Perpetuas dapes .i. spiritales opes. Latura .i. datura ipsa fames Petri. Qui .s. habens ligandi et soluendi potestatem. Excute .i. repelle. Retinacula .i. uincula habenas: a retinendo. Tarda .i. pigra. Inuocationem facit ad Petrum descripturus misterium. Epulis .i. cibis spiritalibus. Porrige .i. tribue. Exhaustę .i. euacuatę. Linguę .s. mee. Etherius .i. caelestis. (900) Honore .i. mi<ni>sterio suo, quo<d> clauiger erat. Demittitur | .i. sumitur. Inde .i. de celo. Figura .i. similitudo. Vasis .i. uasculi. Ad /109r/
quid? Vt sit .i. intellegant homines. Visio .i. ostensio .s. in corpore. Omnia .s. munda et inmunda. Demissum fuit illi quoddam uas linteum ab angelo per IIII^{or} initia .i. per IIII^{or} angulos retinens in se omnia genera animalium, serpentium et uolucrum. Vas illud linteum nichil aliud significat nisi corpus Petri .i. eclesiam, quia Petrus typum eclesię ferebat.

653 Puteus - a potando] cf. Arnob. Iun. *In Psalm.* 68, lin. 27: Puteus a potando dicitur; Isid. *Etym.* 13, 21, 5: Puteus ... a potatione dictus. **661/62** Tu es - meam] *Mat.* 16, 18. **670** Retinacula - a retinendo] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 20, 16, 3. **678/79** Vas - eclesiam] cf. Christianus Stabul. *Expos. in euang. Mat.* col. 1265: uas linteum quod uidit Petrus significat eclesiam.

650 ipsa *C McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, .i. ipsa *Lo*, eadem *McKinlay*^{textus} **656** prius *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, pius *McKinlay*^{textus} **664** saturante *McKinlay*, statur ante *Lo* dilitiosa] *lege* deliciosa *McKinlay* **667** i*ta *Lo* **672** aethereus *McKinlay* **673** ministerio *C P1* quod *P1*, quo *Lo C*

Linteum autem tinea non consumit, quę uestes alias consumit. *Ideo qui uult ad misterium eclesię pertinere, excludat de suo corde corruptionem malarum cogitationum et ita incorruptibiliter firmetur in fide, ut prauis cogitationibus tamquam a tineis non rodatur in mente. IIII*^{or} *illa initia, quibus linteum dependebat, IIII*^{or} *plagas orbis designant, in quibus extenditur eclesia. Quod enim de celo submittitur, indicat eam solam superueniente[m] spiritus sancti gratia seruari pariter atque augeri. Possunt etiam IIII*^{or} *initiis figurari IIII*^{or} *euangelistę, per quos eclesia cęlesti munere imbuitur adque sublimatur.* In illo autem uase erant omnia serpentia terrę et quadrupedia et uolatilia caeli. *Animalia illa omnes gentes sunt erroribus inmundę, sed trina submersione .i. mysterio sanctę trinitatis in baptismo mundatę.* Sicut enim in illo uase continebantur omnia genera animalium bonorum et malorum, ita et in eclesia sunt simul boni et mali. Qui .s. Petrus. Eclesię: quia boni et mali in eclesia continentur. Prefertur .i. ostenditur. Imago .i. species lintei. Ordinibus .i. initiis. Quid prefertur .i. ostenditur? Vna est forma eclesię. Eminet id est dilatatur. Laxat .s. cum. Ora .i. linguas ad predicandam fidem. Totidem preconibus .i. IIII^{or} euangelistis. Volucrum .i. leues homines. Pecudum .i. iustos et mites. Ferarum .i. illos, qui ad suum uotum *huc illucque disscurrunt.* Reptilium: illos, qui sollicitudinibus humanis inherent. Mortalibus .s. hominibus. Ista .i. IIII^{or} prefata. Coherent .i. conueniunt. | Ex meritis .i. ex bona et mala operatione. Patet .i. manifestum est. **(910)** Transfundi .i. colligi .s. per baptismum. Viscera .i. in sinu, in gremio. Macta .i. occide. Abstrahe .i. illos conuerte a malitiis. Tibi .s. per baptismum. *Surge*, inquit, *Petre. Occide et manduca.* Surge inquit .i. ad euangelizandum preparare. Occide in gentibus quod sunt et fac eos quod es .s. per baptismum, ut credant fidem catholicam. Vertitur .i. mutatur .s. de malo ad bonum. Habetur .s. moribus uel natura. Saulus

680 Linteum autem - consumit] cf. Aug. *Sermo* 149 (PL 38, 803) = Caesar. Arel. *Sermo* 176, 4: Nouimus enim quod linteum tinea non consumit, quae uestes alias corrumpit. **680/88** Ideo qui uult - sublimatur] Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 10. **688/89** omnia serpentia - uolatilia] cf. Aug. *Contra Faust.* 21, 10: omnia serpentia, quadrupedia, uolatilia. **689/90** Animalia illa - mundatę] Beda, *Expos. Act ap.* 10. **698** huc illucque disscurrunt] Hier. *In Ezech.* 1, 1; Hier. *In Zach.* 2, 9; Hier. *Ep.* 66, 13. **703** Surge - manduca] *Act. ap.* 10, 13; 11, 7. **703/05** Surge inquit .i. - quod es] cf. Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 10: Surge, inquit, ad euangelizandum praeparare, occide in gentibus quod fuerant et fac quod es.

680 uest*es *Lo* **684** designant^{corr}] designent$^{a.c}$ **685** submittitur *P1 Beda*, sumitur *Lo* solam] sola *Beda* superueniente *P1*, superuenientis *Beda* **687** adque] *lege* atque *Beda* **698** disscurrunt] *lege* discurrunt **704** preparare] te para *Pm*, prepara te *P1* quod^{corr} sunt] que$^{a.c}$ sunt

.i. infernalis. Paulus .i. humilis. Absit .s. a me, ut inmundum manducem. *Absit, domine, dixit Petrus, quia commune et inmundum non intro<i>uit in [h]os meum.* Inter commune et inmundum hoc distat. Commune est, quod gentiles comedunt, Iudei autem nolunt tangere, sicut porcus etcetera. Inmundum uero est, quod nec gentiles comedunt nec Iudei, sicut est canis et asinus etcetera. Quanta .i. o quam magna, admiratio poetę. Legis .s. Moysi. Et esuriens, ipse Petrus. <Et> pro etiam. Oblatus .s. a domino. Respuit .i. uitauit, abhominatus est. Tanta fuit illa reuerentia sancte legis, ut cum esuriret, noluit ex hoc manducare. Ter .i. propter trinitatem. Dictata .i. pronuntiata. Saluti .i. ad salutem, propter fidem trinitatis. Hoc .s. dictum .i. hanc uocem. Peregit pater uel genitor, peregit natus et spiritus sanctus. Huic fidei .s. sancte trinitatis. Pugnax .i. rebellis. Cadit .i. perit. Arrius negans unum .s. deum esse in tribus personis. Arrius presbiter fuit, qui dicebat tres personas bene et male deum unum non esse. Econtra Sabellius dicebat unum deum bene et tres personas negabat male. Dicebat enim: Pater tantummodo pater est et quando uult, est filius et quando uult, est spiritus sanctus. (**920**) Confessus unum patrem. Vicissim .i. per uices. Sed totum .i. tantum. Vt .s. sit. Trino .i. in trinitate. Apex .i. una maiestas. Hic diuidit: Arius .s. negans unitatem. Ille, S[c]abellius. Relinquit .s. negans personas tres. Qui .s. dominus. Imperio .i. amonitione .s. ad fidem. Fas est .i. licitum est. Hoc .i. fidem sancte trinitatis. Fidem .s. Xpisti. Munda .i. sanctificata. Discrete | .i. diuise. /110r/ Coniun<c>tus .s. ipse sanguis. Maculosus .i. squamis peccati plenus. Oberrat .i. *circuit* .s. *quem deuoret.* (**930**) Limfis, aquis .s. baptismi. Gemit .i. dolet. Venenum .i. peccatum.

Comperit .i. cognouit. Accitus .i. euocatus a Cornelio. Intellegit ille, quid significat illud linteum. De merito .i. propter *robur fidei.* Sonat, interpretatur. Pro munere .i. pro confessione. Sic .i. ut Petrus uocaretur. Quo .s. Petro. Cognoscente .s. Xpistum; quia ille dixit: *Tu es Xpistus.* Patescit .s.

708/09 Absit - meum] *Act. ap.* 10, 14 (Vulgata): Ait autem Petrus: Absit, domine, quia numquam manducaui omne commune et inmundum; Aug. *Ep. ad Hieronymum (exc. ep. Augustini)* 35, 2: Absit, domine, quoniam commune et inmundum numquam introiuit in os meum. **722/23** Pater tantummodo - sanctus] cf. Beda, *Homil. euang.* 2, 24: Sabellius ... inquit ... ipse pater quando uult pater est quando uult filius est idem tamen unum est. **730** circuit - deuoret] *1 Petr.* 5, 8. **733** robur fidei] Hier. *Adu. Iouin.* 1, 12. **735** Tu es Xpistus] *Mat.* 16, 16; 26, 63; *Marc.* 8, 29; 14, 61; *Luc.* 22, 66; 23, 39; *Ioh.* 6, 70; 11, 27.

713 et pro *Pl* oblatus] oblatas *McKinlay* **719** *1.* Arrius^{corr}] Arius$^{a.c}$ **721** negabat *Pl Pm*, negebat *Lo* **726** qui *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, quo *McKinlay*^{textus} **728** discrete] discretae *McKinlay*

Xpistus. Ille descendit .s. Petrus de cenaculo. Miserat .s. Cornelius. Quesitor .i. querens baptismum. Ascendere dicitur Petrus, cum maiora perfectioribus hominibus predicabat. Descendere uero, cum minora non tam perfectis hominibus predicabat. Aquam .s. baptismi. Pars .s. hominum. <Mersa .s.>, in baratrum .i. in infernum. Cuius .s. sacrificantis. Euntes .s. homines. (940) Melioris .i. celestis. Qua .i. ad quam uiam. Cessans .i. desinens. Aliquis .s. non intrat .s. in cęlum. Vita .i. Xpistus. Isdem .i. uiris .s. Cornelii. Domum .s. Cornelii, per baptismum. Poplite .i. genu. Flexo .i. curuo. Cornelius conquinisscens uoluit uenire ad pedes Petri et dixit ei Petrus: *Noli facere, quia ego homo sum.* Munera .s. salutis. Gratis: quia sicut ipse accepit gratis a deo, ita gratis uolebat dare. Arcet .i. repellit, uidelicet ut Cornelius aduoluatur pedibus eius. Hinc .i. ab hoc initio. Quia ipse post baptizatus est: de gentibus fuit primitię gentium. Apostropham facit ad orbem. Percussus .i. dampnatus. Dente .i. cibo. Natalem .i. regenerationem. Edite .i. orbis, renouate .s. o populi. Renouamini per baptismum. Ne preme pro ne premas. Libera alienis .i. originalibus. Ne premas ite[r]rum tuis .s. culpis. Nos libera habemus colla ab alienis culpis per baptismum. Nunc autem nobis custodiendum est, ne premamur iterum propriis nostris culpis. Vt .i. postquam. Modo redit ad narrationem. Fari .i. loqui. | Sublimia dogmata .i. diuinam predicationem. (950) Pandere .i. aperire turbis. Magnanimes .s. qui cum eo uenerant. Vocem .i. predicationem. Nam Petrus dixit: *Ecce, isti repleti sunt spiritu sancto, sicut et nos. Quis prohibet eos baptizare?* Viam .s. uite. Credentibus .i. fidelibus. Indubita<ta> .i. certa .i. firma .s. omnia offert. Cui .s. fidei. Munera .s. spiritus sancti. Tardant .i. moram faciunt. Diuina .s. munera. Moram .s. ueniendi in illos. Indulge<n>s .i. tribuens. Opulentus dicitur quasi opelentus .i. plenus. Lentum enim dicimus plenum, sicut temulentus temeto plenus .i. uino, et somnolentus somno plenus. Domum .s. Cornelii. Sine more .i. usu: quia spiritus sanctus non precedit baptismum, sed baptismus precedit eum. In isto uero loco precedit spiritus baptismum. Ablutos .i. purgatos. Flammis .s. spiritus sancti.

745 Noli - homo sum] cf. *Act. ap.* 10, 26 (Vulgata): Petrus uero leuauit eum dicens: Surge et ego ipse homo sum. 757/58 Ecce isti - baptizare] cf. *Act. ap.* 10, 47: Tunc respondit Petrus: Numquid aquam quis prohibere potest, ut non baptizentur hii qui spiritum sanctum acceperunt sicut et nos? 763 temulentus temeto plenus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 10, 271.

736 cenaculo^{corr}] cenalo$^{a.c}$ 740 mersa .s.] *add. ex C* 747 aduoluatur^{corr}] auoluatur$^{a.c}$ 759 indubitata *McKinlay* 761 ueniendi *P1*, ueniendo *Lo C* indulgens *McKinlay* 763 somnolentus *P1 Pm*, somnelentus *Lo*

Caret: quia numquam amplius precessit spiritus sanctus baptismum. Quo .s. in loco. Aquas .s. baptismi. Quas .s. aquas. Sanxit .i. s[c]anctificauit. Qui .s. spiritus. Talia .s. que ad uitam pertinent. (960) Addere .i. dare. Manu .s. episcopi uel presbite<r>i. Gerit .i. facit .s. spiritus. Vicissim .i. alternatim .i. ante baptismum et post. Quisquam .s. aliquis episcopus uel presbiter, uidelicet ut per suum meritum putet uenire spiritum sanctum. Suum .s. meritum. Quod .s. donum. Variat: quia alii datur sermo sapientie, alii genera linguarum etcetera. Quis, spiritus. Parat .i. tribuit. Fert .i. donat. Ministrans .i. concedens. Qua<m> erat .i. plus quam erat uotum uel spes illius qui sperat. Precedit .i. preuenit. Votum .i. desiderium alicuius; quia plus donat spiritus sanctus quam homo sperat. Nescia mensurę: quia nescit habere mensuram, sed unicuique secundum quod merebitur tribuit.

Peruenit hinc abiens sublimem Petrus. Hinc .i. de Cesarea de domo Cornelii. Sublimem, eo quod sit in monte uel quod ibi fuit gloria dominice passionis. In urbem .i. in Ierusalem. Vexilla .i. signa crucis, in qua Xpistus pro nobis suspensus est. Vexillum a uelo diminuitur et dicuntur uexilla, signa bellica dicta a uehendo. Ples .s. Iudeorum. Gentibus unde .s. uenit. Inquirebant Iudei a Petro, cur baptizaret | gentiles. Quibus /111r/ .s. Iudeis. Doctor .i. Petrus aperit referendo uisionem suam. Fas esse .i. licitum. Negari ea. (970) Digna .s. sententia. Hac uoce .s. Petri. Monstrare .s. gentibus. Palam .i. manifeste. Custodis .i. Xpisti, qui est custos humani generis. Vt uelit .s. Petrus. Patere .i. manifestari. Fores .i. ianuas cęli. Turba[s], Iudeorum. Querelis .s. tuis querimoniis. Et bene turba uocatur, quia nos turbat. Teris .i. culcas. Apostrofam facit poeta ad Iudeos, qui causabantur de fide gentium. Non sunt noua .s. hec munera. Tot uicibus .i. tribus uicibus, quia dixit ei *Pasce oues meas*. Signata, offensa. Prius .s. quam in ostensione lintei. Frui .i. ut a petra .i. a Xpisto dicatur Petrus. Quem .s. Petrum. Iura .i. leges. Locauit .i. constituit .s. Xpistus .i. ligandi et soluendi dedit illi potestatem. Duas .i. unam Iacobi et

773/74 sermo sapientie - genera linguarum] cf. Ambros. *Expos. euang. Luc.* 10, lin. 1733: alii enim datur sermo sapientiae ... alii genera linguarum; Apponius, *In Cant. cant.* 7, lin. 416: datur ... alii sermo sapientiae ... alii genera linguarum; Aug. *Conf.* 13, 18: alii datur per spiritum sermo sapientiae ... alteri genera linguarum. 783/84 Vexillum a uelo - uehendo] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 18, 3, 5. 793 Pasce oues meas] *Ioh.* 21, 17.

772 putet[corr]] potet[a.c] 774 genera] gratia *Pm* quis] qui *McKinlay* 775 qua<m>] quam *McKinlay P1* 789 manifestari] manifestare *Lo* 790 turbas] turba *McKinlay* 791 culcas[corr]] culpas[a.c]

Iohannis filiorum Zebedei et alteram Petri. Ministrans .i. docens, *turbas de nauicula.* Vehi .i. portari. Dicit euangelium, quia uidit dominus duas naues secus stagnum, unam Iacobi et Iohannis, alteram Petri, quam Xpistus ascendit, dimittens nauim Iacobi et Iohannis, per quam designatur sinagoga Iudeorum, que sicca remansit in littore maris. Per nauim Petri, que discurrit per mare, designatur eclesia, que dilatata est per uniuersum mundum, dicente domino Petro: *Duc in altum et laxate retia uestra in capturam.* Per mare designatur mundus, per pisces homines, per retia predicationes, quia sicut rete ex multis filis constat, ita predicatio ex multis sententiis. Profecto .i. certe. (**980**) Sicca .i. sine aqua baptismatis. Humi .i. in humo. Postquam .s. finita erat. Doctrina .i. predicatio ad turbas. Dedit, hoc est quando Petro dixit: *Duc in altum.* Perfida .s. sinagoga[m]. Pelago .i. per pelagus, per mare huius seculi. Fides .s. Xpisti. Hesit .i. adhesit. Vtrique rati .i. Petri et filiorum Zebedei. Vocabat, dicens: *Nonne hic est filius fabri?* Pars .s. Iudeorum. Defigitur .i. remanet. Aruis .i. terrenis rebus. Cecidit .s. infidelitate. Terrena[m] .i. mundanam gloriam. Processit .s. alter[r]a pars gentium credentium. Que .s. pars fidelium. Creuit .i. exaltata est. Diuina loquens .i. Xpistum adnuntians. | In tene- /111^{v}/
bris .i. in nocte. Tempore .i. in die. Adest .i. presens est. Spoliat .s. Petrus. Vada .i. maria. Draconis, coeti uel diaboli, quia per predicationem fecit eum dimissum ab hominibus. (**990**) Agant .i. ducant. Retia .i. predicationes. Fontis .i. baptismi. Fauce .i. profunditate. Profundi .i. maris. Modo allegorizat. Verbo .s. predicationis. Compleuit .s. utrisque partibus .i. ex Iudeis et gentibus. Maiore .s. quam antea erat, captione credentium. Foret pro erat. Leuauit .s. Petrus a peccatis. Salo .i. obediente mundo. Fatetur .i. demonstrat. Placida .i. tranquilla. Statione .i. receptu[m]. Recondit .i. reponit Petrus. Statio nauium dicitur portus. Qui .s. domi-

797/98 turbas de nauicula] *Luc.* 5, 3. **798** Dicit euangelium] cf. *Luc.* 5, 2-3. **801** sicca remansit] cf. Caesar. Arel. *Sermo* 117, 6: infelix synagoga ab omni umore uel pluuia diuini uerbi sicca remansit et arida. **802** eclesia que dilatata est] cf. Cassiod. *Expos. Psalm.* 104, lin. 144: Nam sicut ubique dilatata est ecclesia; Beda, *De tabernac.* 2, lin. 701: ecclesia per orbem dilatata est. **803/04** Duc in altum - capturam] *Luc.* 5, 4. **808** Duc in altum] *Luc.* 5, 4. **811** Nonne - fabri] *Mat.* 13, 55; cf. Hier. *Ep. ad Praesidium* 3, 56; Paschas. Radb. *Expos. in Mat.* 7, lin. 170; Rupert. Tuit. *In euang. Ioh.* 4, pag. 230. **823** Statio - portus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 14, 8, 39: statio est ubi ad tempus stant naues; Paschas. Radb. *De benedict. patr. Iacob et Moysi* 1, lin. 1673: Ergo statio nauium portus est.

802 mare^{corr}] manere$^{a.c}$ **808/09** synagoga *C P1 Pm* **809** fides] fide *McKinlay* **812** terrena *McKinlay* **817** ab hominibus] de mundo *P1* **822** receptu *C P1*

nus, dicens: *Alias oues habeo, que non sunt ex hoc ouili* .i. ex populo
825 Iudeorum. Parabat .s. Xpistus. **(1000)** Rite .s. per predicationem. Vocat .s. Petrus. Peculia .i. homines. Ethereis septis .i. in celestibus ouilibus. Reciprocum est ouile. Ponitur pro septo et septum pro ouili. Fama .i. laus Petri. Locis .i. loco. Etiam locus, unde Petrus fuit, habet allegoriam: uenator eclesię .i. Iudeorum et gentium. Peragrans .i. perlustrans. Cinxit .s.
830 mundum. Ad retia .i. ad predicationem fidei. Sicut Xpistus dixit: *Mittam uobis pis[s]catores, qui uos piscabuntur et uenatores, qui uos uenabuntur.* **Clauditur obscuro, sed non sine lumine, Petrus.** Clauditur .i. <in>cluditur. Obscuro .i. nigro. Non sine lumine: quia lucebat Petrus lumine sanctitatis et quia ipse luxerat dicente domino apostolis suis: *Vos estis lux*
835 *mundi.* Furua .i. nigra. Diem .i. Petrum. Diem eclesie uocat Petrum et omnes apostoli dies uocantur, sicut dominus dixit in euangelio: *Nonne duodecim horę sunt diei?* Carcer dicitur locus, in quo uinculis astricti custodiuntur noxii. Dictus autem carcer quasi 'arcer' ab arcendo .i. constringendo, eo quod ibi homines coercentur. Cum uero singulariter carcerem
840 dicimus, reorum custodiam significamus; cum autem pluraliter carceres, stabula equorum ostendimus. Per omnes .s. apostolos uel credentes. **(1010)** Suppli|cium .i. poenam timoris. Timor .s. Petri. Facit: quia omnes /112r/ tenebantur, ut interficerę<n>tur ab Herode; unde et pro eo communis fiebat oratio ab eclesia. Puplica .i. generalis, quia licet ille solus captus erat,
845 omnes apostoli timebant. Pastor .i. Xpistus. Ouile .i. eclesiam. Seruato .i. profecto. Custode .i. Petro. Regit .i. gubernat. Quem .s. Petrum. Ditat .i. honorificat et glorificat. Ter .s. quando dixit: *Tu scis, domine, quia amo te.* Amor .s. Petri. De nomine petrę .i. Xpisti. A petra dicitur Petrus ob fir-

824 Alias - ouili] *Ioh.* 10, 16. **827** pro septo - ouili] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 9, 6: caulas munimenta ouium uel sepimenta ouilium. **828/29** uenator eclesię] cf. Hier. *In Ezech.* 9, 28: "Bethsaida" enim in lingua nostra interpretatur "domus uenatorum"; Hier. *In Osee* 2, 9: Bethsaida domus dicitur uenatorum. **830/31** Mittam - uenabuntur] cf. *Ierem.* 16, 16: Ecce ego mittam piscatores multos, dicit dominus, et piscabuntur eos et post haec mittam eis multos uenatores et uenabuntur eos. **834/35** Vos - mundi] *Mat.* 5, 14. **836/37** Nonne - diei] *Ioh.* 11, 9. **838** Dictus autem - arcendo] cf. Cassiod. *In psalm.* 141, lin. 149: Carcer enim dictus est, quasi arcer, quod a se arceat exire conclusos; Isid. *Etym.* 5, 27, 13: et dictus carcer quod eo homines coerceantur includanturque, quasi arcer, ab arcendo scilicet. **839/41** Cum uero - ostendimus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 5, 27, 13; 18, 32, 1. **847** Tu scis - te] *Ioh.* 21, 15. 16. 17.

832/33 includitur *P1* **843** tenebantur] timebant *P1* interficerentur *P1* **844** oratio^{corr}] orati$^{a.c}$ puplica] *lege* publica *McKinlay* **846** profecto] *lege(?)* protecto

mitatem et robur fidei. Fundamenta, quia dictum est ei: *Super hanc petram edificabo eclesiam meam.* Passura .s. ipsa eclęsia. Ruinam .i. casum. Exspectate .s. ó tú Petre. Apostrofam <facit> poeta ad Petrum cum inuocatione. Tuis .s. apostolis. Et nobis .s. et illis. Veni[o]: uel adquisitiuum est .i. propter tuam causam. Omnibus .s. te exspectantibus. Stimulat .i. sollicitat. Cura prior .i. peccatum Adę. Nocte profunda .i. media nocte. Redit ad narrationem. Per ecbasin hucusque locutus est .i. per euagationem. Astra .i. lucem. Ergastula .i. carcerem. (1020) Comitante .i. simul eunte. Ergon Grece, opus Latine. Inde ergastulum dicitur carcer. Proprie uero dicitur locus, ubi relegantur .i. separantur rei ad secanda marmora .i. ad opera facienda. Ministro .i. angelo. Vmbra .i. tenebrositas. Pulse .i. expulsę. Lucifero .s. angelo. Radiante .i. apparente. Nouo .i. nouitate. Lucifer gerens lucem, qui Grece fosforos dicitur. Exulat .i. fugatur. Mutata .s. ipsa crepuscula. Crepuscula .i. dubia lux. Solem .i. angelum uel angeli claritatem. Creperum dicimus dubium. Inde crepusculum ducitur dubia lux, qualis est inter diem et noctem. Hic autem nocturna crepuscula dicit, dubiam noctis lucem, que mixta est nocturnis tenebris. Custodum .i. IIII^{or} quaternionum. Vallante .i. custodiente circumdante. Manu .i. multitudine, quia inter IIII^{or} quaterniones erat, que custodiebant eum. Quaternio est, | qui super IIII^{or} homines habet potestatem. In illo .i. in illa fide uel mente. Cantica .s. canticorum. Tangit illud, quod eclesia in Canticis canticorum loquitur: *Ego dormio et cor meum uigilat.* Dormio .s. corpore. Vigil .s. sum. Petrus corpore dormiebat, sed tamen mente et fide uigilabat. Laeti .i. iocundi. Documenta .i. misteria hoc est spiritalem intellegentiam. Figurę .i. diuini facti. Discite .i. intelligite .s. o fideles. Fonte .i. aquis baptismi. Renasci .s. in Xpisto. Quę forma, figura .i. spiritalis sensus. (1030) Viam .i. rationem. Impulit .i. percussit. In qua .s. parte lateris. Stat .i. manęt, quia de latere Xpisti in cruce pendentis for-

849/50 Super hanc - meam] *Mat.* 16, 18. **857/59** Proprie uero dicitur - facienda] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 6, 2. **861** Lucifer - dicitur] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 2, 37; 20, 10, 10. **863/64** Creperum - diem et noctem] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 5, 31, 7; Beda, *De temporibus* 3, lin. 5; 7, lin. 68; Hrab. Maur. *De computo* 1, 22. **868** Quaternio - potestatem] cf. Chrom. Aquil. *Sermo* 29, lin. 10: quaternio quatuor sub se milites habet; Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 12, lin. 26: quaternio quattuor sub se milites habebat. **870** Ego dormio - uigilat] *Cant. cant.* 5, 2. **876/77** quia de - eclesia] cf. Christianus Stabul. *Expos. in euang. Mat.* col. 1267: et sicut dormiente Adam formata est uxor, sic Christo moriente formata est ecclesia.

850 ipsa *om. et ss. Lo* **851** facit] *add. ex P1* **852** ueni *McKinlay* **855** per ecbasin] perecbasin *Lo* **866** uallante *McKinlay*, ualente *Lo* **867** quia *P1*, que *Lo* **872** la**eti *Lo*

mata est eclesia. *Percussio lateris* Petri *commemoratio passionis Xpisti, de cuius uulnere salus nostra perfluxit.* Qua .s. in qua parte. Ortam .i. natam .s. eclesiam. Nouerat .i. cognouerat. Inde .i. ex ea parte .s. ex latere. Leuat .s. Petrum. Subnexuit .i. subiunxit apposuit. Concorda<n>t misteria et tangit aliam istoriam ad hoc pertinentem. Hinc .i. ex latere arcę, per quod ingressa sunt in eam. Producitur .i. formatur. Eua .s. ex latere Adę. Propago .i. progenies generatio. Lateris .i. de latere: genitiuus pro ablatiuo more Grecorum. Habens: quia Eua uita interpretatur, quod significatur per ostium arcę, que fuit de cedrinis lignis. Per sumptam costam ex latere Adę dormientis, hęc etiam percussio lateris Pętri dormientis figuratur, simul quoque perforatio lateris Xpisti in cruce pendentis. Fuisset .i. si non peccasset. Sic .i. inmortalis. Xpistus misticus .i. figuratus, quia per Adam designabatur Xpistus. Dare .i. tradere. Atque .s. dignatur. Pere<m>pta .i. occisa. (**1040**) Qua .s. de morte Xpisti. Liquoris .i. baptismatis. Iter .i. per uulnus lateris. Vocat .s. a parte uidelicet lateris, unde processit eclesia, cuius caput Petrus tenet. Decus .i. honorem. Teneatque .s. omnis mens. Fidem .s. dei. As<s>ertore .i. angelo affirmatore. Pedes .s. Petri. Dixit ei | angelus: *Precingere et calcia te caligis tuis.* Que .s. dextra Xpisti. Totum .s. /113r/ Petrum. Aquis .s. baptismi. Gradientibus .i. angelo et Petro. Fores .i. ostia aperta sunt. Cessere .i. locum exeundi dederunt. Ludificante .i. decipiente. Geri .i. agi. Putauit, ut per somnium uideret illud, quod fecit ei angelus. Premia .i. redemptionem liberationem. Maiestas .s. dei. Ignara .i. inscia, que nescit fallere. Ferrea: proprium nomen est portę, nam nomina portis inponebantur. Claustris .i. seris. (**1050**) Patet .i. aperta est. Rigidi .i. firmi. Postes .i. hostia. Postes sunt ualidissimi fustes, quibus obserantur serę, quos claustros uocamus. Acumen .i. uim ingenium uiolentia<m>. Domat .s. superat. Aspera .i. omnem infidelitatem, tam Iudeorum quam gentilium. Fixa .i. firma. Vetaret, prohiberet .i. duritia humani cordis. Orbis iter, baptismatis. Quo .s. itinere. Cursus .s. ad baptismum. O gloria rerum .i. o mundana sapientia. Apost[o]ropham <facit> ad mundanam sapientiam. Si cedunt .i. locum dant egrediendi. Deputat .i. eligit. Aule .i. regni .s. non est mirum. Faciens .s. Xpistus illum Petrum. Cacumen .i. principatum, quia dixit ei Xpistus: *Et porte inferi non preualebunt aduersus eum.* Ab hoste .i. ab Herode. Celebrauit .i. gratias egit.

877/78 Percussio - perfluxit] Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 12, lin. 28 (perfluxit] profluxit *Beda*). **884** Eua uita] cf. Aug. *Contra Faust.* 12, 8; Hier. *Liber quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* pag. 7 (ed. Lagarde); Isid. *Etym.* 7, 6, 6. **894** Precingere - tuis] *Act. ap.* 12, 8. **909/10** Et porte - eum] *Mat.* 16, 18.

881 latere^{corr}] ltere$^{a.c}$ **882** in eam *C P1 Pm*, inaea *Lo* **894** calciate *Lo* caligis tuis^{corr}] caligas tuas$^{a.c}$ que] quae *McKinlay*, quo *Lo* **900** .i. seris *C*, et seris *Lo* rigidi^{corr}] ridi$^{a.c}$ **902** uiolentiam *P1* **907** eligit *P1*, elige *Lo*

Puella .i. Rode nomen eius. A tenebris .s. carceris. Remanere .i. reuerti. Probat .i. nuntiat. Gratia .i. misericordia. (1060) Rem .i. causam. Parem .i. equalem similem. Puella Rode uidit eum primum et illa pergens ad apostolos, ut nuntiaret illis, [et] pre gaudio non apparuit prius ei, sed statim reuersa est; et Xpistus in resurrectione primum apparuit mulieri. Ita et iste. Et ideo dixit rem esse similem. Vatem .i. Petrum. Que .s. eclesia. Gaudia .i. eternam salutem. Gregem .i. per omnes gentes, quia sicut Petrus agnouit suam uatem .i. puellam Rode, ita et eclesia suum uatem .i. Petrum. Per puellam uult designare eclesiam. Explicet .i. expediet demonstrabit. Attollat .i. extollat efferat. Pondera .i. magnitudinem. Gelidos artus .i. gelida membra fidelium. De beato Petro. Mensura .s. quia quantus fuit pauor, postea | tanta fuit lętitia. Manet .i. recitatur. Per /113[v]
aeuum .i. per tempus. Etiam sollemnitas, inde fit kalendas august. Pignoris .i. doni uel facti. Apex .i. sublimitas. Sideris .i. solis. Instar .i. similitudinem. Quod .s. pi[n]gnus. (1070) His .i. Petro et angelo. Fides .s. Xpisti. Perpetuata .i. adiuncta. Circumdata, munita. Nexu .i. ligamine. Libera .s. ab inpulsione hostium, quia numquam erit in manibus paganorum. Quod enim .s. est quod non prestent. Vincula .s. Petri. Tetigit, Petrus. Qui .s. Petrus. Cuius manu .s. Petri. Inuicta .s. erunt. Hec .s. moenia. Vel religiosa .s. erunt. Triumpho: eius .i. uictoria. Penitus .i. ex toto. Quatientur .i. concutientur. Ab <h>oste .i. a persecutore. Bellis .s. in Roma. FINIT LIBER PRIMVS.

<HISTORIA APOSTOLICA II>

Spiritus .s. sanctus. Lucernam .i. Paulum. Sub modio .i. in absconso corde illius. Vetans, prohibens. Secernite, separate. Opus .i. predicationis suę. Nolebat se spiritus sanctus amplius lateri in Paulo, sed manifestari omnibus. Sacrauit .i. consecrauit. Euntem .s. ad predicationem. Posse .i. potestatem soluendi et ligandi. Amoribus, uoluptatibus libidinibus. Ciprus et Salamina insulę sunt in mari. Paphus ciuitas est in Cipro insula Veneri consecrata. Mansisse .i. fuisse. Antrum .i. templum habitaculum. Procaci

939/40 Paphus - consecrata] cf. Beda, *Nomina region. atque loc. in Act. ap.* lin. 224; Isid. *Etym.* 8, 11, 2; 14, 6, 14.

911 remanere] remeare *McKinlay* **914** et pre] **pre** *P1* apparuit] *lege(?)* aperuit *P1 Pm* **928** quod] quid *McKinlay* Petri *C P1 Pm*, Petrus *Lo* <Historia apostolica II>

936 lateri] *sic Lo P1* **939** ciuitas[corr] citas[a.c] **940** consecrata[corr] consecreta[a.c] mansisse[corr] mansise[a.c]

.i. perseueranti persecutori. Aligeros uagos .i. columbas, quia ibi columbe Veneri erant consecratę. Columbe enim in unoquoque mense habent pullos. Hinc .i. ex pacto. Operum .s. bonorum. Apex .i. sublimitas. Gratia .s. Xpisti. (10) Ad delicta .s. abstrahenda eorum. Quia ubi maior iniquitas, ibi gratia maior. Culpas .i. peccata. Huic .s. Papho. Remitti .s. a deo. Exemplum, quia ipse quondam peccator fuerat. Quam splendida .i. pulcra: admiratio. Materia .i. forma species .s. Pauli, quia ipse erat ista materies. Adiecta .i. adiuncta. Primordia .i. initia exordia: castitatis. Luxus .i. luxurie. Serit .i. seminat .s. predicatione. Multiplicat .i. crescere facit. Lasciuus .i. luxuriosus, populus. Cui foret, interrogatiue, pro est .s. loco. Nescia .s. fit honestas uel turpi .s. loco est difficilis. Post hęc .i. post talia. Coepisse .i. inchoasse .s. honestas. De turpi .i. impudico loco .s. | Papho /114r/ .s. nulli loco. Quare hoc? Ne qua pars .i. ne aliqua pars. A meritis .s. sanctis .i. bono opere. Ieiuna .i. uacua. Molitur .i. conatur. Magus, Elimas. Certare .i. contendere. Contraria .i. aduersa iniqua. Virtuti .i. sanctitati. Fecere .i. dederunt. Viam .i. locum. Quia quanto magis contendebat magus, tanto magis parabatur uia Paulo, et ex contrarietate magi: quia contraria dicebat, cognoscitur uirtus Pauli. Iaculata .s. uerba. Retorquens .i. emittens. (20) Fallacia .s. tua. Monstrat .i. aperit. Genitore .i. diabolo. Confinia .i. proxima, uicinitatem: quia cecitas uicina est morti. In tenebris .i. in tua cecitate. Patiere pro patieris. Tempus adusque .s. prefinitum, quando deus uoluerit. Datur .s. tibi a deo. Adtendere .i. asspicere .s. neque datur tibi. Quis .s. formis. Nega[n]s: tu o Elimas. Artificem .s. esse deum. Non est, inquid, dignum, ut aspiciat formas rerum, qui dicit eas non esse creatas a deo, et cecus effectus est. Fixere .i. infecerunt. Nubila, tenebre. Ceruleis notis .i. nigris maculis. In hora .i. in faciem. Color .i. aspectus eius .s. qualis erat in pectore .i. niger, talis foris apparuit in uultu. Calle .i. uia sibi abstracta, negato, quia non uidebat, quo pergeręt. Quo duce .i. ductore. Tu<t>us .i. protectus. Cuius .s. ductoris. Pede .i. ausilio. Insteț .i. in<s>istat in ambulando. Tribuat .s. querit. Opem .s. ducendi. Per auras .i. per inania, aera. Erroris .i. cecitatis. Palpauit .i. tetigit. Proconsule .i. de proconsule .s. quando credidit proconsul Sergius propter cecitatem magi. Romanus erat ipse proconsul. (30) Didicit .i.

941/42 columbe - consecratę] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 61. **944/45** Quia ubi - gratia maior] cf. *Rom.* 5, 20: ubi autem abundauit delictum, superabundauit gratia.

947 species] septies *Lo* **957** u*ia *Lo* ex contrarietate^{corr}] extrarietate$^{a.c}$ **963** quis] quibus *McKinlay* negas *McKinlay* **966** hora] *lege* ora *McKinlay* **969** ausilio] *lege* auxilio **970** insistat *Pl* **971** auras *McKinlay*, aures *Lo* **972** Proconsule] pro consule *McKinlay* de proconsule^{corr}] de proconsole$^{a.c}$

cognouit. Fidem .s. dei. Cui .s. proconsoli. Nox aliena .i. cecitas magi. Non sunt noua: quia simili uocatione cecitate scilicet oculorum uocatus es .s. de tenebris tuę cecitatis. Reserant .i. manifestant. Secretam .i. mysticam. Documenta .i. exempla. Figuram .i. allegoriam. Si libeat .i. si placeat. Vigili .i. cum intelligibili. Latentia .i. secreta .s. ea que latent in hoc mysterio. Iure .i. recte. Docens, predicans. Condere .i. aperire. Vnde | .i. /114v ex oculis. Micat, lucet. Altius .i. sublimius. Amisso .s. die. Crescente die .s. claritate oculorum. Sic .i. taliter, per cecitatem. Nuper .i. nouiter. Iniquum .s. magum. Fatentibus .i. manifestantibus. Hostem .i. Elimam magum. Vincere .s. dignus erat. Qui .s. Paulus. Ideo Paulus cecus fuit ad tempus .i. per III^{es} dies, ut sine fine uideret.

(40) Antiochi dictam de nomine uisitat urbem. Antiochia ciuitas est metropolis, dicta ab Antiocho rege, iuxta quam currit fluuius Orontes. Extimplo .i. cito. Properat, festinat. Dare, predicare. Cateruis .i. multitudinibus. Sinagoga .s. Iudeorum. Mandans, dicens. Nostis .s. o Iudei. Iugum .s. seruitutis. Aruis .i. in terris. Per signa .s. X. Quibus .s. patribus. Omnia .s. prospera. Cedens .i. concedens deus. Vices .i. consuetudines. Quando? Hoc est, cum uirga .s. Moysi. Exul .i. expulsus. Puluereo .i. terreno, sicca uia. Placens .s. Iudeis, Hebreis. Facultas .i. possibilitas ad mergendum hominem. Subiecta .s. tunc. Pedum s<c>ilicet Israhelitarum. Subiecta est unda maris Israheliticis, quando ad illorum ingressum diuisa est, **(50)** factura naufragium Egiptiis. Que .s. natura. Vertere .i. mutare. Ius<s>a .s. a deo. Iura .i. suas leges. Modo<s> .i. qualitates. His .s. Israhelitis. Strauit .i. parauit. Arenas .i. iter planum. His .i. Egiptiis. Cumulauit .i. multiplicauit. Ius<tis> uia .s. facta est. Sontibus .i. nocentibus. Vnda .i. periculum, et tunc mutauit natura suas uices. Cum spumauit .i. exuberauit produxit. Silex .i. petra. Percussa .s. a Moyse. Equoreos lacus, largissimas aquas. Enixa .i. emittens parturiens. De uertice .i. de lapide duro. Flumineum .i. multitudinem aquarum. Vadum .i. aquas. Morem .i. consuetudinem. Gessit .i. habuit. Origo .i. initium. Nec prebuit .i. seruauit: quia non est in more lapidis, ut aquas largiatur. Quam .s. originem nature. Coegit .i. compulit. Non innata .i. non naturalia | uel 5r non insita sibi .i. non nata secum. Disiuncta semina uocat cibos de rore, quia in similitudinem roris descendebat illis manna et aqua de petra.

985/86 Antiochia Orontes] Isid. *Etym.* 13

974 proconsoli] *lege* proconsuli *C P1* **987** extimplo] *lege* extemplo *McKinlay* **989** aruis^{corr}] auis$^{a.c}$ **996** modos *McKinlay* qualitates *P1*, quas lites *Lo* **997** iter^{corr}] iuter$^{a.c}$ **998** iustis *McKinlay* **1006** semina *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, semine *McKinlay*^{textus} **1007** aqua^{corr}] aquas$^{a.c}$

Monstrans .s. deus. Dari .s. a se. (60) Ne pauca .s. sed multa. Piis causis .i. iustis operibus dei. Fluerent .i. procederent. Saxa .i. petre. Vomunt .i. producunt. Inundant .i. multiplicant pluunt. Aerius .s. pluuialis imber. Solidis .s. in. Induruit .i. solidatus est in duriciam. Agmina .i. multitudines populorum. Frugiferis, frugem .i. panem ferentibus. Nimbi coloni .i. pluuię famulantes. Dant .s. illis Israelitis. Epulas .i. cibos. Vorant .i. deuorant .s. manducando. Manditur .i. manducatur ab illis. Imber .i. manna. Sic .i. taliter administrando uictum et potum. Inuicta manus .i. insuperabilis potestas dei. Gratia .i. piętas. Creantis .s. dei. Querulos .i. garrulos, murmuratores, queribundos. Ponere .i. collocare .s. sic. In patria .i. in terra promissionis. Choros .i. multitudines. Ventris .i. uteri Marię uirginis. Ameni .i. iucundi. Fructus .i. Xpistus, filius. Florescat .i. nascatur. Semina .i. ad remunerationem. (70) Oracula .i. dicta. Vatum .i. prophętarum. Sub carne .i. sub specie carnis. Creantem .s. canunt. Et secundum humilitatem in utero Marię se creauit, qui per diuinitatem non habuit principium nec finem. Virgineos .i. uterum uirginalem. Euoluite .i. exquirite o uos Iudei: sabbata uestra .i. prophetarum misteria inquirite .i. in hoc quod legetis in sabatis uestris. Figurę, allegorię. Perspicitis pro perspicietis .s. si euolueritis, quod legitis. Presepibus .i. natiuitate Xpisti. Cuius .s. agni. Igne .i. spiritu sancto. Xpistus *ignis consumens* dicitur, eo quod omnia consumendo delet. Senes .i. antiqui. Hauserunt .i. sumpserunt. Dicta .s. sua. Dedit: ipse Xpistus uel spiritus. Ante .s. per prophętas. Potens .i. fortis. Quando illi putabant Iohannem esse Xpistum. Non ego .s. Xpistus. (80) Calciamenta ex mortuis animalibus fiunt. Xpistus uero quasi calciamenta habuit, quando diuinitas ad nos ueniens humanitatem assumpsit. Dicit ergo: | *Non sum dignus soluere calciamenta* /115^{v}/ *eius* .i. mysteria incarnationis annuntiare. Summam .i. extremitatem corrigię. Que .s. summa, humilis corri<gi>a. Plantas .s. Xpisti. Quam bene .i. multum. Antiqua .s. precepta. Nouis .i. euangeliis. Predicatio enim ex utroque testamento debet fieri .i. ex nouo et uetere. Epistola .s. Pauli. Hec .i. ista talia. Iterare .i. frequentare. Baptismate .s. de. Per legem .i. per Moysen. <Euntes> .s. Israeliti<cos>. Ex antiqua petra fluxerunt nouę

1027 Xpistus ignis consumens] cf. *Deut.* 4, 24: Dominus deus tuus ignis consumens est; *Hebr.* 12, 29: etenim deus noster ignis consumens est. 1031 Calciamenta - fiunt] cf. Greg. M. *Hom. in euang.* 1, 7, 3 = Beda, *In Marci euang. expos.* 1, 1 = 1, 3: Quis enim nesciat quod calciamenta ex mortuis animalibus fiant (fiunt *Greg. M.*)? 1033/34 Non sum - eius] *Luc.* 3, 16.

1009 fluerent^{corr}] fluerunt$^{a.c}$ 1018 in *om. et ss. Lo* 1022 humilitatem] humanitatem *P1* 1025 legitis *P1* 1026 perspicietis^{corr}] perspietis$^{a.c}$ 1039 euntes] *add. ex P1* Israeliticos *P1*

aquę, et illa antiqua petra iuncta est nouo .i. Xpisto. Nam petra erat Xpistus. Per aquas Maris rubri designatur baptismus sanguine Xpisti rubicundus, sicut apostolus: *Omnes sub nube baptizati sumus, in nube et in mari.* Gens .s. Iudeorum. Sonat .s. hoc. Consule .i. interroga. Consulo tibi .i. prosum tibi. Que .s. signa maris. Dona .s. baptismi. Susurrant .i. demonstrant. Per Mare rubrum designatur passio Xpisti. (**90**) Tinxit .i. sanctificauit .s. crux. Fluxit .i. decurrit. Quod .s. illud quod ex latere Xpisti fluxit sanguis et aqua, et per ista duo possumus intellegere tria: passionem illius et nostrum baptismum et nostram redemptionem. Rubor, color. Causa .i. figura passionis Xpisti. Abluit .s. per baptismum. Sic emit .s. per mortem. Hic color .s. rubeus. Pretii .i. redemptionis. Vado .s. in uado .i. in mari. Ligno .i. cruci dominice. Per illa miracula, que facta fuerunt in Mari rubro, significabatur Xpistus esse passurus. Debita .s. cruci. Frequenter cecis predicationibus fidei mittere cupiens Iudeorum que sequuntur.

Sepius obscuris radios infundere feruens / Mentibus hec rursus, uelut supra dicta, **memorauit**, quia ibi cepit alia die iterum predicare. Postquam: uerba sunt Pauli. Vestitus, indutus. Amictu .i. indumento corporali. Vbique .i. in omni loco. Manifesta[s], signa. Quod .s. eo quod. (**100**) Agitata .i. commota. Ipse .s. Xpistus, qui est salus. Turba .s. Iudeorum. Fremens, irascens. Petit, rogat. Hunc .s. Xpistum. A iure .i. lege .i. potestate. Figique. Quando hoc? Postquam. O terrena propa|go .i. progenies. Obtanti .s. tibi. Ferre .i. afferre .s. tibi optanti. Sponte, uoluntarie. Cesserunt .i. concesserunt .s. hoc. Qui .s. Xpistus. Libertatis .i. redemptionis. Tibi .i. ad tuam salutem. Restaurans, reformans. Iacentia .s. corpora. Tollens .i. eleuans. Respice .s. o terrena propago. Quam obnoxia .i. culpabilis debitrix. Regi .i. Xpisto. Post tristia .i. postquam in sepulcro fuit. Quin .i. insuper. Custode pro custodibus. Dato .i. militum custodia. Sepulcrum, Xpisti. (**110**) Ad geminum .i. dupplicatum. Nefas, peccatum .i. ut augerent illis peccatum, quia non solum crucifixerunt, sed etiam lapidem obposuerunt sepulchro eius, ut non posset resurgere Xpistus. Dominoque .s. et uoluerunt. Damnare, obdurare. Pro .i. heu. Voluntas .s. Iudeorum. Reddere .i. reparare. Membra .i. suum corpus. Aliena .s. cor-

16r/

1042/43 Omnes - in mari] *1 Cor.* 10, 1-2: Patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerun ... et omnes in Mose baptizati sunt in nube et in mari.

1050 uado *McKinlay*, uada *Lo* **1058** manifesta *McKinlay* **1062** obtanti] *lege* optanti *McKinlay* **1064** restaurans] restituens *McKinlay* **1069** augerent[corr] agerent [a.c] **1071** obdurare] *lege* obturare *P1*

pora, a morte. Meministi .i. uox Pauli. Dauiticam liram dicit carmen eius .s. <p>salterium et dicitur apotu lirin a uarietate carminum. Vetabis .i. *non dabis sanctum tuum uidere corruptionem.* Verba sunt filii ad patrem: O pater, non patieris filium tuum putrefieri in terrę corruptionem, sed cicius eum resuscitabis. Ferre .i. habere. Moras .i. moram .s. deus. Autor .i. deus pater. Patiens .i. sustinens. Denique uicta est .s. per mortem Xpisti. Modum .i. mensuram. (120) Vacuata .i. exuta. Vetustis .i. antiquis hominibus. Vi<n>ctos .i. ligatos .s. a morte. Non retinendus .s. a morte .s. dominus. Sors .i. lex. Auerni .i. inferni. Auernus et Lucrinus duo lacus sunt in descensu inferni. Presente .s. Xpisto. Ante .i. antea. Perit .s. morte Xpisti. Triduo .i. post tertium diem. Adit .s. Xpistus. Quo .s. itinere. Tota natura .i. homo. De lege .s. Moysi. Videtis .s. o Iudei. Laxari .i. absolui. Neces .i. mortes. Quia lex peccata ostendebat, sed non poterat dimittere peccata. Mundati .s. a peccatis. Herili .i. dominicali. Pignore .i. societate. Pignus est, quod loco pacis uel fidei datur. (130) Dogmata .s. Pauli. Re[d]dit ad narrationem. Quosdam: quia inter Iudeos erant quidam gentiles, qui crediderunt. Vetuere .i. prohibuerunt .s. Iudei. Prohibebant Paulum Iudei, ne ulterius loqueretur in nomine Ihsu. Inanis, uacua. | Sterilis .i. infecunda. Semina .s. predicationis. Fructus .s. boni operis. /116^{v}/ Quibus .s. Iudeis. Vo<bi>s quidem oportebat loqui uerbum dei, sed quoniam illud repulistis, ecce conuertimur ad gentes. Dixerat enim apostolis prius predicare Iudeis. Vos, uos deceret. Tautologia figura est. Ast aliis .s. gentibus. Scripta .s. Isaię prophęte. Fatentur .i. dicunt. In extremis .i. in ultimis .i. posui te in lumen gentium, ut sis salus mea ab extremis terre. Gentiles .s. hec audientes. Globi .i. multitudines. Fontem .s. baptismatis. (140) Limpha .i. aqua baptismi. Genitrice .i. matre. Sati .i. nati. Renasci .s. in Xpisto. Conuenior .i. cogor conducor. Loci .s. istius. Pulsare .i. tangere. Fidem .i. allegoriam. Que .s. istoria. Prodidit .i. manifestauit. Populos .s. duos. Includeret .s. et cum. Agmina .s. populorum. Murus .s. uteri. Murum uocat carunculam uel membranulam .i. puerperium.

1073/74 liram - carminum] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 3, 22, 8; 8, 7, 4. **1075** non dabis - corruptionem] *Psalm.* 15, 10; *Act. ap.* 2, 27. **1081/82** Auernus - sunt] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 13, 19, 8. **1087** Pignus - datur] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 11, 1, 67. **1092/93** Vobis quidem - ad gentes] cf. *Act. ap.* 13, 46. **1096** posui te - terre] cf. *Isai.* 49, 6: dedi te in lucem gentium ut sis salus mea usque ad extremum terrae; Aug. *Collatio cum Maximino* 711: posui te in lumen gentium.

1073 meministis *McKinlay* **1076** corruptionem] corruptione *P1* **1077** auctor *McKinlay* **1080** uinctos *McKinlay* **1084** uidetis *McKinlay*, Iudeos *Lo* **1086** .s. a peccatis mundati *Lo* **1089** uetuere *McKinlay*, uetauere *Lo* **1092** uobis *P1 Pm* **1101** murus] muris *McKinlay*

Consuleret .i. interrogaret .s. deum. Tonantem .i. Xpistum. Meruisse .s. accipere. Rebecca habuit de uno coitu duos filios: Esau et Iacob. Et per illos designa<n>tur duo populi, gentilis et Iudaicus. Sed cum agnouisset hoc, consuluit deum, ut ostenderet ei, quid erat. Inquit .s. tunc Xpistus. In istis .s. fratribus <prior .i.> Esau, inferior .s. dignitate. Breuior .i. iunior: Esau .s. honore. Maior .s. Esau. Minori .s. Iacob. Palme .i. uictorie. Fecunda .s. Rebecca. (150) Conceptus .i. partus. Quicquid gessit. Rebecca, <que> interpretatur patientia, in utero istorialiter, modo manet in eclesia allegorice. Per Esau, qui reicitur a fratre, designatur populus Iudaicus, per Iacob gentilis populus. Forma .s. sequentis Iacob. Agit .i. facit. Qui .s. Iacob. In aluo .i. in utero .i. gentilis populus in eclesia. In qua .i. in aluo eclesie. Meminisse .i. ad memoriam reducere. Celebrare .i. laudare .s. illud, quod nos, qui er[r]amus gentiles, sumus modo Iudei. Illi .i. Xpisto. Ab af<f>ectu .i. uoluntate. Quia ante mundi constitutionem presciuit deus electorum numerum. Dona .s. uocationis. Priusquam tempora .s. natiuitatis.

Iamque Licaonios .s. ueniens de Antiocia **incedens passibus**. Licaonia regio est dicta a Licaone rege, qui secundum fabulam | uersus est in lupum. Licos enim Grece, lupus Latine. Listram .s. ciuitatem. Listra et Derben ciuitates sunt Grecie. In urbe .s. infra. Comitante .i. sequente se. Satus .i. natus. Nescius .i. nesciens. Ex utero .s. matris. Pars .i. pedes. (160) Se nascente .i. statim ut natus est. Comperta .i. cognita: doctrina. Monitore .i. docente. Ad sidera .i. ad patriam celestem. Mentes .s. ipsius cla<u>di. Voluit .s. ille clodus. Diuina .s. predicamenta. Graditure: uocatiuus .i. ambulature. Vias .s. fidei. Ethera .i. celum. Sensu .i. mente. Humo .i. in humo. Longius .i. ad celum. Speculatus .i. intuitus. In imo .i. in profundo. Pectore .s. suo. Caperet .s. clodus .i. fidem. Iam stare .s.

1109 quicquid gessit] Arator 2, 149. **1110** Rebecca - patientia] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 7, 6, 35: Rebecca patientia siue quae multum acceperit; Rupert. Tuit. *De sancta Trinitate et op. eius* 6, *In Gen.* 6, pag. 421: Rebecca interpretatur patientia. **1111/12** Per Esau - gentilis populus] cf. Aug. *Quaest. in Heptat.* 1, *Gen.* quaestio 73. **1121** Licos - Latine] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 14, 3, 41; *Mythogr. Vat.* 1, 17. **1121/22** Listra et Derben] cf. *Act. ap.* 14, 6: confugerunt ad ciuitates Lycaoniae Lystram et Derben; Beda, *Nomina region. atque loc. de Act. ap.* lin. 119: Derbe: ciuitas Lycaoniae prouinciae; Beda, *Nomina region. atque loc. de Act. ap.* lin. 175: Lystra: ciuitas Lycaoniae.

1107 prior .i.] *add. ex C Pm* **1108** .s. Esau *C Pl*, .s. estu *Lo* **1110** que] *add. ex Pm* **1112** formam *McKinlay* **1115** eramus *Pl* **1117** priusquam] prius quam *McKinlay* **1124** se nascente] senascente *Lo* comperto *McKinlay* doctrina] dogmate *McKinlay*

speculatus Paulus. Clarius .i. apertius. Inponere .i. erige te dixit. Exequitur .i. subsequitur. Salus .i. sanitas. Precepta .i. documenta .s. Pauli. Calle .i. uia noua. (170) Vetus: quia claudus erat natiuitate, persona illius uetus erat, tamen ambulatione noua. Motu .i. ambulatione. Frequenti .i. perseueranti. Pulsat .i. percutit. Temptans .i. conans. Ortus .i. natus. Quod .s. miraculum. Agmina .i. multitudines. Cernunt .i. uident. Diuum .i. deum. Vocant .s. Paulum. Serta ministrant .s. animalibus .i. coronas. Sertum dicitur corona ab insertis floribus. Animalia enim coronabantur. Mactanda .i. inmolanda. Voluerunt dare illi tauros et cuncta animalia. Ad hęc .i. contra hec. Rumpit .i. scindit. Festinus .i. uelox. Quia Iudei quando irati erant, scindebant uestimenta sua. Aperta, quia dixit: Nonne et ego sum homo. Sollemnia .i. sacrificia. Datis .s. ut dicatis. Quos .i. nos. Constat .i. manifestum est. Premi .i. teneri. Impius .i. malignus. Olim .i. ante. (180) Honor .s. iste. Religio dicitur a ligando, eo quod religat mentes hominis ad dei seruitium. Sui pro sua. Cum templa dicarent .i. dedicarent .s. cui? Deis .s. suis. Abscisis .i. formatis. Illi facientes ex lapide idola timebant ea, postea et adorabant. Tunc .i. in illo tempore. Innocuos .i. non nocentes. Mactare .i. occidere offerre. Fibras .i. uenas .s. cum lucebat. Tepentes .i. calentes. Consulere .i. interrogare. | Fibrę sunt uenę pulmonis, ubi illi inquirebant diuinationem .i. augurium. Vocem .s. licebat illis querędre .i. responsum augurium et diuinationem. In extis .i. intestinis uel uisceribus. Vocem .i. per uocem audientes, utrum haberent responsum. Nunc .i. modo, post dei agnitionem. Libeat .i. placeat. Parere .i. oboedire. Vanis .i. inutilibus. Aris .i. sacrificiis deorum falsorum. Semina .s. unde omnis caro uiuit. Prebuit .s. nobis. Prouentibus .i. uino frumento et oleo. Prouentus dicitur, eo quod unoquoque anno proueniat. Arua .i. terras. Locauit .i. fundauit. Imperio .i. potestate. Aristis .i. spicis. Seges .i. messis. Palmes .i. uitis. Recisus: quia si inciditur, fertilior inuenitur. (190) Vulnere .i. incisione. Conceptas .i.

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1137 Sertum dicitur corona] cf. Beda, *De orthogr.* lin. 1082: Sertum et corona ex uno Graeco transferuntur, id est 'stephanos'. **1140** Quia Iudei - sua] cf. Beda, *In Marci euang. expos.* 4, 14; Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 14. **1141** Nonne - homo] cf. *Act. ap.* 14, 13: Et nos mortales sumus similes uobis homines; *Mat.* 8, 9 = *Luc.* 7, 8: Nam et ego homo sum. **1143/44** Religio dicitur - seruitium] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 8, 2, 2; Isid. *De differ. uerb.* 486.

1130 erige te] erigete *Lo* **1131** salus[corr]] saulus[a.c] **1141** datis] precor *P1 Pm* **1145** deis *McKinlay*, dies *Lo* **1148** calentes] calcantes *Lo* **1153** parere *McKinlay*, parare *Lo*

natas. Fecundius .i. abundantius. Educat .i. nutrit. Vuas .i. racemos. Vuę
1160 dicuntur quasi uuidę. Solibus .i. claris diebus. Imbres, pluuię. Tempora .s. succedunt. Aestas succedit ueri, auctumnus estati et hiems auctumno. Que .s. tempora: uer ęstas auctumnus hiems. Post terga .i. iterum adque iterum, recurrant. Vagi, currentes. Constantia .i. perfectio stabilitas. Discite .s. o uos gentiles populi. Celebrare .i. adorare. Vota .s. uestra.
1165 Feratis .i. offeratis. Lanigero .i. lanas gerenti. Gregi .i. ouibus. Quos .i. uos. Comparat .i. redimit. Instructa .i. perfecta est .s. a Paulo. Fides .s. cunctorum uidentium uel audientium. Vsus .i. sanatio clodi. In geminum .i. in duplex: quia per claudum, quem sanauit Petrus, et per alterum, quem Paulus sanauit, designantur duo populi, Iudaicus et gentilis, et
1170 similiter per duos caecos, quos illuminauit Xpistus, designantur duo populi, et per duas naues, que erant iuxta Genesar. Dupplicem: quia per illos claudos designantur duo populi. (200) Personat, pronuntiat. Vna salus: duorum claudorum. In equore .i. in spacio. Duo populi .i. Iudaicus et gentilis. Duorum .s. apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Cui .s. eclesie. Captura
1175 .i. predicatio apostolorum. Hec .s. dona uocationis uel mysteria. Conlata .i. tributa. Vicissim .i. alternatim, per uices. Docuere .i. significauerunt. Quibus .s. duobus claudis. | Astat .i. presens est. Imago .i. figura. Gerens /118r/ .s. ipsa imago. Singula queque .s. misteria .i. uocationem utriusque popu-
li. Communis .s. ipsa imago. Vtrique .i. Iudaico et gentili. Ad portam .s.
1180 templi. Quia ille quem Petrus sanauit, iuxta portam templi erat, et per illum designatur populus Iudaicus, qui ita habens legem et psalmos et prophetas peruenerat usque ad portam. Per illum uero quem Paulus sanauit, designatur gentilis populus, qui non habet legem neque psalmos neque profetas. Ab illo loco .i. a templo, ubi ille sedebat .i. a Ierusalem.
1185 Circumcisa .i. gens Iudeorum. Cui .s. genti Iudaicę. Cecinere .i. predixerunt. Diem .s. Xpisti. Ab aruis .i. a terris. (210) Erigit .i. eleuat. Edes .i. ad portas. Longinqua .i. in longo spacio terrarum: quia non accessisset ad portam per legem et prophetas, sicut alter, quem sanauit Petrus. Orsus .i. inchoans. Orior orsus facit. Solide .i. firme. Vestigia .i. iter. In turbas .s.
1190 gentium. Rudes .i. nouas. Populo .s. gentili. Mederi .s. orsus est .i. salu-

1159/60 Vuę - uuidę] cf. Isid. *De differ. uerb.* 595: Humidum est, quod extrinsecus habet aliquid humoris, uuidum uero quod intrinsecus; unde et uuae dictae.

1168/71 per claudum - Genesar] cf. Aug. *Sermo* 4 (SL 41), lin. 418; Aug. *Sermo* 88 (RB 94), pag. 84, lin. 255.

1161 auctumnus] *lege* autum(p)nus *C P1* auctumno] *lege* autum(p)no *C P1* **1162** adque] *lege* atque **1163** recurrant] recurrunt *McKinlay* **1164** uos *C P1*, nos *Lo* **1166** instructa *McKinlay*, inscructa *Lo* **1177** adstat *McKinlay*

tem ferre. Quem .s. populum gentilem. Latuit .i. absconsa fuit illi. Vox prisca .i. antiqua predicatio prophętarum. Sic .i. tali modo. Vterque .i. ille quem Petrus et ille quem Paulus sanauit. Properat, ambulat. Genus omne .i. gentile et Iudaicum. Leuat .s. ad fidem. Signauit .i. designauit. Iter persone, ambulatio clodi. Gentis .s. utriusque. Quę gloria rerum .i. qualis, rerum .i. miraculorum, que in sanitate duorum claudorum facta est. Contulit .i. concessit. Gerat .i. ferat. Ordo .i. series .s. ut sit secundus in ordine post Petrum. Qui .s. Paulus. Fundamentis in illis .s. gentibus. Architectus .i. primus predicator. Auctoris .i. creatoris. Modo concordat miraculum Xpisti cum apostolorum, quia idem significant. Ad omnia .i. per omnia. (220) Hi .s. populi. Properantibus .i. gradientibus. Vndique .i. ex omni parte. Da .i. concede. Exire .s. a nobis. Lucem .s. <fi>dei. Nescimus .i. ignoramus. Manus amica medelę .i. sanitatis. Iubar .i. lumen. Nox .i. cecitas. Orbes .i. oculorum circuitus. Redux, reuertibilis. Visus .i. lumen. Inopina crepuscula .i. insperata lumina. Creperum dicimus dubium, inde crepusculum dubia lux. Hos .s. cęcos. Liquet .i. patet. Duos .i. Iudaicum et gentilem. Quos .s. populos. Cęcauit .i. obcecauit per suum peccatum. Noxia natura .i. Adam. Vene .i. originis. Cum celebrauit .i. quando ambulauit per uiam. Cum tempora .i. cum uoluit ipsa clementia esse sub specie carnis. (230) De luce .i. de se ipso. Figuram .i. cęcitatem. Delicta .i. peccata. Integra .i. interior. Fulsit .i. splenduit. Sentire .i. intellegere. Pars .s. corporis. Cerebro .i. capiti. Per oculos designantur apostoli. Hos .s. oculos. In munere .i. per suam gratiam. Iure Xpistus, qui est caput omnium fidelium, in oculis, qui sunt in capite, perpetrare uoluit diuinitatis suę miraculum. Apostoli uero qui sunt huius capitis pedes, largiente ipso capite, in claudorum pedibus peregerunt miracula. Ima .i. inferior. In fine .s. corporis. In aggere .i. in uia. Vestigia .s. apostolorum. Terris .s. in. Et bene uestigia curauerunt, quia ipsi erant pedes domini; ille uero, qui erat uera lux, sanauit lucem .i. oculos. Exortum est .i. natum procreatum est. Lumen .s. fidei. Tenebris .s. in. Per dona .i. per predicationem Xpisti. Hi .s. apostoli. Statuunt .i. firmant.

1205/06 Creperum - dubia lux] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 5, 31, 7: Nam creperum dubium dicimus, hoc est inter lucem et tenebras; Beda, *De temporibus* 3: crepusculum, id est dubia lux inter lucem et tenebras, nam creperum dubium dicimus; Beda, *De temporum rat.* 7 = Hrab. Maur. *De computo* 1, 22: Crepusculum est dubia lux, nam creperum dubium dicimus, hoc est inter lucem et tenebras.

1194 Iudaicum[corr] Iudicum[a.c] **1195** gentis *McKinlay P1 Pm*, gentiles *Lo* **1198** post Petrum *P1*, poetarum *Lo* **1199** auctoris[corr] actoris[a.c] **1202** fidei *P1* **1216** ipso] ipse *Lo* **1221** s*tatuunt *Lo*

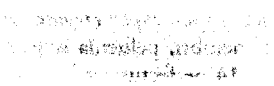
Gressus .i. pedes. Quibus .s. apostolis. Sors .i. doctrina. Verbi .i. predicationis. (240) Vigeat .i. ut crescat. Medicina .s. apostolorum. Prioris .i. Xpisti. Paulatim .i. sensim a senseo.

Iam rabidas hominum Paulus superauerat iras. Rabidas .i. feroces. Superauerat .s. conuertendo illos ad fidem Xpisti. Velificante .i. gubernante. Fide .s. Xpisti. Velum est, quo gubernatur nauis; inde ueli<fi>co. Vomuerunt .i. excitauerunt. Procellas .i. commotiones insidias. De nube .i. cecitate. Doli .i. fraudes. Quia sicut de nube procedunt subitę procellę, ita et de Iudeis ortę sunt seditiones. Non primitus .s. dicebant illi Iudei. Posse dari lauacra .s. baptismi. Vlli .s. homini. Quam .s. antequam. De lege .i. secundum legem. Dicebant illi, quod nullus debebat accipere baptismum ante circumcisionem; utrumque autem uolebant. Gens dura .s. Iudeorum. Apostropham facit ad Iudeos. Vocas .i. protrahis .s. filios. | Quia de lapideis cultris circumcidebantur. Hoc .s. opus uel circumcisio /119r/ carnis. Vmbra .s. fuit. Quia antiqua lex sub figura erat. Non species .i. materies. Quia baptismo crescente periit circumcisio. Simulata .i. figuram habentia .i. circumcisionem. Typum baptismi ferebat. Que .s. tu. Certa .s. misteria. Ab ore .i. ab imperio. (250) Qui ueniunt .s. ad fidem. Membra .i. preputium. Secent .i. incidant per circumcisionem. Partem .s. corporis. Cum totum .s. corpus per baptismum. Queant .i. possint. Preputium est caruncula uel pellicula, que inciditur de summitate ueretri. Iudei non habebant preputia, quia circumcisi erant. Gentes uero ad quas Paulus perrexit, habebant preputium, quia sic permanebant, sicut erant nati. Ne quere pro ne queras. Vetusto .i. antiquo .i. Mosaico. More .i. ritu. Premi .i. conculcari. Opem .i. baptismum. Deflexa .s. ne quęras .i. noli retro aspicere, ut cog[it]as circumcisioni subiacere, quos abluit unda baptismi. Constitui .i. non respicias ad preterita, sed ad uentura intende. Via .i. iter baptismi. Dirigit .i. mittit. Illustrat .s. ipsa uia. Cęsis .i. abscissis. Sentibus .i. spinis uel circumcisionibus. Lite sub ambigua .i. contentione dubia. Vrbs .s. Ierusalem. Cui .s. urbi. Monumenta .i. signa uel uexilla. Beatus Paulus propter contentionem, quam habuerat cum Iudeis apud Listram de circumcisione, uenit ad Ierusalem, ubi erant apostoli. Iudei enim dice-

1224 sensim a senseo] cf. Donatus Ortigr. *Ars gramm., De aduerb.* lin. 117: a sensu sensim; Hugo de S. Vict. *De grammatica* 3, pag. 100: a ... sentio sensim; Smaragdus, *Liber in part. Donati, De aduerb.* lin. 62: a sensu sensim.

1224 sensim a senseo] sensima senseo *Lo* 1227 uelifico *P1 Pm* 1228 uomuerunt] uomuere *McKinlay* 1228/29 insidias - fraudes] *om. et add. in marg. Lo* 1230 Iudeis ortę] Iudei sortę *Lo* 1241 possint *C*, possunt *Lo* 1246 conculcare *Lo* 1247 cogas *P1* 1250 spinis^{corr}] spilis$^{a.c}$ 1251 urbs] urbis *McKinlay*

bant, quod non deberet baptizari, ni prius circumcideretur. Reuisit .i. uenit ad apostolos. Proceres .i. magnates principes. Iuris .i. potestatis. Presens .i. astans. Refert .i. narrat illis ea, que facta erant. (260) Augere .i. multiplicare. Commissos .s. sibi, quia dixit ei Xpistus: *Pasce oues meas.* Explicat .i. profert .s. Petrus. Ore, suo. Memorata .i. que cecinerunt prophete .i. seclis uetustis .i. in temporibus antiquis. Populo docili .i. Israelitico. Docilis est .i. docibilis qui facile docetur. Qui .i. deus. Maluit .i. magis uoluit. Emptor .i. redemptor. Omnibus .i. Iudeis et gentibus. Discernere .i. diuidere. Passus .i. sustinens: Qui pro omnibus passus est .s. qui saluantur in pretio | .s. sanguinis sui. Quo .s. pretio. Vita .i. salus. /119^{v}/ Michi .s. Petro. Iussit .s. deus. Hanc .s. uiam .s. baptismi. Quid iuuat .i. prodest, morari et tardari. Vota .i. uoluntates .s. illorum. Enigmata .i. similitudines. Quia antiqua lex quasi similitudo erat, in noua uero lege iam ueritas est .i. in euangelio. Cum luce noua .i. euangelica ueritate. Vt ueniant .s. ad Xpistum: illi, qui baptizantur. (270) Materia est .i. causa uel fundamentum. Festina .i. uelox ad credendum. Hanc .s. fidem. Qua .s. fide. Quisque .s. hoc merebitur. Vti .i. frui. Iam circumcisus adest .s. in corde a uitiis, et ipsa est uera circumcisio. Vndis .i. in baptismo. Pastorem .i. Petrum. Statuere .i. decreuerunt .s. fideles, qui cum Paulo uenerant. Ministros .i. apostolos. Simul .i. cum Paulo. Absoluere .s. placet. Scriptis .s. beati Petri. Illis .i. gentibus. Non stare .i. non manere. Iugum .s. circumcisionis. Miserunt illis epistolam, ut abstinerent se a fornicatione et immolatis .i. sacrificiis et suffocato. Simulacra .i. idola. Idea Grece forma, inde diminuitur idolum .i. formula, et dicitur idolum quasi idos dolos .i. idolorum seruitus. Quorum .s. simulacrorum. Libamina .i. sacrificia. Execranda forent .i. abhominanda essent. Nec edant .i. comedant .s. cauendum est illis. Suffocata .i. strangulata. Cruore .i. proprio sanguine suo. Maculantur .i. polluuntur. Hoste .s. aliquo. (280) Hos .s. populos. Inpura .i. non pura: libido. Premat .i. coinquinet. Lux .i. Xpistus .i. in baptismo. Progressa .i. statuta a domino in ueteri lege. Imago .i. figura circumcisionis. Iuuat .s. nos. Principium .i. exordium .s. circumcisionis. Abraham primum fuit circumcisus et ab eo inchoauit circumcisio. Suboli .i. semini. Perhenne .i. perpetuum. Ferro .s. cum. Libens .i.



1257 Pasce oues meas] *Ioh.* 21, 17. **1260** Docilis - docetur] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 10, 66. 274. **1276/78** Idea Grece - seruitus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 8, 11, 13.14.

1267 euangelio^{corr}] euengelio$^{a.c}$ **1272** uenerant^{corr}] uerant$^{a.c}$ **1279** nec *Lo McKinlay*$^{paria\ lectio}$, ne *McKinlay*^{textus} **1281** polluantur *Lo*

uolu<n>tarius. Necte .i. coniunge. Superna .i. celestia. Preputium uocatur pellicula, quę inciditur de summitate uirilis membri. Fedus dicitur pactum a fede .i. turpiter macerata porca. Se|cretam .i. misticam allegoriam. Scrutemur .i. inuestigemus. Opem .i. ausilium. Vulnere .s. circumcisionis. Pacta .i. mandata. Que .s. uideamus. Testamenta .i. precepta. Recondit .i. statuit. Prescius .s. deus. Terris .i. hominibus. Consortia .i. societatem. Olimpi .i. cęli. Videlicet ut homines et angelos uno federe coniungat, quia quandam dissensionem habebant inter se propter peccatum primi hominis. (290) Que .s. testamenta. Puer .i. seruus Abrahę. Ad undam eclesię .i. ad aquam putei. Currentem fonte, fluentem de Xpisto. Quia sicut Rebecca currebat ad puteum propter aquam, ita eclesia currit ad baptismum. Iudei dicunt seruum Abrahę iurasse per circumcisionem Abrahę, nos uero dicimus eum iurasse per femur eius .i. Xpistum, quia de femore illius erat Xpistus nasciturus. Corporis .i. genitalis membri. Quo .s. in. Lasciuus .i. luxuriosus. Vitii .i. libidinis. Sub lege .i. conditione. Pater .i. Xpistus. Seminis .i. Marię. Vnde .i. ex quo semine. Salus .i. Xpistus. Pollulat .i. cressit. Euacuat .i. purgat .s. Xpistus. Quod .s. membrum uel peccatum. Culpa .i. originale peccatum. Nullum membrum fuisset pulcrius ac melius, si non peccasset primus homo. Quod .i. membrum pulcrius fuisset quam illud, de quo fit hominis reparatio? Illud enim aliquando quasi homo est facit reuiuiscere, cum filius in loco patris nascitur. Truncata libido .i. abscisa luxuria. Virgineum .i. beatam Mariam uirginem mansuram. Propago .i. progenies Abrahę. Diuinum iter .i. Mariam, que fuit porta Xpisti mundum ingredientis. Ad partum .i. filium. 'Nouum' dicit, quia nemo femina mansit uirgo post partum nisi illa. Expers .i. extra partem, quia non cognouit uirum. (300) Mater .s. Xpisti. Emicat .i. fulget procedit. Hominem .s. se ipsum. In omnia .i. per omnia. Conplet .s. quia *perfectus est deus et perfectus homo*. Hinc .i. secundum humanitatem. Leuans .i. reparans. Illinc .i. ex diuinitate. Celestia .i. uitam eternam. Preterit .i. transit. Hec facies .i. Xpistus. Ius omne .i. omnem | legem. Cultro .i. circumcisione carnis repulsa. Ardescens .i.

1287/88 Preputium - membri] cf. Andreas de S. Vict. *Expos. super Heptat., In Gen.* lin. 2030: Praeputium est ... operculum uirilis membri, pellicula scilicet. **1312** Expers - partem] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 10, 83. **1314** perfectus est - homo] Cassiod. *In Psalm.* 98, 138.

1290 ausilium] *lege* auxilium **1290/91** circumcisionis *C P1 Pm*, circumcisiones *Lo* **1301** luxuriosus^{corr}] luxuriosis$^{a.c}$ **1302** quo *C P1*, qua *Lo* **1303** pollulat] *lege* pullulat *McKinlay* cressit] *lege* crescit *C P1* euacuat *McKinlay*, euaciat *Lo* **1308** turncata(!)^{corr}] turnata$^{a.c}$, truncata *McKinlay*

incendens. Circumcidid .s. a peccatis omnibus. In undis .i. in baptismo. Sanantur .i. renouantur. Vulnera .s. circumcisionis.
Nescius interea cur[r]is laxare quietem. Nescius .i. non ualens. Interea .i. inter ista, que didicit a spiritu sancto. Laxare .i. dare. Quietem .i. pausationem. Docet, predicat. Verbi .s. diuini. Ligonibus .i. predicationibus. Ligonis est instrumentum rusticum, quod alio nomine fossorium uocamus, et hic ponitur pro predicationibus. Cogit .i. urguet. Flauescere .i. maturescere. Messem .i. multitudinem populorum. Seruat metaforam. Superius dixit 'ligonibus', modo 'messem', quia messis ex ligonibus colitur. (**310**) Gelu .i. discedente cultura idolorum. Hec .i. predicamenta euangelii. Vetat, prohibet. Asia regio est ex nomine cuiusdam puellę ita appellata. Quiuit .i. potuit. Diues, fertilis. Agris .i. possessionibus. Huius .s. fidei. Ferre .i. portare. Ieiuna .s. a uerbo predicationis. Licet fertilis erat suis agris. Foecundo .i. pingui. Misia regio est iuxta Macedoniam. Si Paulus ibi *retia predicationis* iaceret, ubi uolebat, forte deteriores efficerentur auditores. Ideo prohibitus est a spiritu sancto, ne in Asia predicaret uerbum dei. Et ne sanctum daret canibus, apparuit Paulo in somnis uir Macedo, qui uocabat eum ad Macedoniam. Visus hec .s. uerba. Miserere .s. nobis o Paule. Dignare .s. uisitare uel dignos habe Illiricos sinus .i. Illiricas terras. Illiria regio est uicina Italię iuxta Adriaticum sita. Sinus .i. portus. Portus sunt maris recessus. O gratia, Xpisti. Inprouisa .i. insperata. Flammantur, accenduntur .s. Macedones. Amore .s. dei. Habent .s. ad credendum. Fugata .s. in qua ei apparuit uisio. Iter .s. ad illos ueniendi. Loquelę .i. predicationis Pauli. Vescitur, reficitur. Soporis .i. somnii uel uisionis. (**320**) Linguam .s. Pauli. Crebra, frequens. Questio inde est, cum deus omnes communiter saluare cupit; ideo quia gratia elegit quem uolu|erit, sicut sequitur hic. Largo .i. larga bonitate. /121[r]/ Hec .s. dona. Aliis .i. Asianis. Aliisque .i. Macedonibus. Prodiga .i. larga. In commune .i. communiter. Su<c>currere .i. subuenire. Cunctis .s. gen-

1323/24 Ligonis - uocamus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 20, 14, 6-7. **1328/29** Asia - appellata] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 14, 3, 1. **1332** retia predicationis] Aug. *Sermo* 229M (ed.: G. Morin, Miscellanea Agostiniana 1), pag. 489; Rupert. Tuit. *In euang. Ioh.* 14, pag. 778. **1334** Et ne sanctum - canibus] cf. *Mat.* 7, 6. **1335** ... ad Macedoniam] cf. *Act. ap.* 16, 9. **1337** Illiria - sita] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 13, 16, 6. **1338** Sinus - recessus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 13, 17, 1: Sinus dicuntur maiores recessus maris.

1318 circumcidid] *lege* circumcidit *McKinlay* **1324** urguet *C P1*, uerget *Lo* **1330** ieiuna .s.] ieiuna si *Lo* **1332** deteriores[corr]] deterriores[a.c] **1335** Macedo[corr]] Macendo[a.c] **1339** accenduntur[corr]] ascenduntur[a.c] **1344** sicut sequitur *P1*, si consequitur *Lo* **1346** sucurrere[corr]] sucurre[a.c]

tibus. Suppetit .i. sufficit opitulatur. Affatim .i. abundanter. Affatim aduerbium Grecum. Afatos enim Grece, Latine uero abunde. Copia .i. abundantia. Lectio .s. euangelica. In parte .i. in hac questione. Figuram .i. intellegentiam .s. multas habet sententias. De qua .s. questione. Canam .i. dicam. Narrante .i. docente. Relatum .i. narratum est, scriptum est. Quidam .s. homo. Comes .i. socius. (330) Prodire .i. abire. Qui .s. Xpistus. Deinde .i. post tunc. Tacentem .s. alium hominem. Interna .i. secreta cordis. Verbum .s. salutis. Ferant .i. suscipiant. Quos .s. scit. Obstruat .i. cl<a>udat. Intus .i. in corde. Error .i. infelicitas. Quidam homo ex populo ueniens ad Xpistum dixit ei: *Domine, sequar te, quocumque ieris.* Et dixit ei dominus: *Vulpes foueas habent et uolucres cęli nidos. Filius autem hominis non habet, ubi caput suum reclinet.* Pauperem ad se dominus uocauit. Deinde uidit alium dominus et dixit ei: *Sequere me.* Et respondit ei: *Domine, dimitte me, ut sepeliam patrem meum. Et dixit ei dominus: Sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos, et ueni et sequere me.* Illum uocauit Xpistus, qui nolebat ad eum uenire, et eum prohibuit, qui uolebat. Quare hoc? Quia gratia Xpisti eum, quem uult, diligit et corda hominum perspicit. Doctrina .s. alicuius sapientis. Officium .i. opus predicandi. Cum uenerit .i. quando uenerit. Doctori .s. ipsa doctrina tuta .i. salua protecta ab erroribus hereticorum. Sancta .s. uerba. Inquit .s. Xpistus. Violare .i. corrumpere. Cęno .i. luto fimo .s. peccatorum. Grauati .i. onerati. Margaritas .i. uerba euangelii. Vertant .i. mittant. Contagia, sordes. Porci .i. iniqui homines, de quibus dixit dominus: *Nolite sanctum dare canibus*, et *non mit<t>atis margaritas inter porcos.* Altera res .i. intelligentia. Carmine .s. meo. Dura .i. | difficilis ad intellegendum. Sed quibus .s. illis. Patuerunt .i. aperta sunt. Veteri .i. antiquo. Fonte .s. scripturarum. Omnia .s. mysteria .s. licet dura est et difficilis. Facile .i. leue. Aduertere .i. considerare. Datas .i. ministratas. Ore .s. meo. Guttas .i. paruas sententias .s. illis qui hoc capiunt. (340) Memorat .i. describit: quia in Exodo de uestimentis sacerdotalibus legitur. Exodus exitus uel egressus dicitur. Odos Grece uia, hinc et odoporcion itinerarium. Velamina .i. uestes .s. femorale, superhumerale, zonam pontificis .i. Aaron et filiorum eius. Nempe .i. certe. Officii .i. sacerdotalis ministerii. Nitido, splendido.

1356/57 Domine - ieris] *Mat.* 8, 19; *Luc.* 9, 57. 1357/58 Vulpes - reclinet] *Mat.* 8, 20; *Luc.* 9, 58. 1359/61 Sequere me - ueni et sequere me] cf. *Luc.* 9, 59-60; *Mat.* 8, 21-22. 1369/70 Nolite - porcos] *Mat.* 7, 6. 1376 Exodus - dicitur] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 6, 2, 4.

1351 relatum *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, relatus *McKinlay*^{textus} 1355 claudat *C Pm* 1358 filius] filios *Lo* 1365 uenerit^{corr}] uerit$^{a.c}$, uenit *McKinlay* 1368 uertant^{corr}] uerta$^{a.c}$ 1377 itinerarium^{corr}] itinerium$^{a.c}$ 1379 ministerii *C*, mysterii *Lo*

Cultu .i. ornamento. Qui<s> .s. pro quibus .s. uestibus sacerdotalibus. Segmentatus .i. segmenta indutus. Segma est uestis subtalaris .i. usque ad pedes. Inde segmentatus segmenta indutus, sicut tunicatus tunica indutus. Altaribus .i. ante altare. Inter species .s. uestimentorum. Parili .i. aequali indumento. ęquali, quia et tunica erat linea et femoralia similiter. Exuuię .i. brace, femoralia. Significant autem castitatem. Quibus .s. femoralibus. Locet .i. collocet uestiat. Indumenta .i. partem corporis. Progrediens .s. sacerdos. Ad templa .i. ad altare. Obstrictis .i. circumstrictis. Misteria .s. diuina. Quia in renibus regnat libido .i. luxuria. Quod .s. preceptum. Lex .s. Moysi. Deui<n>cta .i. precincta. Tunc .i. eo tempore. Membra .i. genitalia. Tegi .i. operiri. Que[m] .s. membra. Atra .i. nigra. Libido .i. luxuria. (350) Properat, uadit. Libare, sacrificare. Relinquens .s. ipsa membra femoris. Parcior .i. abstinentior. Vsus .s. Veneris. Subolis .i. generis. Non staret .s. sed staret. Illi antequam facere<n>t suam ebdomadam, abstinebant se per octo dies et postea faciebant suam ebdomadam et post expletam ebdomadam abstinebant se per octo dies et postea coniungebant se, ut procrearent filios. Quare? Quia non erant sacerdotes, nisi de genere sacerdotali. Sterili: quia si sterilis esset maritus, non procrearet filios. Con<n>ubii .i. coniu|gii. Frigeret .i. frigesceret deficeret. Certa .i. /122r/ statuta. Propago .i. progenies uel origo sacerdotum. Hoc sollemne .i. hoc habens proprium, ut illa sola tribus Leui ministraret domino. Admitteret .i. eligeret susciperet. Externa .i. alieno genere. Vbi .i. in qua progenie. Prisco .i. antiquo .i. de nomine Leui. Ex aditis .i. ex secręt̨is templi. Perdurat .i. perseuerat. Honor .s. sacerdotii. Aditum est secretior pars templi et dicitur per contrarium, quia apud antiquos nulli licebat secretas partes templi adire nisi soli sacerdoti. Proles .i. progenies. Per ęuum .i. per seculum uel per successiones. Sanctificanda .s. in opus sacerdocii. Redit .i.

1381 Segmentatus .i. - indutus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 19, 31, 12. **1385** Exuuię .i. brace] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 19, 21, 8; 19, 22, 29. **1388** Quia in - libido] cf. Greg. M. *Moralia in Iob* 11, 13: Et quia in renibus carnis delectatio principatur; Greg. M. *Hom. in euang.* 2, 22, 9: Quid in renibus nisi delectatio carnis accipitur? **1403/04** Aditum - templi] cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Psalm.* 26, 2, 10: adytum quod dicitur penetrale secretum, interius templi.

1380 quis *Pm*, qui *Lo McKinlay* **1388** luxuria^{corr}] luuria$^{a.c}$ **1389** deuicta *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, deuincta *McKinlay*^{textus} **1390** genitalia *P1 Pm*, gentilia *Lo* que[m]] quae *McKinlay* **1392** femoris *P1*, sengoris *Lo* **1393** facerent *P1 Pm* **1396** se] se thoro *P1 Pm* quia] quia tunc *P1 Pm* **1396/97** de genere^{corr}] degere$^{a.c}$ **1397** sterili *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, sterilis *McKinlay*^{textus} **1402** nomine^{corr}] none$^{a.c}$ ex secręt̨is^{corr}] excrtis$^{a.c}$ **1403** aditus *Lo* **1404** quia^{corr}] qui$^{a.c}$

reuertitur. Vicibus .i. successionibus. Supplenda .i. subministranda, quia unus procreabat alterum et ille alium. Nunc .i. isto tempore. Sine fine .i. omni tempore. Pudicos .i. castos. Pontifices, sacerdotes. Et querit .s. fides eclesię. (360) Cauta .i. sollicita .s. ipsa fides. Quos .s. dignos. Probet, conprobet discernat. Eo tempore non erant sacerdotes nisi ex tribu Leui. Ideo licebat illis procreare filios, qui succederent loco illorum. Nunc autem ex omni genere fiunt sacerdotes et decet eos esse pudicos, quia non procreantur sanguine, sed merito. Meriti .i. sanctitatis. Successus .i. electio. Tamen .s. quamuis non sit modo iste successus de genere. Figura .i. spiritalis intelligentia, quę erat in lege. Qua .s. figura .i. spiritali[s] intellegentia. Manet .i. permanet. Nouitate .i. gratia euangelii, que spiritalis est. Variat .s. ipsa figura. Alterna .i. reciproca uel duplici. Vices .i. uicissitudines. Quod dicit poeta *uariat recurrens figura / alterna ratione uices*, ita est intellegendum: quia sicut in sacerdotio illius populi, uidelicet Iudaici, quandocumque sacerdotes accedere debent ad sacrificium persoluendum, accin<c>tos habebant renes et mundi ac purificati abstinebant ab uxoribus. Post peracta uero libamina amore filiorum copulabantur suis uxoribus, laxos habentes .i. solutos renes. Ita modo in sancta eclesia doctores uariant uices predicationis, ut .s. aliquando renes precinctos habeant | .i. cessent a predicatione, quando inparatas mentes hominum uiderint /122^{v}/ ad uerbum dei suscipiendum, aliquando autem laxatos habeant renes .i. ora silentii resoluant et ad predicandum aperiant, cum paratas uiderint mentes audientium, ut deo spiritales filios gignant. Sacerdos .i. aliquis doctor eclesiae. Generare .s. filios per uerbum dei. Capaces .i. intelligibiles ad percipienda dei uerba. Cernit .i. intuetur. Greges .s. hominum. Cumque .i. et tunc. Instat .i. inminet. Nobilis ardor .i. desiderium .s. audientium. Discendi .i. cognoscendi uerbum dei. Fames .i. desiderium. Apertius .i. manifestius. Ora .i. linguam. Resoluat, aperiat .s. sacerdos .s. necesse est. Ieiunus .s. a uerbo dei. Verbi .i. predicationis. Prolem .i. filium. Dari, procreari. Sepius, frequentius. (370) Dicendo filioli, cum dicit Paulus 'o filioli'. Apparet in hoc, quia aliquis doctor per uerbum dei spiritales filios procreare potest. Iuuat .i. placet. Parumper .i. paulisper aliquantulum. Premi .i. conpessere. Eloquium .i. uerbum. Genitale .i. naturale. Docentem .i. doctorem .s. oportet. Disspensare .i. preponderare. Pro

filioli] cf. *Gal.* 4, 19: Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio.

1407 uicibus *McKinlay*, uocibus *Lo* **1408** fine] fide *McKinlay* **1415** de genere^{corr}] degere$^{a.c}$ **1421** debent] deberent *P1* **1429** gignant^{corr}] gigant$^{a.c}$ **1432** nobilis *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, nouerit *McKinlay*^{rectus} **1438** procreare *P1*, procreari *Lo* **1439** conpessere] *lege* conpescere *P1* **1440** disspensare] *lege* dispensare *McKinlay*

tempore .i. secundum qualitatem temporis. Ingenii, artis suae. Strictas .s. ipsas uires. Non enim omne tempus aptum est predicationi, sed nunc debet predicator *uerbo predicationis insistere* et nunc suam curam gerere. Fusa .s. semina uerbi. Profani .i. mali superbi. Ter[r]ant .i. conculcent. Conculcata .i. contaminata. Mundatis .i. sanctis hominibus. Sancta .s. uerba. Reseruans .s. ipse doctor. Fas uetat .i. non est licitum. Queri .i. causari .s. cur Paulus in Asia non predicauit, nec modo debet inquirere. Inputat .s. aliquis. Culpis .i. peccatis. Poena .i. mors. Venę .i. originis suę. Rea .i. debitrix. Fauce .i. de ore. Progenies .s. humana. Iure .i. digne .s. nichil audet sibi aliquid petere, nisi sicut deus uoluerit. Sator .i. creator. Benignus .i. clemens. Temerarius .i. audax presum<p>tiuus. Tulit .s. a nobis. Corrupto natale .i. uitiata natiuitate. **(380)** Affectus, | uoluntas. Parcentis .i. miserantis dei. Salutis .s. nostrę. Differt inter /123r/ temerarium et audacem: temerarius est, qui non estimat per[r]iculum; audax uero, qui non metuit. Et temeritas est audacia sine consilio; audacia uero post consilium. Miseratio .s. dei. Conditione .i. temporali lege. Indebita .s. munera. His .s. Macedonibus. Accelerat, festinat. Iustus .s. Xpistus. His .i. Asianis. Quia ipse iuste aliquos damna[n]t et pie alios saluat.

In Macedum terris cum moenia nota Philippi. Moenia, edificia. Phylippi .i. ciuitas, quam Philippus edificauit. Celebraret .i. celebrem crederet. Bachata, furiens insaniens. Stimulo, agitatione. Ait, dixit ad populum Paulum esse ministrum dei. Mulier pythonissa dicitur, que habet spiritum diuinationis in se. Ministrum, seruum. Scitote, cognoscite. Professio .s. illius puella<e>: quia dicebat Paulum esse dei seruum. Teste .i. testante diabolo, qui est mendacii auctor. Fidelem, ueram. Perfidus, crudelis. Honori .s. dei. Cogit, compellit. Formido .s. spiritus sancti .i. timor. Ideo non habuit honorem ex hoc, quia timor, non amor spiritus sancti coegit eum loqui. Nec in mente .s. Pauli. Co<h>eret, placet. **(390)** Nudus timor .s. diaboli. Amore .s. dei. Premi .i. grauari. Licere .i. ut liceret. Prophano, diabolo impio. Fuge: *non est* enim *pretiosa laus in ore peccatoris.* Ista .s. uerba. Vlterius, amplius. Temptare .i. ap<p>etere. Iussa .s. Pauli. Abest .i. fugit. Vacuam .s. a se expulso. Iniquus .i. malignus spiritus. Deserit .i.

1443 uerbo - insistere] Beda, *In Cant. cant.* 3, 5. 1471 non est - peccatoris] *Eccli.* 15, 9 (pretiosa] speciosa *Vulgata*).

1444 terant *McKinlay* 1445 mundatis *McKinlay*, mundatas *Lo* 1448 inputat *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, imputet *McKinlay*^{textus} 1460 Macedum^{corr}] Madum$^{a.c}$, Macetum *McKinlay* 1462 furiens^{corr}] fuiens$^{a.c}$ 1464 ministrum *McKinlay*, ministri *Lo* 1469 in *om. McKinlay* 1473 expulso] expulsam *C*

dimittit. Profugo .i. longe fugato. Periclo .i. demone. Peregit, finiuit. Plus: quia quando sanata fuit, tacuit et tacens plus uoluit Paulum esse seruum dei, quia m<ulti> propter illius sanitatem <cre>diderunt. Docet .s. <mini>strum esse dei Paul<um>. Munere .i. dono uulgi. Hec .s. mulier. Questum .i. lucrum. Heris .i. dominis suis. Propter diuinationem accipiebat lucrum et dabat suis dominis. Quos .s. heros. Turbidus, turbulentus. Furor .i. demon. Illa .s. mulier: ab ea intrauit in illis diabulus. Procacis .i. superbi[s]. (400) Fremunt .s. domini illius puellę. Seditione .i. tumultu. Seditio tumultus dicitur, quasi sedatio per contrarium, eo quod minime sedatur .i. pacificatur. Romanis sacris .s. dicunt. Dari obuia sacra .i. contraria Romanis | .i. Paulo et Silę. Sila erat cum Paulo unus ex LXX 23v discipulis. Ritus .i. leges .s. dicunt. Illi dicebant exire nouos ritus et cecidisse antiquos deos. Agmina, multitudines populi. Eliso, percusso afflicto. Conueniunt, corruunt .i. ducunt eum in carcerem. Imis .i. obscuris .s. carceris. Comitante .i. eunte cum Paulo. Vestigia, pedes. Ligno .i. in cipo. Immersa .i. inmissa. De clade .i. calamitate apostolorum. Cui .s. loco. Lumina, Paulus et Silas. (410) Modo .i. nunc. Quam bene: admiratio. A tota urbe concurritur .i. conuenitur ad carcerem. Et modo iam contenditur, qui .s. primus noua tecta petat. Primus .s. credentium. Quiue .s. et qui. Figat, inprimat. Postibus .s. intacta. Sacretur .s. contenditur, qui primus sacretur .i. sanctificetur. Chilindri .s. saxi, lapidis illius carceris. Chilindrus est lapis rotundus, quo equatur area. Quies, sopor. Se<r>pere .i. intrare. Fessa, fatigata. Exiuit, contremuit. Imitata, ostensa. Ruinam .i. casum. Terre motus factus est, ut cadere uideretur. Visceribus, interioribus. Concussa .i. conmota ipsa tellus. Claustra, uincula. Relaxans, resoluens. Vagatur, uacillatur. Seruit, oboedit. Canentibus .s. apostolis, Paulo et Silę. Ymnum, laudem. Tempestas, motio. Soli, terre. Solum dicitur quicquid aliquid sustinet. Aer est solum auium. Aqua solum nauium et piscium. Terra solum hominum et animalium. Cum tempestas solet deducere timorem cunctis, istis apostolis seruiebat, quia soluit uincula carceris. Pro, uox poetae admirantis. Quanta .i. quam magna. Patesscis .i.

1495 chilindrus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 20, 14, 9; Cassiod. *Var.* 12, 24; Hugo de S. Vict *Didasc.* 2, pag. 39. **1500/01** Solum - sustinet] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 11, 1, 115.

1474 peregit^{corr}] perregit$^{a.c}$ **1475/77** esse seruum dei - esse dei Paulum] *om. et add. in marg. Lo* **1476** multi] *add. ex P1* **1480** diabulus] *lege* diabolus **1481** superbi *P1* **1483** Romanis^{corr}] Romanus$^{a.c}$ **1487** ducunt^{corr}] dicunt$^{a.c}$ **1488** cipo] cippo *C P1 Pm* **1489** immersa] mersa *McKinlay* **1490** a *om. McKinlay* **1492** qui .s. primus] qui primus *McKinlay*, quis primus *P1* **1493** figat *McKinlay*^{textus}, fugat$^{corr.Lo}$] fugit$^{a.c}$, fugat *McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$ **1494** cylindri *McKinlay* **1496** exiuit] exsiluit *McKinlay* **1504** patesscis] *lege* patescis *McKinlay*

appares. A nullo .s. homine. Fides .s. apostolorum. Periclo .s. terre motus. (420) Poena .s. apostolorum. Tormenta .s. carceris. Locum .s. torquendi. Gemino, duplicato: pauore. Gemino dicit .i. propter terrę motum et propter hoc, quod in carcere erant Paulus et Silas. Ab alto toro .i. magno lecto. Excutiens .i. leuans. Libera, absoluta. Antra .i. ostia. Necis .i. mortis. Retecto, extracto euaginato. In iugulum .i. uulnus. Mucro proprie | dicitur summitas gladii. Illi .i. custodi carceris. Teste .i. Paulo dicente: /124r/ *Nihil tibi male feceris, omnes enim hic sumus.* Cuius .s. Pauli. Solamine .i. auxilio et consolamine. Vitam .i. Xpistum. Repperit .s. ille carcerarius. De carcere .s. peccatorum suorum. Solui .i. absolui. Fomenta .i. ungenta medicamenta. Vulneribus <.s. apostolorum>. Liquidam .i. nitidam. Parat .s. apostolis. Sibi .s. suę saluti, quia baptizatus est. Vnda<m> .i. aquam. Tacturus, adepturus .s. ille carcerarius. Aquam .i. baptismum. (430) Figere .i. edificare. Cunctos .s. qui aderant ibi. Amne .i. in flumine aquę. Deluit .i. purgauit. Cui .s. Paulo, antequam esset conuersus, quando dixit ei uox: *Saule Saule.* Creuit .s. illi. Renasci .i. ut renasceretur per baptismum. Blandiloquis, deceptuosis. Olim .i. longe, in exordio mundi. Capta, decepta est. Ora, linguam. Qui tunc .s. fecit illud. Agit .i. commouet. Sexum, femineum: ut per serpentem decepisset Euam et Adam, ita per puellam uoluisset Paulum. De quo .s. sexu. Predo, latro deceptor. Canendo, predicendo: mulier per spiritum pithonicum. Conceptor, auctor. Apostolus .s. Paulus. Adam ablatiuus est. Melior .s. effectus. Quia Paulus spiritalis erat, Adam animalis. Leuans, ostendens. Signum .s. Xpisti .i. signum crucis Xpisti. Immagine .i. in puella pythonissa. Qui .s. Xpistus. Certa .s. ea que dicebat mulier. Recepit .s. Paulus. (440) Fallit, mentitur. Hoste .i. diabolo. Metuamus, timeamus. Audere .i. ausi esse: recipere. Neffas .i. diabolum. Corrumpamur .i. inficiamur. Melle .i. dulcedine. Qui .s. diabolus. Licet ad tempus uera dicat, tamen non est credendus, quia ideo hoc agit, ut facilius credatur, cum fallit. Doli .i. uene-

1510/11 Mucro - gladii] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 18, 6, 2: Mucro non tantum gladii est, sed et cuiuslibet teli acumen; Sedul. Scottus, *In Donati artem mai.* 2, pag. 84: mucro summitas gladii. **1512** Nihil - sumus] cf. *Act. ap.* 16, 28 (*Vulgata*): Clamauit autem Paulus magna uoce dicens: Nihil feceris tibi mali, uniuersi enim hic sumus. **1520** Saule Saule] *Act. ap.* 9, 4 = 22, 7 = 26, 14: Saule Saule, quid me persequeris?

1514 ungenta^{corr}] ungunta$^{a.c}$ **1515** .s. apostolorum] *add. ex C P1 Pm* **1516** undam *McKinlay* **1519** diluit *McKinlay* **1528** immagine] *lege* imagine *McKinlay* **1530** audere *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, audire *McKinlay*^{textus} **1531** neffas] *lege* nefas *McKinlay*

niferi et maleffici mellito ore liniunt et blandiuntur, ut uenenifero corde decipiant.

Ingeniis claras et linguis Paulus Athenas. Ingeniis .i. liberalibus artibus philosophorum. Claras, splendidas. Linguis .i. eloquentia philosophorum. Athenę ciuitas est Greciae, in qua erat quondam caput scolę et philosophorum, et ideo uocat eas 'claras | ingeni<i>s et linguis'. Athene pluraliter declinatur, singulariter uero intelligitur. Tumidam, elatam superbam. Conflictibus .i. contentionibus: quia ibi contendebant philosophi et sapientes. Vrbem .i. Athenas. Eloquio, uerbo predicationis. Torrente[m], currente. Premit, comprimit. Torrens dicitur aqua uelociter currens, hinc dicit 'torrente eloquio' .i. ueloci. Quem .s. Paulum. Turba .s. Atheniensium. Profari, loqui affari. Modis, locutionibus. Inquit .s. ipsa turba. Ab oris .i. a quibus finibus. Fluit, emanat. Sator, seminator. Plebs .s. Atheniensium. Nescia, ignorans. Semina ferre .i. 'seminiuerbium' dixit illa turba: *Ecce seminiuerbius* .i. seminator uerborum et dicitur Grece spermologus. Vocat .s. illa turba. Fruitur .i. utitur illa ples. Magistro, doctore. Vera .s. de Paulo. Facundus, eloquens. (450) Colit, excolit: orbem .i. corda fidelium. In hoc namque error magister illorum erat, quia cum irrisione dicebant eum seminiuerbium, sed tamen uerum dicebant, licet errando, quia cum esset doctor gentium, predicabat omnibus .s. Iudeis et gentibus. Instat .i. incumbit. Diuinus ager .i. sancta eclesia. Purgata .s. a peccatis. Fructum .s. bonorum operum. Lolii herbis .i. uitiis peccatorum. Sordeat, maculetur. Quam .s. humanam mentem. Portare, afferre. Segetes .s. bonorum operum. Manus .i. multitudo Grecorum. Emula .i. inuida contra Paulum. Cogit .i. urget. Ad Ariopagum uillam duxerunt eum, ubi erant iudices. Ares Grece Mars .i. deus belli, pagos uero uilla. Inde /124[v]

1538/39 Athenę - philosophorum] cf. Sedul. Scottus, *In Donati artem mai.* 2, pag. 136. **1539/40** Athene pluraliter - intelligitur] cf. Sedul. Scottus, *In Donati artem mai.* 2, pag. 88: Mycenae ciuitas est Graeciae, quae pluraliter declinatur, sed singulariter intelligitur. **1543** Torrens - currens] cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Psalm.* 35, 14: Torrens dicitur aqua ueniens cum impetu. **1548** Ecce seminiuerbius] *Act. ap.* 17, 18: Quidam dicebant: Quid uult seminiuerbius hic dicere? **1548/49** spermologus] cf. Beda, *In Ezram et Neem.* 1, lin. 1615: apostolus Paulus cognomen accepit ut 'spermologus' id est seminiuerbius; Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 17, lin. 26: Recte seminiuerbius, id est spermologus. **1559** Ares - uilla] cf. Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 17, lin. 97: Ariopagus est enim Athenarum curia, nomen a Marte trahens; siquidem Graece Mars 'Ares', uilla dicitur 'pagos'.

1534 maleffici] *lege* malefici *P1* liniunt[corr] linunt[a.c] **1542** eloquio *McKinlay*, eloquia *Lo* torrente *McKinlay* **1550** facundus *Lo McKinlay*[varia lectio], fecundus *McKinlay*[textus] **1555** lolii[corr] lilii[a.]

Ariopagus dicitur uilla, ubi erant iudices Grecorum. Inde pagani dicuntur quasi uillani, eo quod longe distant ab eclesia dei. Quibus .s. proceribus. Edidit, dixit. Adstans .s. presens ante illos. Cicropide .s. o Athenienses. Fama .i. opinio uulgaris. Canit .i. laudat. Diserto, docto eloquio, perito. Gimnasiis, exerciciis. Vernare, florere crescere. Alloquitur Paulus Athenienses, quibus persuadet sermonibus, ut relicta uanitate idolatrię in Xpistum credant. Cecrops rex Atheniensium fuit, a quo uocantur Greci et A[d]thenieses Cecropidę. | Vbi .i. inter quos uel in quibus /125r/ gimnasiis. Presidet .i. preest. Nouitatis .i. adinuentionis. Ad nullum aliud opus studebant Athenienses, nisi ut semper inquirerent aliquid noui. Gimnus Grece nudus. Inde gimnasium dicitur locus exercicii, in quo exercebant nudi pueri. Posuisse .i. consecrasse. Cum circuiret Paulus aras et idola illorum, inuenit super unum altare scriptum: Ignoto deo. De hoc fabula talis est. Cum Athenienses quondam siccitate laborarent, consuluerunt super hoc deorum oracula et responsum est, ut studerent deos placare muneribus. Quod cum fecissent nihilque eis prodesset, tandem orauerunt, ut qui uerus in celo esset deus, suc<c>urreret illis. Et mox uenit eis inmensa pluuiae moles. Qui nescientes, a quo deo hoc acciperent beneficium, posuerunt aram ignoto deo, qui post predicatione apostolica notus factus est. Qui .s. deus uobis ignotus. Dedit .s. ut essent. Vita .s. nostra. (460) Habet parentem .i. conditorem patrem. Vt moueamur: in ipso enim *uiuimus, mouemur et sumus.* Ab igne .i. a spiritu sancto, quia deus spirauit in faciem Adę spiritum uitę. Imago .i. ad cuius imaginem. Hinc .i. a deo. Quem .s. ille Xpistus deus. Sancxit, constituit confirmauit, quia dixit: *Et facta sunt.* Hec .s. simulacra. Diuina .i. deos. Facitis, opus

1560/61 pagani dicuntur] cf. Christianus Stabul. *Expos. in euang. Mat.* col. 1489: Villa Graece pagos et inde pagani dicuntur. **1566/67** Cecrops - Cecropidę] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 8, 11, 9; 9, 3, 15; 15, 1, 44; Sedul. Scottus, *In Donati artem mai.* 2, pag. 86. **1568/69** Ad nullum aliud - noui] cf. *Act. ap.* 17, 21. **1570/71** Gimnus - nudi pueri] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 8, 6, 17; 15, 2, 30. 40; 18, 17, 2. **1581** uiuimus - sumus] Petrus Chrysol. *Sermo* 97, lin. 63; Aug. *Ep.* 140, 12; Aug. *Enarr. in Psalm.* 137, 2; Aug. *De Trin.* 4, 17; Aug. *De unico bapt.* 4, 6; Aug. *Contra Iulian.* 3, col. 731; Hier. *In Osee* 2, 8. **1582** spirauit - uitę] cf. Ambros. *De Noe* 24, 86: Tunc de limo terrae finxit deus hominem et insufflauit in faciem, eius spiritum uitae; Ambros. *Expos. Psalm.* 10, 15: inspirauit in eum deus spiritum uitae; Aug. *De Genesi contra Manich.* 2, col. 201: et insufflauit in eum spiritum uitae, et factus est homo. **1584** Et facta sunt] *Psalm.* 32, 9; 148, 5; *Isai.* 66, 2.

1562 Cicropide] *lege* Cecropidae *McKinlay* **1563** Athenienses^{corr}] Atheniensis^{a,c} **1565** uanita*te *Lo* **1569** studebant^{corr}] stupebant^{a,c} **1583** sancxit] *lege* sanxit *McKinlay*

manuum uestrarum. Vacuo .i. inutili. Celeste .i. diuinum. Putatis .i. cur estimatis. Quod .s metallum. Visceribus .i. in secretis. Ima, profunda. Quibus .s. de uisceribus. Eruta .i. eiecta .s. ipsa natura metalli. Ingenii, artis. Opem, ausilium. Fabricantis .i. fabri. Accipit ipsa naturam metalli, quia operatur ab aliquo fabro. Seu numina .i. siue dii. Hinc .i. ex materia[m] metalli. Veniant, fuerint facta. Seu uasa .i. ollę. Focis .s. apte facta fuerint ex ipsa materia metalli. Ars .i. res artificis .s. ipsa doctrina, operata sibi. Operor tibi datiuum querit. Ars .s. artificis .i. res operata. Deo .s. causa timoris est sibi, quia opus manuum suarum timent. Fusum .i. extensum. (470) Artare .s. neque .i. constringere. Quod capitur .i. illa res, que capitur, minor est illo, qui eam | capit. Verbi gratia. Homo capitur a /125v sua domu, quia minor est illa. Materia .i. forma. Opifex ab opere et facio .i. conditor. Vsum .s. auri uel argenti uel usum fabricandi .i. ut ab aliquo fabricetur. Simulant, falso adorant .s. homines. Luetis, persoluetis .s. in die iudicii .i. quam stulta<m> .s. esse sese sensura est, inuisura dicta. Quando hoc? Cum corpora etrel. carebunt .s. et quando uel tormenta non habebunt finem. Vt excruciet ignis reos .i. peccatores et seruat eos, quos deuorat, ut non ex toto moriantur. Ibi enim est mors sine morte [et interitus sine morte] et interitus sine interitu. Sic .i. tali modo. Caro .s. Xpisti. Expiat pro expiabit .i. purgat. Actus .i. opera carnalia. Commissa hac .s. carne. Examinat pro examinabit .i. iudicat. Vltor .i. uindex deus. (480) Pati .i. passionem ferre. Expers .s. alienus a morte. Inmortalis iam in carne apparebit dominus in die iudicii peccatoribus, ne uideant diuinitatem eius. Reddidit .s. ipsam carnem, post resurrectionem. Hec .s. uerba Pauli. Ad dona .s. dei. Primus, princeps. In arce .i. in Ariopago uilla. Honoris .s. Xpisti. Quia Dionisius primus credidit, qui erat princeps Ariopagi uillae. Complexus, diligens quasi deosculans. Fidem .s. dei. Sophista .i. princeps phylosophię uel proprie dicitur sophista callidus argumentator. Iacob moriens benedixit filiis suis et per singulos dedit benedictionem. Beniamin enim benedixit dicens: *Beniamin lupus rapax*

1596 Opifex - facio] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 10, 200. **1613/14** Iacob moriens - benedictionem] cf. *Hebr.* 11, 21. **1614/15** Beniamin - spolia] *Gen.* 49, 27 (sero] uespere *Vulgata*).

1588 ausilium] *lege* auxilium metalli[corr] metallo[a.c] **1589/90** materia *C P1* **1590** ollę[corr] olę[a.c] **1592** deo] deos *McKinlay* **1595** minor] minus *McKinlay* **1598** luetis[corr] lutis[a.c] **1599** stultam *McKinlay* **1601** excruciet] cruciet *McKinlay* **1602/03** et interitus sine morte] *om. P1* **1607** peccatoribus[corr] peccatoris[a.c] **1610** honoris *Lo McKinlay*[varia lectio], honori *McKinlay*[textus] **1614** Beniamin - dicens] *om. et ss. Lo*

mane deuoret predam et sero diuidet spolia. In benedictione autem Beniamin benedictus est Paulus, quia de generatione eius fuit, et ideo Paulus 'lupus rapax' uocatur. Ore .s. tuo. Trahas .s. ad fidem dei per predicacionem. Sollertia .i. peritia multarum artium. Graia, Greca. Cessit .i. locum dedit tibi. Inuictas .i. insuperabiles. In dogmate .i. in sapientia, in doctrina. (**490**) Cient, conmouent. Reserare .i. manifestare. Opus est .s. michi. Epicurreus et Stoicus contendebant inter se. Epicurreus dicebat summum bonum esse uoluptatem carnis. Stoicus uero dicebat summum bonum esse honestatem anime. Philosophi trifariam bipartiti sunt .i. in tribus partibus diuisi. Plato | quidam sapiens fuit, qui apud Academiam uillam docuit et eius discipuli, qui ibi remanserunt, Academici uocantur. Illi uero, qui hac illac discurrerunt, peripatetici .i. circumcalc[ul]atores, qui per uniuersum mundum discurrentes carmina componebant; peri circum, pato calco. Illi autem, qui ad ciuitates .s. Stoici, quia in porticibus disputabant. Nam stoa Grece porta. Epicurrei uero ab Epo principe dicuntur et interpretantur sup<erp>orci, quia luxuriosi et uoluptuosi erant. Quo nomine .s. Epicureorum et Stoicorum. Sectarum, heresum. Coiere .i. conuenerunt, multę hereses. Secta dicitur a sequendo, eo quod unusquisque id quod uult sequitur, et dicitur Grece hereses. Beatam .i. summum bonum, quia unusquisque bene cogitabat sequi. In corpore .i. in carnali delectatione. Alter .i. Epicurreus, qui summum bonum constituebat i<n> uoluptate carnis, nihil curans de anima. Hic .i. Stoicus. Virtute .s. incolit .s. illam uitam. Iste nil curabat de corpore, sed omnem curam anime inpendebat. Paulus uero hoc coniungens medium locum tenuit, ut esset utilitas corporis et honestas animę simul in dei seruitio. Dat et, pro etiam. Actio .i. predicatio. Precepta .i. mandata. Piam .i. sempiternam. Thema .i. materia. Magis .s. quam coniu<n>xerunt. Com<m>issus .i. conmixtus constructus. Partibus .s. de his. Plenus, perfectus. Studiis .i. in studiis suis. Diuersa .i. dissona uaria. Quod neuter .i. nullus ex illis, quia corpus non potest habere utilitatem sine honestate

1615/17 In benedictione - uocatur] cf. Ambros. *Expos. Psalm.* 6, 17; Aug. *Sermo* 279 (PL 38, 1276); Hier. *In Isai.* 4, 11, 6; 18, 65, 23; Hier. *Ep.* 60, 8; 69, 6. **1621** Epicurreus et Stoicus] Arator 2, 489. **1632** Secta - sequendo] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 8, 3, 4.

1615 deuoret] comedet *Vulgata* **1617** per *P1*, ad *Lo* **1623** trifariam^{corr}] trif fariam$^{a.c}$ **1626** circumcalcatores *P1* **1629** principe] pirncipe *Lo* **1632** coie re^{corr}] coire$^{a.c}$ **1634** in corpore] corpore *McKinlay* **1635/36** constituebat^{corr} constiebat$^{a.c}$ **1641** thema] themate *McKinlay* **1643** studiis .i.] studiis .id. *L*

animae neque anima honestatem sine utilitate corporis. Vas .i. Paulus: *Tu es uas electionis.* Sub<d>it .i. subicit subponit. Vtrumque .i. corpus et animam. (**500**) Quam .i. quantum. Iniqua .i. contraria .s. caro mea. Infit .i. dixit Paulus. Propria .s. sua. Geri .i. haberi. *Quod enim habes, quod non accepisti?* Gratia .s. Xpisti. Celebremus .s. ut .i. subdamur Xpisto. Se uocat: *Ego sum uia et ueritas et uita.* Per se .i. per Xpistum. Ad se .s. nos ducat. Cessare, deesse. Preco .i. Paulus nuntius fidei .s. sanctę trinitatis. Vestigia .i. iter. Sug|gerit, subministrat. Ne cessans Paulus aut stans ociosus dimitteret predicationem uerbi dei, sug<g>erit orbi uestigia .i. predicat de loco ad locum pergendo. 26v/

Attica discedens iam liquerat agmina Paulus. Attica agmina .i. Atheniensem populum .i. Grecum. Discedens .s. ab Athenis. Eloqui<i>s piis .i. predicationibus sanctis. Superata .i. uicta. Bimaris .i. ex duabus partibus mare habentis. Iuncta .s. sibi. Populosam .i. populis plenam. Corinthus ciuitas est Grecię populosa, inter duo maria sita, que et familiarissima Paulo fuit, quia mansit ibi per unum annum et dimidium. Que .s. Corinthus ciuitas. Alterni .i. hinc et inde positi. ęquoris undas .i. aquas. (**510**) Sitiebat .s. tamen. Perpetuas .i. spiritales aquas baptismi. Ibi .i. in Corinto erat Aquila unus ex LXX discipulis. Ponticus, de Ponto insula. Preceptor, magister. Instrumenta, beneficia. Amico, familiari. Contulit .i. credidit. Artis .i. propter amorem <s>cenofactorię artis, quia unius artis erant. Sceni .i. scenofactorie. Pollebant, fulgebant. Ordo est: Nam pollebant uterque .i. Paulus et Aquila. Qua re pollebant? Studiis et dogmate legis. Factor uterque sceni operis .i. scenofactorię artis. Scenofactoria diriuatur uel a scena .i. umbra uel a Greco quod est scenos .i. funis, unde et scenobata dicitur funambulus, qui per funem ambulat .i. incedit. Xpistus ait .s. Paulo in uisu. Doce .s. quia multus populus est michi in hac urbe. Obuiat, contradicit. Vllus .s. habitator istius urbis. Comitante .i. me tecum incedente. Que sit .i. quanta multitudo in hac ciuitate. Loquens .i. predicans uerbum dei. Pectora .s. audientium. Firmo

1645/46 Tu - electionis] cf. *Act. ap.* 9, 14: uas electionis est mihi iste. **1648/49** Quod - accepisti] *1 Cor.* 4, 7 (quod enim] quid autem *Vulgata*). **1650** Ego sum - uita] *Ioh.* 14, 6. **1657/59** Bimaris ... Corinthus] cf. Prud. *Contra Symmach.* 2, 352: Hoc signum rapuit bimaris de strage Corinthi. **1669** scena .i. umbra] cf. Petr. Abael. *In ep. Pauli ad Rom.* 4, 16: Scenae enim Graece tabernacula dicuntur, etymologiam ab 'obumbrando' ducentia, apud quos umbra 'scena' dicitur. **1670** scenobata - funambulus] cf. Ioh. Cassian. *Conlat.* 23, 9: schoenobatis, quos uulgo funambulos uocant.

1646 subdit *McKinlay* **1647** iniqua *McKinlay*, iniqui *Lo* **1655** disceden *McKinlay*, discendens *Lo* **1666** sceni^{corr}] seni$^{a.c}$ **1667** qua re] quare *Lo*

.s. in fide. Ista .s. uerba domini. (520) Queri .i. causari, si tardando uenerit. Nullus debet causari, si non cito uenerit illi gratia et si aliis citius, quia gratia Xpisti cui uult dat gratis. Quod .s. munus. Tecta .i. cooperta. Ambiguo .i. sub ambiguitate. Lateat .i. abscondatur. Dabitur .s. michi a deo. Canam, dicam scribam. De nomine .s. alicuius hominis: quia nomina hominum habent interpretationes. Argumenta .i. significationes experimenta documenta exempla. Gigni, nasci. Scripture .i. sancta scriptura | dicit trahi argumenta de nomine alicuius. Iuuat, placet. Altius, profundius. Querere .s. de illo. Comes .i. socius. In arte .i. in scenofactoria. Imagine .i. figura similitudine. Sic .i. aquila. Aquila dicitur ab acumine oculorum, eo quod ceteris auibus acutius uideat. Qualiue .i. uel quali honore est decorus. Honore .i. dignitate. Hac parte .i. in hoc uocabulo. Aquile .s. uolatilis. Forma .s. istius hominis Aquilę. Hoc quod tenet forma Aquilae proprii nominis, gerit sponte natura aquilę .s. uolatilis. Debilis, languida. Aeuo .i. senectute, tempore annoso. (530) Declinatis, humiliatis caligatis. Senio .i. senectute. Visibus .i. oculis. Ales .i. auis aquila. Iacet .s. ut calore solis uisum recipiat. Grauatas .i. consumptas senio. Fouet .i. nutrit. Nocturna, ceca ueterana. Pandit, aperit. Radiis .s. solis. Inserit, inmittit contraponit. Veterem .i. ad pristinam iuuentutem. Sic .i. tali modo. Caloris .i. iuuentutis. Languida, debilis. Sumit, accipit. Auis .i. aquila. Cuius .s. solis. Fomite, nutrimento. Vires .i. robur. Prisci secli .i. antiquę iuuentutis. Dispendia .i. dampna. Preterita tempora iterum recuperat. Forent pro sint. Sola .s. solatia. Estus, calor solis. Ter mergitur undis, ad reparationem iuuentutis. Purganda .s. ipsa aquila. Vadum .i. breuem aquam. Laticum, aquarum. Senium .i. senectutem. Deponit, dimittit. Iuuenem pro iuuenalem, primitiuum, pro diriuatiuo. Decoris .i. pulcritudinis. (540) Effigiem .i. uultum. Leuat, suscitat. Apertior, manifestior. Actus, operatio. Religionis .s. nostrę .s. quam iste actus Aquilę, ad cuius <instar> nos oportet renouari. Solis .i. Xpisti. Contagia .i. sordes. Quando hoc? Cum tangitur lumine ueri solis. Accedente, adueniente. Fide .s. Xpisti. Limfa .i. aqua baptismi. Renati, renouati per baptismum. Conspicimur .i. uidemur. Nouitate .i. renouatione .s. dei. Rudes .i. nouelli in ipsa fide. Recidiua .i. renouata uel reditura. Seni .s. homini. Venientibus .s. hominibus .i. nascentibus. Natalis .i. natiuitas. Gemino /127r/

1684/85 Aquila - oculorum] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 10; Sedul. Scottus, *In Donati artem mai.* 2, pag. 126.

1688 proprii *Pl Pm*, proprie *Lo* **1690** senio *Lo McKinlay*$^{\text{paria lectio}}$, senior *McKinlay*$^{\text{textus}}$ **1692** inserit *Lo McKinlay*$^{\text{paria lectio}}$, ingerit *McKinlay*$^{\text{textus}}$ **1703** instar] *add. ex. Pl Pm* **1705** limfa] lympha *McKinlay* **1708** uenientibus *Lo McKinlay*$^{\text{paria lectio}}$, manentibus *McKinlay*$^{\text{textus}}$

ortu .i. gemina | natiuitate. Nascimur primo, quando a matris utero in hanc lucem erumpimus; secundo, quando aquis baptismi mergimur. Hec tamen secunda natiuitas melior est prima. Cado, recido; inde recidiuus, iterum uiuens. Conscius .s. ipse Dauid. Egit .i. fecit. Opimam .i. sanctam. Dauid bene erat conscius exempli istius aquilę, quando dixit: *Renouabitur ut aquilę iuuentus tua.* Ordo est: Bene inquit Dauid conscius .s. exempli istius alitis .i. aquilę. Quem .s. Dauid coegit spiritus uersare opimam manum in cithara, quia Dauid cithara canebat, 'renouaberis more aquilę' .i. *renouabitur ut aquilę iuuentus tua.* Qua lege .i. quo mysterio uel sententia. Probatis .i. sanctis hominibus. (550) Placere .s. deo. Laude .i. exemplo. Tipi .i. figurę: quia fideles ita renouantur unda baptismi. Iusti .s. Dauid. Ars .i. scenofactoria. Ipso .s. Aquila. Secreti boni .i. spiritalis mysterii. Paulus et Aquila unius artis erant .i. scenofactoriae artis. Scenofactoria diriuatur uel a scena .i. umbra uel a Greco quod est scenos .i. funis. Inde et scenobata dicitur funambulus, qui per funem incedit. Tentoria .i. tabernacula. Tentoria dicuntur, eo quod tendantur funibus atque palis. Sunt autem tentoria tabernacula militum, quibus in itinere ab ardore estus et ab imbribus proteguntur. Fortia .i. firma. Mobilibus .s. cum. In aggere .i. in uia. Longius .s. de loco ad locum. Hec .s. tentoria. Abiens .i. pergens. Hiemes .i. frigora. Soles .i. dies aestiuales. Arcet .i. repellit. Per culpam .i. per peccatum Adę. Repulsi .i. eiecti. Modo allegorizat. Iacimur .i. proicimur. Via .s. salutis. Reddita .s. a nobis. Qua .i. per quam uiam. Patrię .s. celestis. Munimina .i. ausilia presidia. In cast<r>is .i. tentoriis. Imbres .i. peruersitates. (560) Tempestas .i. aduersitas. Vapores .i. calores. Scelerum, uitiorum. Ignitus .i. flam<m>iuomus. Agat .i. adducat. Sub tegmine .i. *sub umbraculo* tue protectionis. Tuta .i. firma pro|tecta. Discriminis .i. peccati periculi. Excipit .i. suscipit. Ictum 128r
.i. impetum uulnus. Nec prostrata .s. ipsa salus. Feri .i. pessimi. Succumbit .i. superatur deicitur. Viribus .i. ualidis suggestionibus. Premittunt, ante mittunt. Duces .i. Petrus et Paulus. Mistica .i. spiritalem sensum. Laudibus .s. cum. Artis .s. suę. Modo concordat mysteria. Agens .i. perseque<n>s. Hospes .i. habitator. Persistit .i. permanet. Terrena .i.

1711 Cado - recidiuus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 17, 6, 10. 1714 Renouabitur - tua] *Psalm.* 102, 5. 1717 renouabitur - tua] *Psalm.* 102, 5. 1722 scena .i. umbra] cf. supra 1669. 1723 scenobata - funambulus] cf. Ioh. Cassian. *Conlat.* 23, 9: schoenobatis, quos uulgo funambulos uocant. 1724/26 Tentoria dicuntur - proteguntur] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 10, 1-2. 1734 sub umbraculo] *Ezech.* 31, 6. 17.

1726 ardore] ordore *Lo* 1728 hiemes$^{o\,rr}$] hiemens^{a,c} aestiuales^{corr}]aestiueles^{a,c} 1731 munimina^{corr}] mumimina^{a,c} ausilia] *lege* auxilia *Pl* 1732 castris *McKinlay*

dum exercet scenofactoriam artem. Docet .i. predicat. Celestia .s. habitacula. Condat .i. edificet. Manu .s. sua. Construit .s. Paulus, qui olim terrena manibus atri[t]a fabricabat, nunc uero oris sui spiritalia in cordibus fidelium edificat.

Vlteriora sequens lustratis finibus arua. Sequens, peragrans. Lustratis, peragratis. Arua .s. Efesiorum. (570) Docet, predicat. Ephesus ciuitas erat Asię, in qua est templum Dianę, quod depinxit mirabiliter Apollo. Ibi .i. in Epheso. Viros .s. XII. Quęsitor .i. inquisitor. Maduisse, aspersos fuisse. Ferunt, dicunt fatentur. Veniens Paulus Ephesum inuenit XII uiros, quos interrogauit dicens: *Si spiritum sanctum accepistis credentes*, et responderunt: *Neque si spiritus sanctus est, audiuimus.* Illi enim baptizati erant baptismo Iohannis, qui corpora tantum abluebat, sed originalia peccata non dimit<t>ebat. Baptizabat enim dicens: Baptizo uos aqua, ut credatis in eum, qui uenturus est post me, hoc est in Ihsum. Nam .s. dicunt. Expertes .i. inscios nominis .i. spiritus sancti. Hucusque .i. usque tunc. Trahi .i. duci. Dixerunt: *Neque si spiritus sanctus est, audiuimus.* Flumine .s. in: baptismatis. Abluit .s. Paulus. Ora .s. illorum .i. uariis linguis coeperunt loqui. Verborum .i. sermonum. Imbrem .i. multitudinem. Arma .i. iacula. De parte, uidelicet de baptismate Iohannis. Profani, impii scelerati. Bellare .i. pugnare, uerbi<s> .s. dicentes hos homines bis esse baptizatos, sed falluntur: in hoc nam baptismus, in his tipus .i. figura erat ueri baptismatis Xpisti. Tela .s. uerborum. | (580) Riga .i. profunde. Digna, /128^{v}/ acceptabilia. Tu .s. sis michi tu semita .i. uia. Linguę .i. ut lingua mea te inspirante loquatur. Dicture .i. locuture. Vsum .s. laudandum. Doni: quia tu primum das nobis et post nos reddimus tibi. Nomine .s. in. Venturi .s. Xpisti. Baptisma, aliud .s. Xpisti. Post .s. suum. Datur .s. baptisma Xpisti. Iure: quia in nomine sancte trinitatis efficitur. Sed quod, pro quia. Huius .s. Iohannis. (590) Vlterius .i. deinceps. Potest aliquis dicere, quod baptismus Iohannis melior fuit baptismo Xpisti, quia in ipso baptizatus est Xpistus. Ideo dominus baptizatus est a Iohanne qui non habebat peccata, ut faceret cunctis exemplum, ne aliquis dedignaretur baptizari a suo seruo, quia non homo baptizat, sed deus. Corpore .s. in quo non erat peccatum. Dignatus, sumere. Deluit .i. purgauit. Amnem .s. Iordanis.

1746/47 Ephesus - Dianę] cf. Hier. *In IV ep. Paul., Ad Ephesios*, prol., col. 470. 1750/51 Si spiritum - audiuimus] *Act. ap.* 19, 2. 1753/54 Baptizo uos - in Ihsum] cf. *Act. ap.* 19, 4. 1756 Neque si - audiuimus] *Act. ap.* 19, 2. 1768/70 baptismus Iohannis - Xpistus] cf. Aug. *In Ioh. euang. tract.* 13, 7.

1760 uerbis *Pl* 1762 profunde *Lo Pl*, perfunde *C* 1763 acceptabilia^{corr}] acceptabile$^{a.c}$ 1773 deluit] diluit *McKinlay*

Mergente deo .s. se ipsum. Tacto .s. a Xpisto. Dicens eis: *Ite .d.o.g.b.e.i.n.p.e.f.e.s.s.* [Commissa .i. peccata, cunta a se facta. Ideo dixerunt, quia apostoli in nomine eius baptizabant.] Opus .s. baptizandi. Dogmata, doctrinę. Plures .s. homines. Sciendum est, quia paucos baptizauit Xpistus, apostolos uidelicet, sed apostoli per totum orbem baptizauerunt, et cum hoc uidissent disscipuli Iohannis, dixerunt ei: *Rabbi, cui testimonium perhibuisti, baptizat*, licet Xpistus non baptizaret, sed apostoli eius. Serui .s. Iohannis. Lauacrum .i. baptismum. Fas, licitum. Veniente .s. lauacro dei. Ex quo .s. tempore. Dixerat prenuntius, preco Iohannes. Ista .s. uerba: *Qui post me uenit.* Prius .i. antea. Cur daret .s. Iohannes. Solitum .s. baptismum, quod ante solebat dare. Propriumque .s. suum. Quo tempore fecit Ihsus geri iam plenum baptisma uelud ante .s. dixerat Iohannes. Regula .s. baptismatis Xpisti. (600) Compulit .i. coegit. Renasci .s. illi, quos Iohannes baptizauerat. Prodidit, ostendit dicens: *Ecce agnus dei.* Canens .i. dicens. Ideo Iohannes aqua baptizabat, quia Xpistum nascendo nasciturum et moriendo moriturum nuntiauit, sic et bap|tizan- 29[1]
do baptizaturum. Geminum .i. dupplex. Profane .i. incredule. Modo alloquitur profanos. Dissona .i. discordantia non iterant, equalia uero iterantur. Si enim illi, qui baptizati erant baptismate Iohannis uel Xpisti, iterum baptizarentur, tunc esset iteratio. Repetitio rem tenet ipsam .s. non alteram. Verbi gratia. Si dixero unus, unus. Si uero dixero unus, II, III, non est iteratio nec repetitio. Illa .s. res. Foret pro esset. Et ipsa .s. res. Non altera redit, tunc bis esset. Principii .i. baptismus Iohannis. Finis .i. baptismus Xpisti. Singula .s. per se. Dici .s. potest. Semel .i. unum. Errore[m] .s. hereticorum. Grauantur .i. premuntur. (610) Quę .s. duo baptismata. Conlata, conparata. Diuisa .i. dissona. Non cogit .i. urget compellit .s. puerum. Si uult .s. ille puer. Fonte .i. per fontem baptismatis. Cum polluitur quicumque .i. aliquis qui ba<p>tizatur. Lacu .i. perditione. Nigredine .i. prauitate. Auerni .i. inferni. Hec dicit: Quicumque

1774/75 Ite - s.s.] Ambros. *De fide* 5, 9 = Aug. *Contra Faust.* 5, 3 = Hier. *In Isai.* 18, 66, 18 = Isid. *Etym.* 6, 19, 45: Ite, docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. **1779/80** Rabbi - baptizat] cf. *Ioh.* 3, 26: Rabbi ... cui tu testimonium perhibuisti, ecce hic baptizat. **1783** Qui - uenit] cf. *Ioh.* 1, 15. 17. 27 (*Vulgata*): Qui post me uenturus est, ante me factus est; Nouatianus, *De Trinitate* 14: Ioannes Baptista ... dicit: Qui post me uenit, ante me factus est; Ambros. *Expos. euang. Luc.* 2, lin. 564: Iohannes ... dicens: Hic est de quo dixi: Qui post me uenit, ante me factus est; Ambros. *De fide* 3, 10: Sic enim habet: Qui post me uenit. **1787/88** Ecce agnus dei] *Ioh.* 1, 29. 36.

1775/76 Commissa - baptizabant] *om. et add. in marg. Lo* 1793 repetitio rem] repetitiorem *Lo* 1797 errore *McKinlay*

ba<p>tizatus fuerit ab aliquo heretico uel scismatico uel pagano in nomine sancte trinitatis, non licet eum rebaptizari, quia non homo baptizat, sed deus. Si autem ita baptizatus fuerit ab heretico: Baptizo te in nomine patris maioris, in nomine filii minoris et in nomine spiritus sancti minimi, baptizandus est iterum. Dogmata .s. hereticorum. Trahunt .s. hunc sub nomine trino ad baptismum. Ne<c> qui[s] .s. baptizarent, sed quod dare possunt, explorare .i. inquirere solet .s. nostra fides superpositę manus baptizatum. Instituere .i. docuerunt. Manus .s. hereticorum. Quia inpositę manus alicuius heretici super puerum in baptismo faciunt eum uera loqui. Dicit enim: In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Repellitur, confunditur. Error[is] .s. hereticorum. In diuersa .i. in contrarium. Hos .s. XII uiros. Scriptura .i. actus apostolorum. Redit ad narrationem. (620) Numeri, duodenarii. Agmine .i. multitudi<ne>. Fuso .i. discumbentibus .V. milibus hominum per campos et per foenum et per contubernia .i. per societates. Contubernia .i. proprie est X milites et XII uocatur contubernium. Nasci .i. supercrescere. Semine .i. de abundantia. Da<m>norum .i. consumptorum | ciborum. /129v/ Lata est .i. consensa. Gloria iuris apostolici .i. ordinis.

Iam sermone potens Effesi conuerterat urbem / Paulus. Etheris .i. cum celestibus. Signis .i. iam ibi uexilla crucis ad[h]orabantur. Fulgebat .i. radiabat. Gloria .i. crux Xpisti. Petiere .i. rogauerunt. Absentes .i. infirmi homines. Sibi. Quando hoc? Cum nutarent .i. dubitarent titubarent. Per innumeros .i. multiplices, infirmitates. Nec reficere[n]t .i. refocilaret. Artificum .i. medicorum. Cum medici non potuissent sanare illos egros et Paulus non esset ibi, transmiserunt propter orarium eius et semicintium. Orarium est stola, semicintium genus sudarii. Fides ardens. Vapor ille .s. febris. Caloris .s. febris. Vt flamma fidei et dilectionis dei extingueret flammam febris. (630) Semicinctia .i. partes uestimentorum. Oblata .i. aportata. Fusa .i. inposita. Per artus .i. membra, infirmorum. Focos .i. calores ignes. Languorum .i. infirmitatum. Repostę, prepositę. Lues .i. infirmitates. In membris .s. languentium. Fluxere .i. redacte sunt. Erat tactus .s. uestimentorum Pauli. Vigor .i. uirtus spiritus sancti. Curans, sanans. Domus .s. illius cecitatis. A munere .s. sanitatis. Cessant .i. remanent. Quod .s. munus sanitatis. Ferunt .i. portant. Medica .i.

1808 nec qui *McKinlay* quod *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, quid *McKinlay*^{textus} **1809** possunt *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, possint *McKinlay*^{textus} **1810** instituere^{corr}] instuere$^{a.c}$ **1813** error *McKinlay* **1815** numeri] numisi *Lo* **1817** contubernia .i.] contubernium *P1* XII] undecimus *P1* **1821** etheris] aethereis *McKinlay* **1825** reficerent *Lo*, reficeret *McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, refecerat *McKinlay*^{textus} **1829** caloris] calori *McKinlay* **1830** semicinctia *McKinlay*, semintia *Lo* **1831** oblata *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, ablata *McKinlay*^{textus} **1833** in *om. McKinlay*

medicabili uirtute .i. potestate .i. sub ipso miraculo uestimentorum Pauli. Minax, crudelis. Per inane .i. per inanitatem aeris. Non solum illa uestis Pauli infirmos sanabat, sed demones fugere faciebat. Quare hoc? Ne sit polluta fabrica in homine creantis .s. dei. Solo .i. de limo terrę. Instar .i. similitudinem. Imaginis, Xpisti. Auctoris .i. creatoris. Pro pignore .i. pro munere. (640) Hospite .i. possessore demone. Inficiat .i. corrumpat. Odor .i. inmissio. Predonis .i. diaboli. Templum .i. hominem. Quia bonus homo templum dei est. Decoris .i. Xpisti. Quo tempore .s. quando ista fiebant. Iudea, adiectiuum pro Iudaica. Temptant .i. moliuntur. Modo loquitur de Sceua. Sceua quidam Iudeus fuit, qui habuit VII filios. Qui uidentes Paulum infirmos sanare et demo|niacos liberare, uoluerunt /130r ita agere, sed non potuerunt et a quodam demoniaco lacerati sunt. Sceua interpretatur uulpecula. Garriens .i. ridens. Sic .i. taliter. Affati, locuti .s. illi uiri. Proponimus .i. annuntiamus et nuntiamus. Et nos .s. Iudei, sicut et Paulus. Peruasum .i. inuasum occupatum .s. hominem. Vox .s. demonis. Xpistus qui sit .s. scio. Qui Paulus .s. sit. Sentio .i. scio. Vos ignotos .i. quos ignoro. Vitare .i. contemnere. Furorem .i. amentiam. Gens .s. o Iudea. Regnare .s. Xpistum. Venisse, in hunc mundum. Hoc ipso .i. ab hoc demone. Conuinceris .s. o Iudea. (650) Stimulante .i. decipiente. Ruis, cadis. Cui .s. demoni. Non datur .s. a Xpisto. Quod .s. eo quod. Terrore .i. propter timorem. Mouet, dicit. Confessionem Petri dilexit dominus, quia ex uoluntate et dilectione fuit, quando dixit: *Tu es Xpistus filius dei uiui.* Confessionem uero diaboli non dilexit, quia propter timorem fuit. Nam legitur: *Non est preciosa laus in ore peccatoris.* Voto .i. uoluntati suę. Prohibet .i. uetat. Quam .s. fidem. Lex .i. dilectio. Comitatur, sequitur. Vera fides .i. professio dei. Que, uox poetae, spectacula .i. quantam admirationem contigit inde geri. Plebi .i. populo. Quamue triumphalem coronam .i. accidit geri populo. Domino uincente .s. suos inimicos. Inde .i. ex hoc facto. Cum ipsi VII uiri imperabant demonibus exire ab homine in nomine Ihsu et non exiebant, sed cum impetu irruebant et dilacerabant eos, illi uero homines, qui talia uidebant, per predicationem Pauli crediderunt et gloriam adepti sunt. Rumpit .i. scindit, ira demonis. Amictus .i. uestimenta eorum uirorum VII. Frendens .i. stridens. Rabido murmure .i. insano clamore. Bene noxia .s. ipsa ira. Suis .s. uiris, cultori-

1843/44 Quia - dei est] cf. *1 Cor.* 3, 16. 17; *2 Cor.* 6, 16. **1848/49** Sceua - uulpecula] cf. Hier. *Liber interpret. Hebr. nom.* s.v.: Sceua uulpecula clamans uel loquens. **1858/59** Tu es - uiui] *Mat.* 16, 16. **1860** Non est - peccatoris] *Eccli.* 15, 9 (preciosa] speciosa *Vulgata*).

1846 quidam^{corr}] quidem$^{a.c}$ **1847/48** liberare - demoniaco] *om. et add. Lo* **1849** garriens] ganmens *Lo* **1867** qui] quia *Pl* **1869** rabido^{corr}] rabi$^{a.c}$

bus suis. Dissecat .s. demon dilacerat diuellit. Facies .s. eorum. Pericula .i. tormenta demonis. Victi, superati. Precipiti .i. furioso cruento, pauore. Ferox, crudelis. De clade .i. de periculo tuę dampnationis. (660) Oste .i. ab socio demone. Iudice .i. imperante. Quo .i. te, peccante. Reus .i. damnandus. Ideo noluit demon exire ab homine propter Iudeos, quia a Iudea reus erat. Licet enim Iudea .i. homines peccat, ipse cogit .i. facit, idcirco est et ipse demon reus. Fama, opinio. Et uocem, pro etiam. Edere .i. proferre | explanare. Dei .s. que Paulus predicat. Gaudent .s. populi[s] /130^{v}/ Ephesian<i>. Nouo .i. in quo renouatur homo. Omnibus .s. credentibus. Vna et innocens etas datur a domino omnibus, qui baptizantur, licet sint senes uel pueri, quia omnes ibi renascuntur in anima de uetustate peccati in nouam gratiam, sicut in baptismo: *Aut ętas in tempore aut sexus in corpore, omnes in una pariat gratia mater infantia.* Alii, ex illis .s. qui uenerant ad baptismum. Libris, in quibus erant depictę imagines et nomina demonum. Vitent, euadant. Ignibus .s. fidei. Ignes .s. inferni. (670) Ardua .i. excelsa .s. fuit. Fulgur .i. splendor. Fauille .s. conbustorum librorum. Fauilla dicitur a Gręco quod est fage et est esca ignis. Ideo petierunt cęlum, quia placebat domino, quod incendebantur magici libri. Imposuere .i. computauerunt appretiauerunt, libros. L milia nummorum: quare hoc? Quoniam meruere nocentes, criminosi. Sic .i. tali modo. Abolere, delere. Nefas .i. peccatum. Quinquagenario numero, hec est causa figurae .i. quid signet iste numerus, allegorizabit. Quinquagenarius numerus poenitentię est consecratus. Vnde .L.us psalmus penitentialis dicitur, in quo Dauid meruit habere remissionem peccatorum. Annus quoque .L.us iubileus uocatur .i. annus remissionis. Iudei autem in VII^{o} die celebrabant sabbatum. Multiplica ergo numerum VII septies, fiunt

1882/83 Aut ętas - infantia] *Sacram. Gellon.* rubrica 704a = 2317c = *Sacram. Engolism.* rubrica 757 = *Sacram. Augustod.* rubrica 539: Quos aut sexus in corpore aut aetas discernit in tempore, omnes in una pareat gratia mater infantia. **1887** Fauilla - ignis] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 16, 1, 2: Fauilla, quod per ignem effecta sit, nam 'phos' ignis est. **1893** psalmus penitentialis] cf. Beda, *De templo* 1, lin. 1223: quinquagesimus psalmus paenitentiae et remissionis; Iohannes Beleth, *Summa de eccles. officiis* 77: quinquagesimus psalmus scilicet Miserere mei, deus, qui est psalmus penitentie et remissionis. **1895** iubileus - remissionis] cf. *Num.* 36, 4. **1896/97** multiplica - XLVIIII] cf. Greg. M. *Hom. in Hiezech.* 2, 7.

1873 oste] *lege* hoste *McKinlay* **1874** quo] qua *McKinlay* **1878/79** populi Ephesiani *C P1* **1885** uitent *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, uitant *McKinlay*^{textus} **1886** fulgor *McKinlay* **1889** imposuere] posuere *McKinlay* **1892** signet] significet *P1*

XLVIIII; adde monadem, fiunt .L. Quinquagesimus annus itaque uocatur iubileus, in quo reuertitur possessio que empta fuit a possessore, exul quoque ad patriam, seruus etiam libertatem sumit. Resoluit .i. laxat indulget, sicut dictum est. Sacer numerus .i. quinquagesimus. Lege .i. in lege Moysi. Vt olim .i. sicut dudum. Deluit .i. purgauit. Quinquagesimo psalmo .i. *Miserere mei deus.* Fugat .s. ipse psalmus. Contractus .i. peccata, sicut ipse annus uenditiones et opera, quia in illo nemo laborabat nec etiam fructus colligebant Iudei. Iubileus annus remissionis interpretatur. | Distractio .i. uenditio. Ruris .i. terrę uel agri. Antiquo ero .i. primo domino. (680) Petit, repetit. Amissa, perdita. Coactos, seruos. Creditor .i. qui acommodauit. Vetus .i. antiquus. Exul .i. peregrinus. Distenditur .i. completur. Misteria concordat. Deprehensa .i. eleuata. Vadis .i. aquis diluuii. Tuta, protecta. Agit .i. facit. Salutem .s. hominum. Sub numero .s. quinquagesimo. Sicut enim arca detulit salutem illis per aquam diluuii, sic eclesia modo populis per aquam baptismi. Arca Noę CCC cubitorum fuit longitudine et L cubitorum latitudine et XXX altitudine. Decies autem fuit longior quam altior et sexies fuit longior quam latior. Per eam designatur eclesia, que in fluctibus persecutionum crescit .i. extenditur. Per opem .i. per ausilium. Parcentis .i. seruantis aquę. Arca in aquis figuram eclesię tenebat, que postea seruata crescit in undis baptismi. Venia .i. misericordia Xpisti. Capacem, acceptricem fidei. Coepta .i. inchoata. Fretis .i. aquis baptismi. Aruis .i. in terris.

Infelix Ephesi .i. apud Ephesum **Demetrius arte locabat** .i. fundabat fabricabat. Demetrius quidam argentarius erat Ephesi, qui fecit templum Diane. Faciebat ediculas in honore Dianę et propter hoc maius accipiebat premium. Delubra dicuntur uel a lubro .i. rasili ligno uel a deluendis tectis, eo quod sub uno tecto multa sacella deluantur. Sacella ipsa sunt altaria, simulacra sunt idola. Suętus, consuetus. (690) Vota, oblationes suas.

31r

1897/99 Quinquagesimus annus - sumit] cf. Maximinus(?), *Collectio Veronensis, De sollemn. sermo* 7: Nam et quinquagesimus annus est qui iobeleus dicitur apud Hebreos in quo et possessionum et seruitutis et debiti fit remissio; Beda, *De templo* 1, lin. 1223; Hier. *In Isai.* 2, 3, 3; Isid. *Etym.* 5, 37, 3; 6, 18, 5. **1902** Miserere mei deus] *Psalm.* 50, 3; 55, 2; 56, 2. **1911/12** Arca Noę - altitudine] cf. *Gen.* 6, 15. **1914** eclesia - crescit] cf. Aug. *De cat. rud.* 27: arca, sacramentum futurae ecclesiae ... quae nunc in fluctibus saeculi natat. **1922** Delubra - deluendis] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 4, 9: delubra a diluendo; Isid. *De differ. uerb.* 407: delubra a diluendo appellata.

1900 indulget[corr] indulgeat[a.c] **1901** deluit] diluit *McKinlay* **1905** ero] *lege* hero *McKinlay* **1908** deprehensa *Lo McKinlay*[varia lectio], depressa *McKinlay*[textus] **1915** ausilium] *lege* auxilium *Pl*

Maiore, quia magnum questum inde adquirebat. Caedere monimenta .i. memoriam. Videns Demetrius recedere templa Dianę per predicationem Pauli ingemit .i. ualde dolet. Excitat, commouet. Ira<s> .s. aliorum artificum contra Paulum. Non pudet .i. non reuerecundamini uos. Suspexit .i. sursum aspexit, ueneratus est: quia | Diana tunc per totum orbem uene- /131^{v}/
rabatur. Mortalibus .s. hominibus. Vltra, amplius. Que .s. est. Si non .s. dii manebunt. Que simulacra .s. possunt dari. Sacellis .i. aris uel tectis. Que .s. et tura. Focis .i. ignibus. Quos .s. deos. Territat .i. timere facit. Gerimus .i. facimus. Pro nomine .i. in honore. Diuum .i. deorum. Metalla .i. deos nostros. Quorum .s. deorum. (**700**) Religio .i. cultura. Penates .i. domestici dii. Pulsi .s. ab urbe. Dicti autem penates, eo quod essent in penetrabilibus locis .i. in secretis domorum, et interpretantur quasi poenam patientes. Lapsura, casura. Ruinis, casibus templis. Video edem .s. Diane. In cinerem .i. in ruinam. Stragem .i. perditionem .s. uideo. Fana dicuntur templa a Greco, quod est fone .i. uox, eo quod ibi responsa deorum dabantur. Quam arcem .i. dignitatem sublimitatem. Quando non possunt dii nostri liberare nos. Qua<m> opem .i. quod suffragium. Quibus .i. nobis. Interclausa facultas .i. inpedita possibilitas. Operum .s. in fabricandis idolis. Crimen .i. peccatum. Foret pro est .s. nobis fecisse Dianam .i. templum eius, si non pugnemus pro eo contra aduenam Paulum. Verba sunt Demetrii adhuc. Pergite: hortatur suos socios, ut insurgant aduersus Paulum. Tempus .s. ut pugnemus pro diis nostris. Vltimus .i. si desperamus, ut non pugnemus pro cultura nostrorum deorum. Via .i. causa. Vincere .i. non desperare. Victis .s. nobis. Sors, euentus. Triumphi .i. uictorię. Supernis .i. diis. Mouisse .i. concitasse. Telis .i. cum armis. (**710**) Vota, preces. Arma .s. nostra. Reposcant .i. restituant reforment. Fremit, irascitur contra Paulum. Vocant .i. cum dicerent Magnam Dianam Ephesiorum. Tunc omnes conueniebant et uiri et mulieres. Prepete .i. ueloci. Itur .s. ab illis. Obscenum .i. turpe. Theoro Grece uideo, inde thea<t>rum dicitur locus spectaculorum. Sed Paulus non iuit, quia discipuli eius noluerunt. Non decuit .i. oportuit. Lasciuos

1928/29 Suspexit - ueneratus est] cf. Isid. *De differ. uerb.* 540: Suspicere sursum aspicere, aut uenerari. **1935/36** penates - secretis] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 8, 11, 99: Et penates dicti, quod essent in penetralibus, id est in secretis. **1952** Magnam - Ephesiorum] cf. *Act. ap.* 19, 28. 34. **1953/54** Theoro - dicitur] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 2, 34; 18, 42, 1.

1925 caedere] cedere *McKinlay* monimenta *McKinlay* **1927** iras *McKinlay* **1931** dii *om. et ss. Lo* **1937** templis] templi *P1* **1938** cinerem *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, cineres *McKinlay*^{textus} **1941** quam *McKinlay* **1942** interclusa *McKinlay* **1946** insurgant^{corr}] insungant$^{a.c}$ **1949** supernis] superis *McKinlay*

.i. dis|solutos homines. Tractare .i. diffinire. Alio foro .i. in alio loco .s. nisi in theatro. Capit, recipit. Area, theatrum. Nam dignum erat, ut sicut Diana sordida erat, in sordido loco tractaretur .i. locus deformis turpe tenet consilium. Impetus .i. concursus, hominum amentia. Fluxit .i. defecit. Labitur .i. spargitur. Dispersus .s. per auras. Sicut, inquid, fumus qui labitur in uacuas auras ab oculis, nulla uestigia retinens dispersus ipse fumus, sic et consilia eorum defecerunt. Miseranda .i. crudelis uel miseratione digne execranda. Exclamatio poete. Cui .i. Dianę. Prestare .s. obsequium uel uitam. (720) Cur .s. cum eget adiutorio hominis. Teste .i. testimonium prebente. Eruitur .i. expellitur. Sacellis .i. sacris locis. Quo iure .i. qua[m] lege. Pauescis .i. times .s. Dianam. Celoque .s. quo iure: temptas hoc in terris. Ordo .i. ratio. Explorandum .i. inuestigandum. Modo allegorizabit, quod signet, quod Demetrius ex solo argento fabricabat edes et non ex aliis metallis. Per argentum designatur eloquentia, per aurum intellectus. Iste Demetrius <.i.> argentum habebat eloquentiam sine auro .i. intellectu. Sapientia sine eloquentia multum proficit, eloquentia uero sine sapientia nichil. Hec duo iuncta perfectum hominem reddunt, et hę sunt nuptię Mercurii et Philologię, quas habuit Martianus. Per Mercurium eloquentia, per Philologiam sensus intellegitur. Latebris, secretis. Apertis .i. reseratis. Atria .i. edes. Solo: et non alio metallo. Plura .s. metalla. Natura .i. terra. Ista .s. atria. Fingeret .i. conponeret. Animentur, uiuificarentur. Fusis uultibus .i. ad similitudinem animalium. Era .i. metalla. Promittunt .i. af<f>irmant. Ingenii .s. artificis. Cautes .i. lapides. (730) Sanctiloquos .i. sancta loquentes. Voluamus .i. replicemus. Iter .i. uiam istius rationis, cur Demetrius ex solo argento edes faciebat Diane. Scriptura .s. diuina. Canat .i. *eloquia domini eloquia casta* etcetera. Inclite .s. o. Altius .i. profundius quam iste psalmus. Populo .s. Israelitico. Talia .s. mandata. Dictas .i. precipis. Decori | .i. pulchritudini 32v
tabernaculi. Quod .s. aurum. Hic intellegens spiritalem sententiam

1969 argentum - eloquentia] cf. Aug. *Ciu.* 17, 5: argentum autem pro eloquio poni psalmus testis est. **1970** per aurum intellectus] cf. Aug. *Sermo* 50 (ed. SL 41): omnis enim sapientia quae nomine auri figurate significatur. **1972** eloquentia uero - nichil] cf. Cic. *De inuentione* 1, 1 ut existimem sapientiam sine eloquentia parum prodesse ciuitatibus, eloquentiam uero sine sapientia nimium obesse plerumque, prodesse numquam; Isid. *De differ. rerum* 148: Eloquentia sine sapientia ualere non potest. **1981** eloquia - casta] *Psalm.* 11, 7.

1958 deformis[corr]] defirmos[a.c] **1966** qua[m]] qua *P1* **1967** explorandus *McKinlay* **1968** signet] sigent *Lo* **1970** <.i.>] *add. ex P1* **1973/75** Philologię quas - intellegitur[corr]] Philologiam sensus intellegitur[a.c] **1977** animentur *Lo* *McKinlay*[varia lectio], animantur *McKinlay*[textus] **1982** inclute *McKinlay*

aurum et argentum precepit Moyses offerre domino .i. intellectum et eloquentiam. Dura materies .i. perseuerans fides. Metalli .i. intellectus. Nam ex perfecta fide uenit aurum .i. intellectus. Sub corde .s. nostro. Illud .s. aurum. Exagitat, commouet per figuram. Quod .i. intellectum et fidem puram. Aurum detulerunt magi ad Xpistum, quia ille plus inquirit sanctam fidem. Obtulit .i. offert. Aurum .i. intellectum. Cui .s. menti. Pariter .i. simul cum auro. Ministrat .s. Moyses .i. offert. (740) Argentum .i. eloquium. Cui .s. menti. Voce .i. eloquio. Timphana .i. intellectus et sensus. Colant .i. adorent. Iuncta .i. aurum et argentum .i. intellectus et eloquium. VII sunt genera metallorum: *aurum, argentum, stagnum, electrum, aes, plumbum et ferrum, quod domat omnia.* Tipus dicitur herba que tacta tumorem generat .i. inflationem. Inde timpanus nomen sumit, qui fit ex coriis tensis et siccis. Vnde quia inflatus est, dulcem sonum dum percutitur reddit. Sensus .i. fides de pectore. Sonus de sermone .i. eloquium. Sic .i. tali modo, tali intellectu. Legis .s. Moysi. Parari hoc .i. intellectum et eloquium, quia nos sumus pia templa dei. Prescia .i. prophetica. Vbi dicitur: *Habitabo in illis et inambulabo et ero illorum deus.* Et apostolus: *Templum dei sanctum est, quod estis uos.* Quod .i. prophetica uerba. Reuelat .i. manifestat. Cum ait: *Corde creditur ad iustitiam.* In corde salus, in uoce confessio. Sacrilego .i. Demetrio. Res una .i. eloquium sine sapientia. Cuius .s. Demetrii. Facundia .i. eloquentia. Animos .s. Ephesiorum. Norma .i. regula doctrinę eclesiasticę. Sine iudice .i. sine spir<it>ali ratione iudicante. (750) Nec uenire .i. procedere. De uirtute .i. intellectu. Cui .s. Demetrio uel operi. Pars .i. eloquentia sine sapientia. Dicatur .i. dedicatur. Que .s. pars. Inops .i. indigena, sine ope rationis .i. spiritalis intellectus. Nudam .i. sine spiritali intellegentia.

Tu quoque signa ferens titulos in carmine nostro. Quoque .i. sicut | Ephesus et Corintus. Ferens .i. habens. Signa .s. Pauli. Repone .i. insere. /133r/
Titulos .i. laudes tuas. Adde .i. adiunge. Triumphos .i. uirtutes puplicas. Qui .s. triumphi. Clarius .i. nobilius melius. Actu .i. operatione Pauli.

1994/95 aurum - omnia] Isid. *Etym.* 16, 17, 1. **1995/96** Tipus - inflationem] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 17, 9, 100-101. **1996/97** Inde timpanus - siccis] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 3, 22, 9. **2000** nos sumus - dei] cf. *1 Cor.* 3, 16. 17; *2 Cor.* 6, 16; Aug. *Enarr. in Psalm.* 94, 6. **2001** Habitabo - deus] *2 Cor.* 6, 16 (habitabo] inhabitabo *Vulgata*). **2002** Templum - uos] *1 Cor.* 3, 17. **2003** Corde - iustitiam] *Rom.* 10, 10. **2009** Inops - sine ope] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 10, 145: Inops, qui sine terra est: opem enim terram intellegimus.

1992 timphana] tympana *McKinlay* **1994** genera metallorum] generam etallorum *Lo* **2003** in corde] corde *McKinlay* **2009** ope rationis] operationis *Lo*

Vero .i. antiquo: bello. Fuera[n]t enim obcessa a Grecis per X annos et non capta per uim nisi per ingenium. Troia Grece et Latine uocatur, Ebraice Troada. Vnde et Paulus: *Venimus Troadam.* Magis .i. plus. Quam reboant .i. resonant tua bella pomposo coturno .i. nobili carmine. Que .s. bella descripsit Virgilius et Pompeius et alii poete .s. clarius apparebis carminibus Pauli quam illorum. Coturnum genus calciamenti est, quod solebant portare uenatores et poetę, aptum utrique pedi. Ponitur autem pro ipso carmine. Lingua .s. Pauli. Colona .i. seruiens. Semina .i. predicamenta. Foeta .i. plena fecunda. Spargeret .i. seminaret. In seram .i. in tardam. Produxit .i. prolongauit, quia usque ad mediam noctem prolongauit suum sermonem. Lingua Pauli colona erat dei, quia predicando uerbum dei excolebat corda auditorum. Factura .s. ipsa lingua. Animis .i. cordibus audientium. Micuere .i. splenduerunt. Corusce .i. fulgentes. (760) Lampas Grece lux, inde lampo -pas .i. luceo. Igne .i. amore. In cordibus illorum audientium erat nox, sed lingua Pauli erat ibi factura diem. Excubiis .i. uigiliis. Viuacibus .i. uitalibus. Exul .i. alienus: quia ille solus dormiebat in fenestra, ideo alienus erat a sermone Pauli. Omnes alii uigilantes audiebant. Mersa .i. sopita grauata. Commisit .i. tradidit. Parta pro parata. Vox poętae. Quies, somnus. Somno .s. incredulitatis. Bono .i. bonitate Xpisti. Ruinis .i. casibus periculis. Patet .i. manifestus est. Ille .s. homo. Nox .i. infidelitas mentis. Numquam .s. et qui. Egrum caput .i. infirmitatem. Resuscitat .i. ut euigilet ad penitentiam. Meliora .s. bona. Patitur .i. permittitur. Ille enim patitur dormire deo, qui in tenebris erroris positus est. Adulte .i. adolescens Eutice. Chaos .i. perriculum. Parte .s. fenestrae. Ruiturus .i. casurus. (770) Pendula .i. que[m] pendent et in precipitio sunt. Prono .i. | lubrico inclinato. Humilis homo quasi in terra /133^{v}
uidetur esse inclinatus. Iste uero, qui elatus erat et superbus, ideo ascendit 'celsa pendula'. Poteras .s. o adolescens. Meliore .s. quam in ista fenestra .i. in uerbo. Recubare .i. iacere. Velle .s. poteras. Aditum .i. ingressum.

2017 Venimus Troadam] cf. *2 Cor.* 2, 12: cum uenissem autem Troadem. **2020/21** Coturnum - poetę] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 19, 34, 5-6. **2025/26** predicando - auditorum] cf. Beda, *In Ezram et Neem.* 3, lin. 1659: corda auditorum praedicando succendunt. **2040/41** Humilis - inclinatus] cf. Aug. *Sermo* 315 (PL 38, 1430): quod Stephanus humilis, Christus sublimis: quod ille ad terram inclinatus, hoc Christus in ligno suspensus.

2015 obcessa] *lege* obsessa **2016** Grece] Greci *Lo* **2023** foeta] feta *McKinlay* **2031** dormiebat^{corr}] dormiebant$^{a.c}$ **2032** tradidid *Lo* **2038** parte^{corr}] perte$^{a.c}$ **2039** que *Pl Pm* **2041** inclinatus] inclinatos *Lo*

Cui .i. Xpisto. Limine .i. introitu. Peruia .i. aperta sicut ipse dixit: *Ego sum*
ianua. Lauate .i. laute. Ad uitam .i. ad ipsum Xpistum. Rabidas .i. rabidam insaniam diaboli. Cura est .s. uobis. Euitare .i. effugere. Lacerabitur .i. discerpetur .s. ouis. Fugax .i. fugiens. Qui .s. pastor .i. Xpistus. Euocat .s. ad fidem. Sparsos agnos .i. dispersos homines. Vocibus .s. suis .i. apostolis, qui sunt uoces eius. (**780**) Non sinit .i. non permittit. Amari .i. sęui.
Sonuere .s. pro morte Eutici. Tumultu .i. clamore. Redit ad narrationem. Gemitu .i. ululatu planctu. Miserata .i. misericordia commota. Frequenti .i. multiplici. Locum .s. in quo iacebat Euticus. Qui .s. locus. Funere .i. de morte. Acerbo .i. crudeli. Laetitiam: quia resuscitat[ur]us erat ille puer a Paulo. Cui .s. adolescenti. Ad<h>erens .i. adiungens incumbens.
Pecctore .i. anima eius intra ipsum est. Vocem .s. Pauli. Vita[m] .i. resuscita[tur]us est Euticus, quia statim ut dixit Paulus 'uiuit', reddita est ei uita. Repulsa .s. a Paulo. Fugit .s. ab eo. Quantum .s. miraculum. Apostropham facit ad Xpistum. Redditus .i. in cęlis ascendens. Iura .i. regna celestia. Regis .i. gubernas. Quod pro quia. (**790**) Orta .i. nata.
Spoliauit .s. ipsa caro. Reuocasti .i. resurgere fecisti. Voluisti mori: non ut in eo mors haberet potestatem, sed illo uolente. Ex qua .s. parte. Ferrea .i. dura .s. inferni. Non solum per te, sed etiam per famulos tuos. Aliis .s. mortuis sicut Eutico. Redit, sed .s. ideo redit. Te auctore donata .s. est ipsa lux. Qui .i. tu. Subdita .s. tibi. Cogis .i. conpellis. Et pro etiam.
Succumbere .i. subiecta esse. Felix .s. iam. Redit ad narrationem Eutici. Meliore: quia resuscitatus erat et iam credebat. Sospes .i. incolumis sanus. (**800**) Adesse .i. astare. Vite .i. resuscitationis. | Loeti .i. mortis. Conuertit /134r/
.s. ad uitam. Facti .i. patrati miraculi. Instruit .s. nos .i. docet. Aperire .i. manifestare. Modo allegorizabit, quid significent illa tria cenacula, de quibus puer cecidit. 'Veterem figuram' uocat antiquam speciem arcę, de qua loquitur. Fulta .i. sustentata. Cameris .i. solariis. Describitur .s. a Moyse. Documenta .i. exempla figuram. Arca Noe tricamerata fuit uel sicut LXX dicunt bicamerata fuit et tricamerata. Bicamerata in inferioribus et trica-

2044/45 Ego sum ianua] *Ioh.* 10, 7: Ego sum ostium ouium; *Ioh.* 10, 9: Ego sum ostium, per me si quis introierit; Aug. *In Ioh. euang. tract.* 20, 6: ipsum audi dicentem: Ego sum ianua; Aug. *Enarr. in Psalm.* 86, 3 = 90, 1, 1 = 95, 3: Ego sum ianua; Aug. *Contra aduers. legis et proph.* 2, lin. 493: ait dixisse dominum: Ego sum ianua ouium; Cassiod. *In Psalm.* 126, lin. 162: ipse dicit: Ego sum ianua.

2045 lauate *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, leuatae *McKinlay*^{textus} **2051** miserata *McKinlay*, mira *Lo* **2053** resuscitatus *P1*, resuscitaturus^{corr}] resuscicitaturus$^{a.c}$ **2055** pecctore] *lege* pectore *McKinlay* uita *McKinlay* **2060** uoluisti] uoluisse *McKinlay* **2061** ex] et *McKinlay* **2067** loeti] leti *McKinlay* **2071** loquetur *P1* **2072** documenta *McKinlay*, decumenta *Lo*

merata in superioribus. Quinque enim mansiones ibi fuerunt, sed iste tres annumerat. Prima mansio fuit stercoraria. Secunda apotecaria, ubi erant cibi. In prima uero mansione in tricamerata erant ferae et bestię, in secunda mansueta animalia, in tertia homines et aues. Per istam arcam designatur eclesia, quia sicut ista recepit feras et bona animalia, ita et eclesia recipit bonos et malos, licet non teneant unum locum, quia iustus manet in sua sanctitate, malus uero in sua peruersitate. Ordine primo .s. camerę. Pars hominum .i. Noe et filii eius cum uxoribus. Pecudes .i. mitiores bestie. Sors .i. pars. Addicta .i. deputata ad<h>ibita adiuncta. Feris .i. ferocioribus. Per undas .s. diluuii. Fontis .s. renouationis. Omnibus .s. credentibus. Moribus .i. uirtutibus .i. secundum mores hominum. Quia quidam sunt ibi boni et quidam reprobi. **(810)** Hebreus .s. sermo. Inest .i. iustus et requies. Qui s<c>ilicet Xpistus. Diuidit .i. distribuit. Equus ipse .i. iustus. Premia .i. unam remunerationem. Suis .s. fidelibus. Virtutis .i. iustitie. Alta, sublimia. Petens .i. ascendens ad gradum eclesię. Stat .s. ipse. Infra .s. hos .i. subtus pedes Noe et aliorum sanctorum. Minor .i. manet. Ingenio breuiore .i. qui minoris est sanctitatis. Sors dedita .i. pars dedita. Sęuis .s. operibus. Ima, ultima. Tartareum sinum .i. infernalem locum. De parte .s. cenaculi. Oris .i. finibus. Hesit .i. adhesit. Ratione .i. habitatione. Locum .i. infernalem. Pectore .i. supra pectus. Cui .i. Eutico mortuo. Verbum .s. ut | surgeret. Paulum uocat sapientiam. Fudit .s. et 34v/
postquam infudit. **(820)** Ore .i. uerbo. Carnali .i. lege .s. peccati. Perempta<m> .i. mortuam interfectam. Epistola[m] .s. Pauli. Clamat .i. *surge qui dormis et exsurge a mortuis et illuminabit te Xpistus.* Perurget .i. admonet. Ardua .i. cenacula. Stare .s. resuscitatus a Paulo. Dogmate .i. predicatione sancte trinitatis. Comperit .s. ipse puer .i. cognouit.

Iamque peragratis Paulus stationibus .i. finibus. Stationes orbis dicuntur loca, ubi homines stant. Solimam dicunt poetae causa metri. Venturus erat Paulus ad Ierusalem portaturus illuc benedictionem, quam trans-

2075/77 Prima mansio - et aues] cf. Beda, *In princip. Gen.* 2, 6; Andreas de S. Vict. *Expos. super Heptat., In Gen.* lin. 1423: Quinque mansionibus distincta fuit arca: Prima (id est infima) fuit stercoraria, secunda apothecaria, tertia immitium animalium et serpentium, quarta mansuetorum animalium, quinta (id est suprema) hominum et auium. **2078/79** eclesia - malos] cf. Aug. *Sermo* 264 (PL 38, 1216): ecclesia ... non potest nisi habere bonos et malos: ideo arca illa et munda et immunda habebat. **2097** surge qui - Xpistus] *Eph.* 5, 14 (te] tibi *Vulgata*). **2100/01** Stationes - stant] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 3, 67, 1; 14, 8, 39. **2101** Solimam - metri] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 1, 5: Haec et corrupte a poetis Solyma nuncupata est.

2080 primo *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, primae *McKinlay*^{textus} **2092** de *om. McKinlay* **2096** peremptam *McKinlay* epistola *McKinlay*

mit<t>ebant gentes, quia ibi magna fames erat. Quo[s] .i. ad quam. Noto .i. cognito. Perpetuum .i. perpetuam salutationem. Amicis recedentibus 'uale' dicimus, etiam mortuis dicebant antiqui 'uale', 'uale' eo ordine quo decreuit natura: cuncti sequemur te. Vndique .i. ex omni parte. Sacros .i. sanctos sacerdotes. (830) Red<d>ens .i. profer[r]ens. Caro .i. puro dilecto. Regressurus inde Paulus alloquitur gentes. Delecta manus .i. ualde electa multitudo. Militat .i. pugnat. Armis, celestibus uirtutibus. Meministis .i. ad memoriam reducitis. Amoris .s. quem habui in uobis. Studii .i. curę. Documenta .i. doctrinam. Promptus .i. uoluntarius. Agmina .i. impetum et rabiem. Tuli .i. abstuli sustinui. Sine fine .i. cessatione. Furores .i. iras .s. quare hoc? Vt darem .s. uobis. Nullum .s. hominem. Narrata .i. predicata a me. Fides .s. Xpisti. A sanguine .i. a peccato. Mundus, quia dominus per prophetam dixit: *Si non annuntiaueris iniquo iniquitatem suam, ipse in peccato suo morietur, sanguinem uero eius de manu tua requiram.* Debitor .s. ego. Clausa .i. absconsa. Luam, persoluam: si non sum auarus diuini uerbi, sicut ille qui abscondit unum talentum domini sui. Euangelium tetigit. Sterilem .i. me auarum fuisse. Culpabit .i. accusabit. Ager .i. populus. Inde .i. ex semine diuini uerbi, quod predicaui uobis. (840) Vsuram .i. lucrum. Vsura dicitur illud, quod crescit uel superabundat de accommodata re, quando parum datur et plus accipitur. Mala autem usura terrena est, bona uero | spiritalis, que fit, cum uerbum /135r/ dei audiatur et cum uera fide in perfecto corde a<c>crescens bonis operibus impleatur. Venerit .s. ad iudicium. Discussor .i. inquisitor inuestigator iudex. Reposscet .i. requiret. Crementa .i. au<g>menta. Mensurę .i. usuraę celestis. Michi .s. Paulo. Germina .s. predicationis. Sensibus .i. animis audientium. Ardor .i. desiderium. Credita .i. com<m>endata. Sulcis .i. rugis hoc est cordibus fidelium. Sparsimus .i. seminauimus. Ad pro sed. Fructus .s. operum suorum. Tenues .i. modicos. Mala terra .i. sterilis sensus .i. homo infructuosus. Dolebit .s. in die iudicii. Vrbem .i. Ierusalem. Quo .i. ad urbem. Iussa .s. dei. Luctamen .i. pugna. Agonis .i. certaminis. Hic .i. in Ierusalem. Paulus sciebat se ibi esse multa passurum. Cuncta .s. pericula. Subibit .i. pro domino sustinebit. Cursum .s. certaminis sui. Mitissima .i. lenissima suauissima. Vota .i. uoluntates. Gerunt .i. susti-

2115/17 Si **non** - requiram] *Ezech.* 3, 20 (si non - ipse] quia non adnuntiasti ei *Vulgata*). **2119** Euangelium] cf. *Mat.* 25, 24-25.

2103 quo *McKinlay* **2104** cognito^{corr}] cognoto$^{a.c}$ **2108** delecta *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, dilecta *McKinlay*^{textus} **2122** accommodata re^{corr}] accommodare$^{a.c}$ quando] quandodeo *Lo* **2124** adcrescens *C P1* **2126** reposscet] *lege* reposcet *McKinlay* **2129** rugis^{corr}] rigis$^{a.c}$ ad *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, at *McKinlay*^{textus}

nent. Regni .s. celestis. Facultas .s. est .i. adquisitio. (850) Pati .s. sustinere retributiones. Regnare est pro deo pati. Ministri .i. o episcopi et presbiteri. Pretium .s. perfecit .s. Xpistus. Famuli .s. Xpisti. Cernitis pro cernetis .i. uidebitis. Vltra .i. amplius. Vigilantius .i. at<t>entius quam ante. Oro .i. obsecro uos. Commisso .s. uobis. Lustrate .i. custodite. Rapaci .i. cum uenenata suggestione. Ouile .s. Xpisti. Lupi .i. demones uel heretici. Custodia .i. custos uel pastor. Culpa est pastoris, qui gregem custodire debet, si aliquid de grege captum fuerit. Raptor .i. diabolus. Inertis .i. pigri uel insipientis. Fraude .i. incuria neglegentia. Predo .i. fur diabulus. Et pro etiam. Acrior, seuior. Hostis .i. scilicet diabolus, qui callidior est quam lupus. Intus .i. in corde uel in anima. Grauius .s. quam ulla pestis. (860) Que .s. discordia. Vulnus .s. liuoris. Pace .s. simulata. Per lupos, quos superius dixit, intelligit paganos, qui non interius eclesie sunt, sed exterius, quia non credunt. Ideo leuius pugnant. Cum dicit 'acrior', intelligit hereticos, qui agnoscunt iam fidem, sed male | diuidunt et ideo /135^{v} seuiores pugnant in eclesia, quia intus sunt, et hoc est quod dicit Paulus. Ne c[r]edite .i. non detis locum. Duris .i. asperis casibus et futuris malis. Virtuti .i. fortitudini. *Otiositas inimica est animę.* Damnosa .i. periculosa est. Quies .i. requies. Coronat .i. remunerat. In stadio .i. in certamine. Stadium est area, ubi ludi fiebant. Securus .i. quietus. Quia sic legitur: *Nullus coronabitur, nisi qui legitime certauerit.* Gloria .i. remuneratio. Forti .i. robusto militi. Laboris .i. pugnę. Rarus .i. tardus .s. erit. Semen .i. initium pugnandi. Quia nisi esset hostis, non haberet homo, cum quo pugnaret. Hinc .i. ab hoste. Oritur .s. uictoria. Plantaria .i. semina uirtutum. Fęcundare .i. multiplicare. Planta .i. uirga incisa uitis uel alicuius arboris. Plantarium uero uirga cum radice. Per sua .i. per gratiam spiritus septiformis. Ad sua .i. ad supernam remunerationem. Ministrat .i. bonum quod prestat alicui, ipse ministrat Xpistus in precedendo, quod adiuuat in subsequendo. Ego .s. Paulus. Luxu .i. auaritia. <Fallente .i.> decipiente.

2137 Regnare - pati] cf. Petrus Vener. *Aduersus Iud. inuet. dur.* 3: dolores portare regnare est. 2153 Otiositas - animę] Benedictus de Nursia, *Regula* 48, 1; Sigebert. Gemblac. *Gesta abbat. Gemblac.* pag. 537, lin. 11; Aelred. Rievall. *De instit. inclusarum* lin. 255; Paschas. Radb. *Expos. Psalm.* 1, lin. 44; cf. *Eccli.* 33, 29: multam enim malitiam docuit otiositas. 2156 Nullus - certauerit] *2 Tim.* 2, 5: qui certat in agone, non coronatur nisi legitime certauerit; Greg. M. *In librum primum Reg. expos.* 4, 47 = Ambros. Autpert. *Vita sanct. patrum Paldonis, Tat. et Tas.* 18: Nemo coronabitur, nisi qui legitime certauerit.

2140 commisso] commissos *McKinlay* 2144 diabulus] *lege* diabolus *P1* 2152 cedite *McKinlay* 2164 fallente .i.] *add. ex P1 (McKinlay)*

Superbas .i. aurum et argentum et uestes, que superbum faciunt hominem. Alterna merces est, cum pro bono opere accipit remunerationem. Tuli .i. non accepi a uobis. Superbus dicitur, eo quod se supra id quod est ostendit; Grece dicitur yperifanos. Munera .s. terrena. Sumpsi .i. suscepi. (870) Vos .i. uestram potius salutem. Quam uestra .s. munera temporalia. Scitis .s. o Asiani. Vt .i. quomodo. Cum sociis .s. meis, quos mecum adduxi. Assuescite .i. consuetudinem habete. Gazas .i. diuitias uestras. Proferre .i. dare erogare prestare pauperibus .s. sicut ego, quia ille diuidebat pauperibus, quod suo labore accipiebat. Operum .s. uestrorum. Locare .i. reponere. Quęsisse .i. inuenisse .s. in defossis locis .s. terrę. Claudat .i. reponat celet .s. homo in terra. Celabat .s. antequam inueniretur. Metallum aliquod, quod abscondebat terra, nil prodest produxisse illud ex terra, si iterum auara manu recondatur et pauperibus non erogetur. Quod .s. aurum. In paupere, per elemosinam. Surgit .i. crescit. Cęco antro .i. obscuro foramine. Obscura .i. auara. Manu[s], illius qui non largitur. Laxate .i. aperite: mentes uestras ad suscipiendam predicationem meam. Respuat .i. spernat. Vllus .s. uestrum. Gregi .i. multitudini pauperum. Tecta, hospitia. Hosspite .i. in peregrino | . (880) Oscula .s. cunctis. Simul .s. cum illis. Flexit .s. prostrauit se in orationem. Omnes .s. qui aderant. Fluxere .i. commoti sunt. In hoc enim maxime erant constricti, quia dixit se non uidendum amplius ab eis. Per undas .s. maris. Sequi .s. illum. Optutu .i. uisu. Carinam .i. nauim, in qua ferebatur. Obpositas .i. contra positas. Lumina .i. oculos. Additur .i. crescit. In pelagus .i. per mare. Nubes uocat caligines maris. Rapta .i. arrepta. Flabris .i. uentis. Nota .s. intuentibus. Inmagine .i. suasione. Mentes .s. aspicientium. Affectu .i. desiderio. Quia quo magis eum desiderabant, eo longius recedentem aspicere uolebant. Ait .s. Paulus. Patet .i. manifestatur. Ratione .i. in ternario numero. Figura .i. spiritalis sensus. (890) Qui .s. doctor. Canit .i. predicat. Edit, conponit profert. Historicum .i. literalem modum. Morale .i. moralem sensum, qui ad morem hominum pertinet. Tipicum .i. spiritalem sensum. Historicus liber est Genesis, moralis Salomon, typicus euangelium uel cantica canticorum. Sic etenim: sicut eclesia suscipit

/136r/

2167/68 Superbus - ostendit] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 10, 248. **2193/96** Historicum - canticorum] cf. Bernard. Claraeu. *Sentent.* 3, 116: Hi tres panes tres intellectus sapientiae designant: historialem, mysticum et moralem.

2174 in defossis *P1*, inde fossis *Lo* 2175/76 inueneretur *Lo* 2179 manu *McKinlay* 2182 hospitia^{corr}] hospita$^{a.c}$ hosspite] *lege* hospite *McKinlay* 2186 optutu] *lege* obtutu *McKinlay* 2188 ma**re *Lo* 2189 inmagine] *lege* imagine *McKinlay* 2193 modum^{corr}] modo$^{a.c}$ 2195/96 typicus^{corr}] typicum$^{a.c}$

III^{es} sensus. Vasa .i. idrię. Metrętas .i. mensuras. Quę .s. metręte. Rubuere .i. rubicunda facta sunt. Aqua uersa est in uinum, sic et uetus lex uersa est in nouam. Forma .i. species. Canistro: <canistrum> uas est ex uimine factum. Sacrificii .s. quando offerebatur in pentecoste. Tres panes iubebat antiqua lex offerre de primitiis frugum in canistro. Quibus .s. panibus. III^{es} panes .i. cognitionem sanctę trinitatis. Profecto .i. pro certo, sine dubio. Hic .i. in presenti uita. Verbi .s. dei. Escas .i. cibos. Exhibeas .i. porrigas .s. o quęsite: uocatiuus. Dapes .i. spiritales diuitias. Volentem .i. hominem, cupientem uerbum dei. (**900**) Numerum .s. trinitatis. Substantia simplex .i. una diuinitas. Nec semel .i. una uice, sed multis uicibus. Canunt, dicunt. Angariat .i. constringit. Angariare est inuitum hominem explere itineris necessitatem cogere. Inquit .s. Xpistus in euangelio. Vnum .s. miliarium. *Si quis*, inquit, *te angariauerit rogans ut pergas cum eo unum miliarium, uade et alia duo* .i. si aliquis te inter<r>ogauerit de patre, dic ei de filio et spiritu sancto. Nonne uidentur .s. a nobis mandata hec loqui. Hoc .s. quid est, si quis te consulit .i. interrogat. Errans .i. infidelis, nesciens uiam, quę | <ducit> ad uitam. Ignarus .i. inscius. Viae /136^{v}/ .s. sanctaę trinitatis. Malis .i. si magis uolueris illi prodere patrem .i. manifestare. Subiunge libens: filium et spiritum sanctum. III^{res}: personę sunt. Vnus .s. deus .i. deitatis natura. Hinc .i. ad hanc credulitatem sanctę trinitatis. Vacans .i. otiosa inanis. Sterilis .i. infructuosa. (**910**) Fructum .s. fidei et boni operis. Tribus annis .i. sub lege, ante legem, sub gratia. Spernens, despiciens. Quod .s. eo quod. Triplici sensu .i. historialiter,

2201 antiqua lex] cf. *Num.* 6, 15-16; *Exod.* 29, 2-3. **2202** III^{es} panes] cf. *Luc.* 11, 5. III^{es} panes - trinitatis] cf. Aug. *Ep.* 130, 8: tres panes, quibus fortasse ipsa trinitas unius substantiae figurata est; Aug. *Quaest. euang.* 2, 21: tres panes ... ut ei tribuant intellegentiam trinitatis; Aug. *Sermo* 105 (PL 38, 620): tres panes, hoc est, ad cibum et intelligentiam trinitatis; Isid. *Alleg. quaedam sanctae Script., Ex Nouo Test.* 209: tres panes ... ut det ei scientiam trinitatis. **2207/08** Angariare - cogere] cf. Christianus Stabul. *Expos. in euang. Mat.* col. 1312: Angariare a Graeco uenit et significat cogere ambulare. **2209/10** Si quis - alia duo] *Mat.* 5, 41 (*Vulgata*): et quicumque te angariauerit mille passus, uade cum illo alia duo. **2210/11** si aliquis te - sancto] cf. Chrom. Aquil. *Tract. in Mat.* 25; Aug. *De sermone Domini in monte* 1, 61. **2218** Tribus - gratia] cf. Aug. *Expos. ep. ad Gal.* 46; Aug. *De doctr. christ.* 2, 16: tria tempora ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia; Aug. *Expos. quar. propos. ex ep. ad Rom.* 12: quattuor istos gradus hominis distinguamus: ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia, in pace; Beda, *In prim. part. Sam.* 2, 9: tria tempora ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia intellege.

2198 in uinum - uersa est] *om. et add. in marg. Lo* **2199** canistrum] *add. ex Pl*
2212 hec *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, hoc *McKinlay*^{textus} **2213** ducit] *add. ex Pl*

moraliter et allegorice. In numeris .s. sanctę trinitatis. Dare .i. offerre. Munera .i. fidem credulitatis.
Nobile quasi non uile. Templum, quod Salomon ędificauit, tamen postea destructum fuit a Caldeis et iterum ad similitudinem eius reedif[f]icatum est a captiuis, a Zorobabel et Esdra. **Nobile iam templum [Salomo] Salomonis Paulus adire.** Templum dictum est quasi tectum amplum uel a contemplatione[m], eo quod ibi contemplentur uota et sacrificia, que diuine persoluuntur maiestati. Et nota, quod primum Moyses tabernaculum domino condidit, deinde Salomon prudentiam petiturus templum instituit mirabili opere et ornatu atque decore fabricatum, postea fides catholica et religio xpistiana in toto mundo nunc usque ad finem atria eclesiarum in honore Xpisti construxit. Sollemnia .i. uota sacrificia antiqua munera. Timeba[n]t enim Iudeos, qui uocabant eum destructorem legis. Corripit, arguit increpat. Corripere est uelociter arguere. Manus, multitudo Iudeorum. Rabido tumultu .i. iracundo fremitu. Reum .i. debitorem. Conclamat .s. ipsa manus. Tribunus, Lisias uidelicet armatus. Euolat .i. exilit erumpit. Et tulit eum Iudeis uolentibus cito mortem eius, et ligatum suis castris transmisit. Quę dura tormenta .s. catenarum. Incumbunt .i. manent. Afflictis lacertis .i. ligatis brachiis. Non animum .s. Pauli. (**920**) Canit, dicit. Quod .i. hoc. Quod: quamuis ligentur membra, non ligatur animus. Lumine .i. sapientia et uirtute. Vinciri .i. ligari. Ministros .i. predicatores. Fidem .s. que in eorum cordibus est. Verbum .s. dei. Non esse, uerbum dei alligatum. *Tribuni uocati, quod militibus siue plebibus uel iura uel opem tribuerent. Constituti sunt autem XVII anno post reges exactos* .i. compositos. *Dum enim pleps a senatu et consulibus premeretur, tunc ipsa pleps sibi tribunos .i. quasi proprios iudi*|*ces et defensores creauit, qui eorum libertatem [in]tuerentur et eos aduersus iniuriam nobilitatis defenderent.* Vnde et defensores dicti, eo quod plębem sibi commissam contra insolentiam inproborum defenderent. Gradibus .s. theatri uel scalarum. Constitit .i. stetit .s. Paulus. Plebi .s. Iudeorum. Hebreo[s], quia /137r/

2222 Nobile - uile] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 10, 184: Nobilis, non uilis. 2224 Zorobabel et Esdra] cf. Hier. *In Abdiam* lin. 562. 2225 Templum - amplum] cf. Sedul. Scottus, *In Donati artem mai.* 2, pag. 297: templum dicitur quasi tectum amplum. 2225/26 Templum - a contemplatione] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 15, 4, 7: a contemplatione templum dicebatur. 2227/31 Et nota - construxit] cf. Isid. *De eccles. officiis* 1, 2. 2242/47 Tribuni uocati - defenderent] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 9, 3, 29; 9, 4, 18 (tribuunt *Isidorus*; XVII] sexto *Isidorus*; tuerentur *Isidorus P1*).

2229 instituit[corr]] instuit[a.c] mirabili[corr]] mrabili[a.c] 2232 timebat *P1* 2235 conclamat *Lo McKinlay*[varia lectio], conclamant *McKinlay*[textus] 2238 afflictis] astrictis *McKinlay* 2242 tribuni[corr]] tribu[a.c] 2249 Hebreo[s]] Hebraeo *McKinlay*

Hebreus erat. O fratres .i. o iuuenes. Patres .i. maiores. Nostis, scitis. Rudem .i. nouellum puerulum. Doctrinę .i. *secus pedes Gamalielis*. Amore .i. studio. Paulus genere Iudeus fuit, a Tarso Cilicie natus et Ierosolimis ad pedes Gamalielis adductus, ut legem disceret. Vobis, principibus sacerdotum. Vtor .i. fruor. Quia uos bene scitis hoc quod dico. Quorum .i. uestrorum. Scripta, epistolas. Ardebam .i. cupiebam. Cedę .i. interfectione. Damasci .i. apud Damascum. Xpisticolas .i. Xpistum colentes. Punire .i. dampnare. Hanc fidem .s. dei, quam predico. Prohibere .i. arcere. Mortalia .i. mortales homines. (930) Certare .i. repugnare. Certo tibi dicebant antiqui, sed nos dicimus certo tecum. Clausura .i. excęcatura. Aucta .i. maior facta. Latuit .i. abscondita est, mihi. Caligantes, obumbrantes. Orbibus .i. oculis meis. Incumbunt .i. sidunt. Quarum .s. tenebrarum. Cum nocte .i. cum oculorum cęcitate. Iubar .i. lux cęlestis. Discernere .i. diuidere dilucidare, utrum sit bene an male. Euentus .i. finis: quia res quando inchoatur, ignoratur, utrum bene an male finietur; postquam uero facta est, discernitur. Vidimus pro uidi. Vmbras .i. tenebras oculorum. V[i]suri pro u[i]surus .i. fruituri. Sole .i. Xpisto. Et pro etiam. Auribus .s. meis. Ad aures descendit clamor .i. uox. Repetito .i. iterato: *Saule Saule*. Terrore .s. suae uocationis. Quatit .i. concutit. Signifer .i. ego hostis. Bellare .i. bellum inferre. Bello tibi dicebant antiqui et modo nos dicimus bello tecum. Quo iure .i. qua lege. Negabo .s. Xpistum, propter uestrum timorem. (940) Vox interrogantis. Quo ferente .i. Xpisto arguente. Cado .i. corruo. Cuius .s. Xpisti. Munere .s. uocis. Pronus, prostratus. Attollor .i. eligor transferor. Meliore .s. quam antea, quia cecidit de infidelitate et surrexit ad fidelitatem. Ardua .i. excelsa et celestem inluminationem. Sublimis, factus .i. excelsus erectus. Sequor .i. pro ruina et cecitate mea diuinę illuminationis munera consequor. Ciues .i. | iudices. Conmouimus .s. contra hanc fidem Xpisti. Vox Pauli increpantis Iudeos. Dubium .i. incertum. Pars illa .s. xpistiana. Que .s. pars beata. Fungitur .i. utitur fruitur: teste hoste suo. Pulcra est, inquit, uictoria, cum duo homines inter se litigant et ille qui uictus est, dicit se esse uictum et alterum habere uictoriam. Sic Paulus dicebat uictus esse a Xpisto. Libet .i. placet. Esse .s. uos inpugnatores Xpisti. Lucete .i. illuminamini. Quia ideo cęcus ego fui, ut uos illuminarem. Cui .i. mihi, postquam baptizatus fui. Visum .i. lumen oculorum et mentis. Fides .s.

37v

2251 secus pedes Gamalielis] *Act. ap.* 22, 3. **2252/53** Paulus genere - disceret] cf. *Act. ap.* 22, 3. **2268** Saule Saule] *Act. ap.* 9, 4; 22, 7; 26, 14.

2255 cedę] caede *McKinlay* **2266** usuri *McKinlay* **2277** conmouimus] mouimus *McKinlay*

Xpisti. Imago, cecitas et peccatum infidelitatis. Mortui enim non uident sicut ceci. Saxea .i. lapidea, Iudeorum corda. Seminibus .i. preceptis et monitis. (**950**) Qui .s. Iudei. Patiuntur .i. sustinent. Sterilem humum .i. infecundam terram .i. corda eorum. Laboris .i. de labore suo uacui erant, qui legendo in lege laborabant, sed que de Xpisto legunt, non intellegunt. Post .s. cecitatem. Hec .s. uerba. Vrbe .i. ab Ierusalem. Relicta .s. a me. Pergere .i. ad gentes recedere. Potius, melius. Cane .i. predica .i. adnuntia nomen meum. Protinus .i. statim ut audierunt. Quęrulaę .i. garrule murmuratrices. Phalanges .i. multitudines Iudeorum. Proiciunt .s. ut essent leuiores ad occidendum Paulum. Acto .i. proiecto .s. in aera. Ventosa .i. inflata. Fremunt .i. clamant. Personat .i. proclamat. Discrimina .i. dampnationem. Vulgus .i. multitudo. Dicebant eum non esse fas uiuere. Auctorem .i. Xpistum. Dicta .s. uerba, dicens: *Tolle tolle crucifige eum.* Sic dicis et in Paulum. Fuit .s. tibi. Obtio .i. electio. Inde adoptiui dicuntur electi. A uerbo opto optas. Inde dicitur: da michi obtionem .i. electionem. (**960**) Clamosa tibi .i. ad tuam perditionem. Quem uelle<s> .s. [silicet] Ihsum an Barraban. Triste .i. interfectionem domini. Gaudia .i. sollemnitatem pascalem. Electo .s. et reprobato Xpisto. Geminas .i. dupplicas .s. dicens: *Crucifige crucifige eum.* Sęua .i. crudelis .s. facta. Placata .i. clemens. Cuncto, in omni uictoria. Vacuam .s. Xpisti ausilio. Locas .s. te statuis. Ipsis .s. lapidibus tormentis. Tormenta .i. lapides. Amictum .i. | /138r/ uestes. Nunc .i. in cede Pauli. Cares .i. proicis uestimenta. Cognata .i. propinqua socia. Quia et ipse nudus fuit. Portas .s. o Iudea. Onus .i. peccatum ueteris transgressoris. Adam transgressor diuini mandati factus uestem amisit inmortalitatis. Quam nuditatem isti, qui Paulum persequebantur, non erubuerunt, sed proiecerunt uestimenta spiritalia simul cum corporalibus. Contraria .i. tu inimica. Ortu .i. natiuitate, exordio sui peccati. (**970**) Nudus .i. spoliatus iam dei gratia et inmortalitate. Antea non cognouit esse nudum, quia non habuit motionem animi ad uoluptatem carnis perficiendam. Hinc .i. ex nuditate. Patuere .i. manifesta sunt.

2286 lapidea Iudeorum corda] cf. Rupert. Tuit. *Liber de diuinis offic.* 4, pag. 138: lapidea corda Iudaeorum. **2296** Dicebant - uiuere] cf. *Act. ap.* 22, 22: dicentes: Tolle de terra eiusmodi non enim fas est eum uiuere. **2297** Tolle - eum] *Ioh.* 19, 15. **2298/99** adoptiui - optas] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 10, 20. **2299** da michi obtionem] cf. Aug. *De pecc. mer.* 3, 7 = Hier. *Adu. Iouin.* 2, 2: optionem ei damus. **2303** Crucifige - eum] *Marc.* 15, 13. 14; *Ioh.* 19, 15.

2292 quęrulaę] *lege* querulae *McKinlay* **2298** obtio] *lege* optio *McKinlay* **2299** opto] apto *Lo* **2300** uelles *McKinlay* **2304** ausilio] *lege* auxilio *P1* **2310/11** cum corporalibus[corr]] concorribus[a.c]

Documenta, initia. Noxę .i. penę. Misero .s. Adę. Te subit .i. penetrat .s. o Iudea. Crebra .i. frequens. Origo .i. nuditas. Malis .s. operibus. Interserit .i. inmittit. Habitum .i. nuditatem. Bis .i. in morte Stephani et in morte Pauli. Culpa .s. tua. Adam semel fuit nudus, tu o Iudea frequenter spoliaris. Iam bella tribunus: Redit ad istoria<m>. Ardere .i. commouere .s. Iudeos in mortem Pauli. Fera .i. pessima .s. duas catenas. Addidit .i. apposuit. Torquendum .i. flagellum. Nota .i. cognita. Querela .i. questio. Locis .s. in suis. Vt sit .i. qualiter sit. Superanda .i. diluci-da<nda>. Canemus .i. dicemus. Quando uidelicet Damascum pergens ad exercendam sanctorum cedem, cecatus est. Gesta .s. sua. Loquens .i. adnuntians Iudeis, qui commitabantur cum illo. Lumina .i. supernam claritatem. Conspexisse .i. uidisse. Vocem illam .s. que celitus auribus eius inmissa est. Hausisse .i. audisse percepisse. Haurio est uideo uel audio uel aquam accipio. Et audisse etiam leguntur secundum Lucam. Sicut Lucas refert, socii Pauli uiderunt et audierunt, quando ille cecus cecidit. Secundum uero ipsum Paulum uiderunt, sed non audierunt. Secundum Lucam uiderunt et audierunt corpore. Secundum Paulum uiderunt, sed non audierunt mente, quia non crediderunt. Audire enim est credere. (980) Sic .i. taliter. Variat .i. discordat. Opus .i. factum. Narrantis .s. Pauli. Vtrumque .s. audisse corpore et non audisse mente. Concinat .i. concordet. Haut, non, dubium .i. sine dubitatione[m]. Tunc .i. secundum Lucam. Feruntur .s. comites Pauli. Sonum .s. uocis celitus demissum. Non audisse .s. feruntur uocem .i. secundum Paulum. Via .i. intellegentia. Simplex .i. aperta. Rationis .i. audiendi et non audiendi. Iure .i. recte. Vox .s. non esse, quam non capit | aliquis mente. Confusa est uox /138v inanis. Loqui .s. a predicatore. Dari .s. alicui homini. Illud .s. uerbum, quod percipit corde. Sermone .s. doctoris. Potest aliquis dicere, quod non audiuit uocem, si non intellexit. Quod .s. uerbum. Condi[di]t .i. recollocat. Accipiens .i. ille qui accipit. Diuerberat .i. percutit. Auras .s. non mente<m>. Stimulatus .i. percussus agitatus. Ambiguus .i. dubius. Dubia[m] .i. in uacua inani. Sic .i. taliter. Audisse .i. secundum Lucam non audisse .i. secundum Paulum. (990) Altera pars .s. est uacua. Sonitus

2330 Secundum uero - non audierunt] cf. *Act. ap.* 22, 9: Et qui mecum erant, lumen quidem uiderunt, uocem autem non audierunt eius qui loquebatur mecum. **2330/31** Secundum Lucam - corpore] cf. *Act. ap.* 9, 7: Viri autem illi qui comitabantur cum eo, stabant stupefacti, audientes quidem uocem, neminem autem uidentes. **2332** Audire enim est credere] cf. Petrus Chrysol. *Sermo* 102, lin. 38: Qui audit, credit; Aug. *In Ioh. euang. tract.* 22, 3: audiendo credit.

2320 fera *McKinlay*, sera *Lo* **2322/23** delucidanda *P1* **2335** dubitatione *P1* **2342** condit *McKinlay* **2344** mentem *P1* **2345** dubia *McKinlay*

.i. uocis exterioris. Certa .i. uera uidelicet que mente accipitur. Fert .i. portat. Refert .i. reportat. [Refert .i. reportat]. Geminam .i. auditum corporalem et auditum spiritalem.

Agmina .i. multitudines **subplicii feruentia in corpore Pauli**. Graues .i. atroces.. Euoluere .i. explicare. Versibus .i. carminibus. Causa .i. ratio uel materia. Lingua .s. nostra. Pauet .i. pertimescit .s. loqui talia supplicia Pauli. Dolor, uocatiuus. Fugiamus .i. recedamus. Veriti .i. nos timidi .s. dicere. Nefas, peccatum. Premamus .s. tacendo. Eloquium .i. sermonem. Legens, lector. Ora .i. faciem. Humescat .i. humida fiat. Pagina .s. libri. Guttis .s. lacrimarum. Gutta dicitur dum stat, stilla uero dum cadit. Hinc uocantur stillicidia dependentes partes tectorum, per quas aqua pluuialis dilabitur. Hec .s. supplicia. Animos .s. Iudeorum. Cruentos .i. sanguinolentos. Ardet .s. in Iudeis. Scelerum .i. peccaminum. In sanguine .i. in interfectione. (**1000**) Versare .i. uibrare. Que dura uota .i. quanta crudelia fuerunt uota illorum .s. quomodo inposuere .i. statuerunt deuouerunt interdixerunt. Quater deni, XL. Alumni .i. filii. Vesane .i. insane. Stirps .s. Iudeorum. *Alumnus* dicitur *et qui nutrit et qui nutritur.* Sumere .i. gustare. Quam .s. priusquam. Parta .i. preparata, morte. Daretur .s. illis interfectio Pauli. XL uiri de Iudeis uouerunt se non manducaturos neque bibituros, donec occiderent Paulum. *Sicut unitas bonorum semper utilis est, sic malorum unitas semper bonis noxia est. Cum ergo dominus dicat: "Beati, qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam", isti econtrario iniquitatem sitiunt et esuriunt, in tantum sanguinem sitiunt, ut cibos corpori abdicent, donec iusti morte satientur. Sed non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra dominum.* Hinc .i. ex morte Pauli. O .s. cupis. Pallida .i. tenebrosa. Imago .i. similitudo. Meliora .i. digniora. Laticis .i. aquę. Mensas .s. ciborum. Esuris .i. cruciaris fame. Facinus .i. peccatum. Saturam | .i. /139r/ satiatam. Exemplo .s. suo. Consum<m>ata .s. ipsa ieiunia. Moyses non propter hoc ieiunauit, ut hominem occideret, sed ut legem acciperet. Tot diebus .i. quadraginta. (**1010**) Quot tela .i. quantos homines .i. XL. Quot

2356 Gutta - cadit] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 13, 20, 5: Gutta est quae stat, stilla, quae cadit. **2357** stillicidia] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 13, 20, 5. **2363** Alumnus - nutritur] Isid. *Etym.* 10, 3: Alumnus ab alendo uocatus, licet et qui alit et qui alitur alumnus dici potest; id est et qui nutrit et qui nutritur. **2365/66** XL uiri - Paulum] cf. *Act. ap.* 23, 12-14. **2366/71** Sicut unitas - contra dominum] Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 23, lin. 15-25 (cum ergo] cum *Beda*; iniquitatem sitiunt - sanguinem sitiunt] iniquitatem esuriunt et sanguinem adeo sitiunt *Beda*; cibos] etiam cibos *Beda*). **2367/68** Beati - iustitiam] *Mat.* 5, 6.

2347 certa *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, certae *McKinlay*^{textus} **2350** in *om. McKinlay* **2362** stirps] strips *Lo*, stirpis *McKinlay*

homines erant, tot et arma in Paulum leuabant. Moues .i. properas ad interfectionem Pauli. Secretas .i. oc<c>ultas. Patuisse .i. apertas fuisse in deserto. Vbi .i. in deserto. Diuite nimbo .i. abundanti pluuia. Fluxerunt .s. tibi. Cibi .i. manna. De rore .i. pluuia[m]. Rorem uocat pluuia<m>. Diues nimbus .i. locuples extitit filiis Israel manna de celo fluens. Fudit .i. manauit. Rupes arida .i. petra sicca. Vicissim .i. per uices frequenter. In quo .s. numero XL annorum. Parentes .i. patres tui. Supernis .i. celestibus. Animas pro uita dixit. Proprium est epiteton uitae cibus corporeus. Ab ipso .s. quadragenario. Polluta .i. iniqua uel iniquas cuniurationes, pactiones .i. conuentiones. Agminis .i. multitudinis XL uirorum. Mors .s. Pauli. Id est non solum illos XL uiros, sed etiam omnem multitudinem Iudeorum contra Paulum seuientium. Hec .s. federa .i. coniurationes. Vulgante .i. pronuntiante. Propinquo .i. nepote Pauli. Parent .i. instruant. Aduersa .i. insidias inimicicias. Nepos Pauli filius sororis eius, qui erat unus ex XL uiris, nuntiauit Lisię consilium Iudeorum et decepit eos. Monet .s. Lisias. Otius, uelocius. (1020) Clam .i. occulte. Tegi .i. celari. Cautus .i. circumspectus. Obscurum .s. Iudeorum .i. occultum. Preuenit .i. preoccupauit. Lectis .i. electis. Maniplis .i. cohortibus et legionibus. Imperat .i. iubet. Tuto .i. securo protecto. Conmitentur .i. deducant. Transmisit eum Cesaream Philippi, ubi era[n]t Felix preses. Maniplus dicitur ex[c]ercitus quingentorum militum. Sic autem dicti uel quod mane inirent prelium uel quia Romulus primum tantę paupertatis extitit, ut bellaturus maniplum feni suae haste inligaret. Hinc maniplus dicitur exercitus. Meritis .s. dignis. Delator, o proditor. Apostropham facit ad nepotem Pauli. Foret pro est. Et ad premia .s. accipienda. Proditione .i. ex manifestatione, de qua nemo remuneratur nisi tu solus, quia in bono fuit. Delator dicitur, qui aut facultates prodit alienas aut caput inpetit alienum. Dicit ergo: Cum proditio semper displicere soleat, quia mala est, tu tamen, delator honeste, dignus es gloria, quia | hec proditio bona fuit, que /139^{v} studuit denudare consilium Iudeorum, ut non occideretur Paulus. Constantia .s. non obseruata sed manifestata, consilii. Ledit .i. maculat. Sceleris .i. peccati tui. In crimine .i. in malo consilio Iudeorum. Crimen .i. peccatum erit tibi uirtus .i. reuelatrix mali consilii. Facinus .i. peccatum. Sociantur .i. coniunguntur. Culpa .s. manifesti consilii. Quia sicut

2396/2400 Maniplus dicitur - exercitus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 9, 3, 50; 18, 3,

2379 abundanti^{corr}] abundantia$^{a.c}$ 2382 rupes *Lo McKinlay*$^{paria\ lectio}$, rupis *McKinlay*^{textus} 2384 uitae^{corr}] uitare$^{a.c}$ 2385 iniqua *P1*, inaqua *Lo* 2392 uelocius^{corr}] uolotius$^{a.c}$ 2393 circumspectus^{corr}] circumspeptus$^{a.c}$ 2395 conmitentur] *lege* comitentur *McKinlay* 2401 et] est *McKinlay* 2408 sceleris *Lo* *McKinlay*$^{paria\ lectio}$, sceleri *McKinlay*^{textus} 2409 facinus *McKinlay*, facimus *Lo*

Iudas proditor fuisti tuorum sociorum, erit tibi fides, quia in bono fecisti tuam culpam. Quam .s. fidem o delator. Laudibus .i. premi<i>s. Honor .s. omnipotentis. Pia .i. sancta: cum red<d>iderit unicuique iuxta opera sua. Stipantibus .i. circumdantibus. Armis .s. militum. (1030) Adit .i. uenit. Quo .i. in Cesarea. Turba .s. Iudeorum. Fulta .s. ipsa turba .i. adiuta. Rethore .s. Tertullo. Qui .s. Tertullus. Presidis .i. Felicis. Potitus .i. adeptus hanc potestatem, ut in aure presidis loqueretur. Tertullus erat quidam rethor .i. eloquens illius patrię, quem Iudei miserunt ad Felicem, ut Paulo contradiceret. Rhesis Grece locutio. Inde rhetor dicitur orator, qui peritiam habet loquendi. Irrita .i. inutilia peruersa. Dedit .i. dicit contra Paulum. Contra .s. Tertullum. Optime preses .i. princeps. Beniuolum facit presidem, priusquam dixerit causam. Dudum .i. olim. Omnes .s. nos. Iusticie .i. omnem iusticiam diligere. Hanc .s. iusticiam. Comitem .i. sociam et ipsam bonitatem, quam habes. Consiliis: quia cuncta agis cum consilio. Gratia .s. tuę iusticiae et bonitatis. Suadet .i. confortat me. Fidere .i. confidere in te. Dubium .i. periculosum incertum. Legis .s. Moysi. Modo se excusat ante presidem. Violauimus .i. destruximus. Vsum .i. morem a Moyse constitutum .i. quomodo sacrificare in templo. Vago .i. inutili seditioso. Populares .i. uulgares. Vrbibus .s. in quibus predicauimus. Soluere .i. reddere. Dona .i. oblationes et uota et elemosinas, quas gentes transmit<t>ebant Ierosolimis. Ibi enim tunc magna fames erat. (1040) Cepimus .i. inchoauimus. Spectantia .i. pertinentia .s. ipsa dona. Ad purum .i. ad iusti<ci>am et simplicem oblationem uotorum meorum. Quis .s. hominum. O Felix. Liber .s. a malis. Si res .s. quia uolui offerre oblationes meas ex Asia ueniens. Nocentem .i. reum aliquem hominem. Haud, non. Timens, | ante te. Discrimina .i. pericula uel mortem. /140r/ Formidare .i. timere. Fides .s. Pauli. Quam .s. fidem, quę est uia luminis. Audent .s. Iudei. Sectam .i. heresim Grece, et dicitur a sequendo, eo quod unusquisque suam uoluntatem sequitur. Nec discordare .s. eloquar. Iura .i. leges. Nouellis .i. ab euangelicis legibus. Fas .i. licitum est, iustum est. Inde .i. de tumulo. Cum flagellaretur Paulus a Iudeis, uidens, quod una pars Phariseorum resurrectionem esse dicebat, altera uero pars Saduceorum negabat, dixit illis de resurrectione Xpisti. Obstipuit .s. ad uerba Pauli. Amisso: quia iam infelix uocabatur. Amisit enim suam felici-

2419/20 Rhesis - loquendi] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 2, 1, 1. **2438/39** Sectam - sequendo] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 8, 3, 4; Beda, *Expos. Act. ap.* 24.

2412 premiis *C P1* **2432** spectantia^{corr}] sepectantia$^{a.c}$ **2433** iusticiam *Pm* **2436** timens] metuens *McKinlay* **2440** eloquar *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, eloquor *McKinlay*^{textus} **2443** obstupuit *McKinlay*

tatem, ubi Paulum dei apostolum ligari iussit. Vincula .s. Pauli. Quem .s. Felicem. Reum .i. miserum. Quorum .s. uinculorum. Obice .i. oppositione strictione. (**1050**) Festi, proprium nomen. Anno .s. in quo erat Festus recepturus principatum. Nam omni anno dignitates mutabantur. Vsque annum illius seruauerunt Paulum. Hinc .i. ab hoc loco .s. de passione Pauli. Morentur .s. uel decursio et finis nostri libri [.s.] uel descriptio laborum beati Pauli. Gaudia nostra .s. ueniendo Romam. Certamina .s. linquimus hic .s. que sustinuit Paulus. In foro .i. aput Cesaream Philippi. Contra quem dimicabant Festus et Teocretus et Agrippa rex est Asiriorum. Forum est locus in unaquaque ciuitate, ubi sancti certamina sustinent. Non in Campo Martio fuit hoc, ut quidam dicunt, quia Campus Martius Rome est tantum. Doli .i. fraudes contra Paulum. Crebro .i. manifesto. Latium dicitur Italia, eo quod latuerit Saturnus. Hic autem pro Roma ponitur. Nam talia .s. inquit Paulus. Solium .i. tribunal. Ap<p>ello .s. e<g>o Romanus. Opem .i. auxilium. Cui .s. Paulo. Festus .s. dixit. Abibis .s. o Paule. Quia *Cesarem ap<p>ellasti, ad Cęsarem ibis.* Visure .i. aditure. Tribunal .i. iudicium. Stimulante .i. compellente pungente, timore. Discrimina .i. pericula mortis. Vitauit .i. declinauit. Onus .i. pondus iudicantium. Mens .s. Pauli dico. A<n>xia .s. erat .i. sollicita. Paulus semper cupiebat pro Xpisto mori. (**1060**) Pro uita .i. pro eterna patria. Paulus non propter metum mortis cupiebat | Romam uenire, sed 140v
adhuc populum Romanum deo adquirebat, et quia dixit ei Ihsus, quod Romam uenturus erat. Preconi .i. Paulo nuntio suo. Haustum .i. potum. Pocula .i. predicamenta uite. De uase .i. Paulo, qui erat *uas electionis.* Rigari .i. irrigari perfundi. Iubet .s. ipse dominus. Venustas .i. excellentia et pulchritudo. Nominis occidui .i. occidentalis .i. Romani imperii. Lumine .i. predicatione Pauli. Verbi .s. diuini. Nobis qui sumus in occidente, quasi in oriente est Roma, et illis qui sunt in oriente, quasi in occidente est. Disligauerat nauim Eoo orientali.

Soluerat Eoo classem de litore[m] uector .i. nauta gubernator nauis. Nactus .i. adeptus adiutus consecutus. Austri .s. uenti. Cum illi, qui Paulum Romam ligatum ducebant, nauim introissent, auster uentus prospere cedebat illis. Auster uentus est Ierosolimam nauigantibus prosper, Romam uero uenientibus contrarius. Cuius .s. austri. Spiramine .i. flatu.

2457 Latium - Saturnus] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 14, 4, 18; 15, 1, 50. 2460 Cesarem - ibis] *Act. ap.* 25, 12. 2466/67 quia dixit - erat] cf. *Act. ap.* 19, 21. 2468 uas electionis] *Act. ap.* 9, 14.

2449 usque] ad *add. P1* hinc *Lo McKinlay*$^{\text{pars lectio}}$, hic *McKinlay*$^{\text{textus}}$ 2452 in *om. McKinlay* 2457 Latium] Larium *Lo* 2463 anxia *McKinlay* 2474 litore *McKinlay*

Findebat .i. sulcabat diuidebat. Laeta crebrescente uia .i. prospera currente uia. Patentibus alis .i. expansis apertis: quia uela uento cedunt et eos in se recipiunt. Metafora est rei inanimatę sensum tribuens. Nam uela non habent alas, sed propter celeritatem nauigantium dicuntur 'alata'. Vela dicuntur etiam armena, eo quod aere moueantur. Clas<s>is dicitur Grece apotu kalin .i. a lignis. Vnde et calones dicuntur nauiculae, que militibus ligna afferebant. (1070) Doli .i. fraudes. Dolus in uentis semper est. Nam dum homines sperant omnem tranquillitatem habere nauigantes, subito tempestas urgente uento, qui antea quasi securitatem monstrabat, insurgit. Eurus uentus est contrarius de Cesarea ad Italiam nauigantibus. Quies .i. tranquillitas. Tumidis .i. commotis inflatis. Incanduit .i. efferbuit, candida facta est. Ceruleus color est uiridis, quem mare habet. Ficta .i. non uera. Furit .i. ebullit irascitur. Vndique .i. ex omni parte. At<t>ollens .i. sursum eleuans. Irato .i. commoto. Gurgite .i. mari. Moles .i. procellas, magnitudines undarum. 'Irato' metaforice dixit. Denegat .s. mare illis, qui in naui erant. Abrepte .i. confractę. Carine .i. naui. Orta iam tempestate ignorabant, | qua parte irent. Nulla<m> enim uiam sciebant. /141r/ Suspensa .i. eleuata. Polis .i. celis. Deiecta .i. demissa iterum. Aruis .i. in terris. Sequax .i. insequens caelos et terras. Nauis pariter cum undis extollebatur usque ad cęlos et simul usque ad terras deiciebatur. Manus .s. nautarum. Apta, congrua. Rati .i. naui. Presidiis .i. ausiliis. Artis .i. nauigationis. Quia ui maris ferebantur nec erat facultas nauigandi. Amice .s. sibi: sua ars, que antea sibi erat amica, tunc nullum ei prestabat ausilium. Deponunt .s. nautae. Animos .i. fiduciam uiuendi. Gelido .i. frigido, et est proprium epiteton. Nam qui timent, gelidi efficiuntur. Illi enim multum timebant, adeo, ut omnes in disperacione positi nichil aliud preter mortem sperabant. Nigro .i. nubilo obscuro. (1080) Naufragium .i. periculum submersionis. Licet esset dies, tamen non uidębant illi nisi mortem, tanta tempestate denigrati. Patet .i. in omnibus aperta est. Imago .i. cęcitas. Imago mortis .i. pallor nimii timoris. Nam qui multum timet, mortui hominis imaginem habere uidetur. Vocor .s. pro. Istorica .i. secundum istoricam rationem, quia istoriam sequor. Percurrere .i. describere.

2481/82 Nam uela - alata] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 13, 11, 22. **2483/85** Classis - afferebant] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 19, 1, 15; 19, 34, 6. **2490** Ceruleus - habet] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 12, 6, 10; Hier. *Comm. in Psalm.* 47, lin. 4: eo quod maris habeat caerulei et uiridantis colorem.

2483 moueantur^{corr}] mouentur$^{a.c}$ clasis^{corr}] clausis$^{a.c}$, classis *McKinlay* **2485** afferabant *Lo* **2485/86** nam dum *P1*, nandum *Lo* **2495** nullam *P1* **2497** pariter *P1*, partem *Lo* **2499** ausiliis] *lege* auxiliis *P1* **2501** nullum *P1*, nultum *Lo* ausilium] *lege* auxilium *P1* **2504** disperacione] *lege* desperacione

Vastas, profundas. Syrtes sunt loca arenosa in mari. Syrro Grece traho. Inde syrtes dicuntur arenę in mari, quod omnia ad se trahebant. Laceros .i. disruptos laceratos. Rudentes .i. funes, quibus ligantur naues. Sequi .s. prouocor scribendo. Clauus dicitur gubernaculum nauis. Fragmenta claui .i. gubernaculi, quod in pup<p>e est et ab illo tota nauis regitur. Ego .s. Arator. Linguam .s. meam. Vadis .i. marinis aquis. Vadis .i. periculosis locis maris. Mare enim ibi est periculosius, ubi se humilius exibet terre. Vada autem sunt loca, per que in mari uel in aliis fluminibus animalia siue homines uadunt. Rabidas .i. insanas. Procellas .i. tempestates. Aufugiam .i. uitabo declinabo. Testare .i. scribere uel aggredi. Canenti .s. mihi. Obruat .i. opprimat prosternat. Exiguam .i. paruam. Violentior .i. fortior. Loquelam .i. paruum sensum meum. Libet, placet. Conabor .s. tangere. Tutas harenas .i. tantum sensum, ut diffinire possim. Quędam, inquid, breuitati studens describam ex his, que ipsi in ea tempestate perpessi sunt. Nam si omnia temptauero narrare, | uereor, ne ipsius narrationis inmensitate demergar. Fluctiuage .i. fluctibus uaganti. Latuerunt .i. non apparuerunt. Preuius dicitur dux premonstrator. Quando, inquid, illi hanc tempestatem patiebantur, preuia sidera non apparuerunt. Preuia autem dicit, quia solent ducere nauim. Peritus nempe nauta semper intuetur cęlum propter sidera. Radiis .s. cum. Emicat, lucet. Axis .i. celum. (1090) Rite .i. secundum consuetudinem. Peregerit .i. percurrerit. Per XIIII dies hoc discrimen passi sunt nec solem neque stellas uiderunt et neque panem gustauerunt. Semper enim illis nox uidebatur esse, licet tot dies complerentur. Fuit .s. nauigantibus. Tempore .i. illis XIIII diebus. Indulsere .i. operam uel studium dederunt .i. nullum cibum sumpserunt. Indulgeo est peccata dimitto uel operam do. Supplicium .i. poenam. Ipsi enim pre magnitudine timoris poenam famis non sentiebant. Semina .i. initia. Causis .i. rebus. Res mala dat inchoamentum bonis causis, quia postquam homo a malis fuerit tribulatus, reuertens ad meliora opera non facile labitur. I[s]ta isti qui erant in naui, nisi tempestatem perpessi fuissent, minime sanctitatem Pauli cognouissent, per cuius doctrinam multa bona postea perceperunt. Et ideo res mala .i. tempestas fera dedit eis semina <.i.>

2511/12 Syrtes sunt - trahebant] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 13, 18, 6. **2518/19** Vada autem - uadunt] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 13, 18, 6. **2535/36** Indulgec operam do] cf. Sedul. Scottus, *In Donati artem mai.* 2, pag. 239.

2515 puppe *P1* **2517** exibet] *lege* exhibet *P1* **2519** rabidas *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, rapidas *McKinlay*^{textus} **2520** testare] temptare *McKinlay* **2522** libet *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, refert *McKinlay*^{textus} **2529** sol*ent *Lo* **2539** facile^{corr}] fale$^{a.c}$ **2539/40** labitur^{corr}] labiatur$^{a.c}$ **2540** ita *P1* **2542** <.i.>] *add. ex P1*

initium bonorum operum. Tempsisset .s. contempsisset .i. despexisset. Nauctica pupes .i. multitudo iuuenum nauigantium. Pubes barba, pubis uero iuuenis. Cohors .i. multitudo. Militię .i. militum. Honorem .i. ueneration̄em doctrinam. Tam clari hominis .i. sancti Pauli. Prosperiore freto .i. tranquilliore .s. si prospera fuisset nauigatio. Si, inquit, prospere nauigassent, non darent Paulo tam magnum honorem nec eum disligauissent, quousque ad Italiam uenirent. Custodia, captiuitas. Tandem, ad ultimum, post tempestatem. Venerantur .s. Paulum. Vecti .i. liberati deportati ad litus. Seuo .i. crudeli. Portum .i. liberatorem suum .i. suam salutem. Gerit .i. facit. Nec lateat .i. abscondatur. Quod erat .s. apostolus dei. Ideo intumuit mare, ut Paulus solueretur. Patesscat .i. ut manifestius sit. (**1100**) Assertore .i. confirmatore. Raptis .i. abstractis ab oculis eorum. Luminibus .i. claritate[m] solis. | Elementa .i. sol et sidera. Monstrare .i. /142r/ nauigantibus ostendere. Virum .s. qualis erat spiritalis uidelicet. Tenebris .i. cecitatibus illius tempestatis. Radiata .i. declarata fulgens. Fides .s. Pauli. Laurea .i. corona. Iustis .s. hominibus. Ex pretio .i. ex illa perturbatione. Terror .i. timor naufragii. A<g>it .i. facit. Nisi, inquit, isti terrorem habuissent, non coronarentur, quia Xpisto non credidissent per predicationem Pauli. Mansura .i. firma stabilis. Virtus .i. sanctitas. Cresscit .i. roboratur. In aduersis .s. seculi. Testibus .i. testimonium prebentibus. Vsa .i. potita. Periclis .i. aduersitatibus. Ad meritum .i. ut ad meritum perueniat sustinendo insidias et aduersitates seculi. Discrimen .i. periculum. Virtus laboriosa est et nunquam requiescere uult; quo enim magis adteritur, eo amplius crescit. Stans .s. in naui. Animat .i. confortat consolatur. Conclamata .i. conuocata uel desperata. Pectora .s. uirorum. Conclamatos homines dicimus desperatos. Hos Paulus confortat, quia iam desperati erant et numquam existimantes exire sanos. Fida, firmissima amica. Iuuentus .i. ipsa multitudo. Nam centum XX anime erant in naui. Parere .i. oboedire. Prius, quando dixit, ut in Creta insula hiemaremus. Crete: insula est centum habens ciuitates, Grece ecatonpolis uocatur. Paulus uoluit et hortatus fuerat eos, ut hiemarent aput Cretam. Passura .s. tu ipsa o iuuentus. Rabiem, tempestatem. Insani .i. furientis.

2544/45 Pubes barba - iuuenis] cf. Beda, *De orthogr.* lin. 888; Sedul. Scottus, *In Donati artem mai.* 3, pag. 382. **2571/72** ut in - hiemaremus] cf. *Act. ap.* 27, 7. 12-13. **2572/73** Crete - uocatur] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 14, 6, 15.

2544 pupes] *lege* pubes *McKinlay* **2552** nec] ne *McKinlay* **2553** patesscat] *lege* patescat *McKinlay* **2555** claritate *P1* **2559** agit *McKinlay* **2561** cresscit] *lege* crescit *McKinlay* **2567** conclamata] cumclamata *Lo* conuocata] cumuocata *Lo* **2571** parere *McKinlay*, parare *Lo*

(1110) Minas .i. terrores. Tulisses .i. sustinuisses .s. si uoluisses parere nostris consiliis. Si, inquit, crederes meum uerbum ut hiemares apud Cretam, nullum tibi ueniret periculum. Onus .i. pondus uel malum. Iacturae pro fracture .i. damni. Populantis .i. deuastantis. Iactura proprie est damnum, quod in mari fit. Naute enim orta tempestate, ut leuigetur nauis, omnia proiciunt in mari. Gemeret .i. doleret. Confinia .i. uicinitatem. Despera<ta> .i. in disperationem uersa. Salus .s. uestra. Turbine .i. in tanta tempestate. Facile est deo prestare hec gaudia, que transcendunt .i. superant .s. quę sequuntur .s. hoc facile est. Leue est deo plus tribuere hominibus quam possit aliquis sperare et optare. Cui .s. deo. Hic usus est muneris .i. doni. Potior .i. melior. Quem .s. usum muneris. Putat .s. adipisci tunc quando deus dat. In magnis aduersitatibus hic usus muneris .i. doni dei gratior et delectabilior recipitur, quando nemo sperat, quam in tranquillitatibus. Ab astris .i. | celis. Verba sunt Pauli. Hoc .s. quod sequitur. Placido .i. iocundo. Denuntiat .i. mihi Paulo predicit. Vehit .i. portat. Verba sunt angeli. Contulit .i. tribuit dedit. Figatur .i. mergatur. Naufraga .i. periclitata. Saxis .i. petris .s. sed omnes saluentur. Angelus apparens Paulo dixit ei, quod nullus periret ex illis, licet periculum sustinerent. Naufragus dicitur naufragium sustinens .i. cui nauis frangitur; est autem conpositum ex naui et frango. Credite, uerba sunt Pauli. For[i]ent pro sunt .s. que predico. Frustrabor .i. decipiar uel cassabor ego Paulus. Inani .i. fallaci. Casses sunt tele aranearum et semper pluraliter dicuntur. Inde [inde] in cassum, et cassor cassaris .i. frustra ago. (1120) Promissa .i. quod omnes uos saluemini. Insula .s. Milete. Portus .i. statio. Portus est eterna requies. Statio autem optata sedes nauium. Cuius .s. insule. Licebit .s. nobis. Arrecta .i. suscepta. Frui .i. uti. Prospectare .i. inspicere. Grauem .i. periculosum. Casum .i. fracturam. Solutę .i. fractę dissipatę. Discrimine .s. nostro. Hoc periculum per quatuor dies sustinuerunt. Illis itaque egressis de naui, cito uidentibus illis fracta est nauis. Dictum est enim Paulo, quod homines saluarentur et nauis frangeretur. Dictis .s. a Paulo. Ruit .i. cecidit quieuit. Ira .i. tempestas. Et facta est tranquillitas. Sublata .i. ablata. Dudum, olim, per quattuordecim dies. Lux .s. siderum. Reuocata .i. reducta ipsa lux. Micat .i. lucet. Velamine, tenebrositate. Aperto, resoluto. Visa .s. ipsa lux. Pandere .i. aperire. Solum .i. terram.

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2578 Iactura - damnum] cf. Isid. *De differ. uerb.* 169, 28. **2591/92** Angelus apparens ...] cf. *Act. ap.* 27, 23. **2596/97** Casses - ago] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 19, 5, 4.

2576 hiemares^{corr}] himares$^{a.c}$ **2581** desperata *McKinlay* **2586** muneris^{corr} moneris$^{a.c}$ **2594** sunt *C P1*, sum *Lo* **2600** arrecta] arrepta *McKinlay* **2605** quatuor] XIIII *P1 (cf. Act. ap. 27, 27)*

Quod .s. solum. Prebuit, Milete .s. insula. Hosspita .i. hospitium prestans. Nautis .s. illis. Vicina .s. ipsa. Remis .s. cum .i. remigando. Sicanio lateri .i. Cicilie. Milete insula est iuxta Siciliam, in qua ipsi descenderunt. Sicilia[m] autem Grece dicitur Trinacria, a tribus acris .i. promuntoriis. Acrum Grece promuntorium. Ante quam uincant .s. naute .i. antequam exeatis a mari. Rapidos estus .i. ueloces feruores. (**1130**) Sicut nos uescimur .i. commedimus. Gustate .i. sic sumite. Per <X>IIII^{or} dies nihil gustauerunt, sed hortatur eos Paulus, ut accipiant panem. Ipse namque primus ut eos confortaret, accepit. Probemus, manifestemus canamus .s. scribentes. Qua lege .i. quo mysterio. Valent .i. quid significant illi XIIII dies. Figure .i. quod scilicet XIIII^{o} die liberati sunt. [Aut caput inpetit .i. repetit alienum .i. qui aliquem accusat usque ad mortem.] Mensis .i. aprilis. Hoc numero .i. quaternario. Turba .s. Iudeorum. Ali .i. pasci. Sicut nunc Paulus XIIII^{o} die hortatur suos | socios comedere panem, antequam /143^{r}/
exirent de naui, ita Moyses iuxta preceptum domini hoc numero .i. XIIII^{o} die precepit filiis Israhel, ut commederent agnum in primo mense, qui apud illos Nisan dicitur, apud nos uero aprilis. Est autem IIII^{a} X^{ma} Latine. Sciendum enim, quia in kalendis prima luna computatur apud Iudeos semper. Quarum .s. carnium. Munimine, protectione .i. saluatione. Tacto .i. palpato. Quia per esum agni, qui typum Xpisti ferebat, saluati sunt. Libera .s. ipsa Iudea. Niliacas .i. Egiptiacas, a Nilo flumine. Vitare .i. respuere. Hoc factum est tempore noctis, quando angelus per Egiptum transiuit et cuncta Egiptiorum primogenita, *a primogenito scilicet Pharaonis, qui sedebat in solio eius, usque ad primogenitum captiuę, quę erat in carcere, et omne primogenitum iumentorum* interfecit nullumque filiorum Israel ledit. Hinc .i. ex hoc facto. Spatio, XIIII^{o} die. Suadet .i. hortatur. Conuiuere .i. prandere commedere. Quos .i. illos nautas. Auferre .i. liberare. Gurgite .i. uoragine. Mundi .i. peccati. Sicut Moyses per comestionem agni a seruitute Pharaonis et Egyptiorum liberauit populum Israeliticum, ita Paulus nauigantes secum in mari per dei misericordiam et comestionem panis. Libare .i. gustare, sicut prelibare pregustare. (**1140**) Legens .i. seruans. Vestigia .i. precepta Moysi. Obseruata .s. a filiis

2612/13 Sicilia[m] autem - promuntorium] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 14, 6, 32 **2630/33** Hoc factum - iumentorum] *Exod.* 12, 29.

2609 Melite *McKinlay* hosspita] *lege* hospita *McKinlay* **2611** Cicilie] *lege* Siciliae *C* **2614** rapidos *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, rabidos *McKinlay*^{textus} **2615** IIII^{or}] XIIII *Pm*, quattuordecim *Pl* **2618** ualent] ualeant *McKinlay* significant] *lege* significant **2619/20** Aut caput - mortem] = *haec glossa pertinet ad Arat. II 1023*

Israhel quondam, quia sicut Moyses precepit Iudeis comedere agnum XIIII^ma^ luna, ita Paulus XIIII^o^ die suasit suos socios sumere panem. In hoc obseruauit Moysi uestigia. Hec duo .s. exempla, que illi fecerunt. Speculantibus .i. nobis contemplantibus inspicientibus. Actum quorum .i. Moysi et Pauli. Causis .i. similitudinibus: quia unam causam .i. unum mysterium habe<n>t. Diuersa in locis: quia Paulus iuxta Siciliam in Milete insula fecit hoc in Mari Tirreno, Moyses uero in Mari rubro uel in Egipto. Repetita .i. reiterata. Salus, liberatio. Leuatur .i. sumitur. De fonte .i. intellectu: quia uterque mare transierunt. Agnus .s. qui oblatus est. Panis .s. quem Paulus accepit. Docet: *Ego sum panis uiuus*. Qui .i. si quis. Hoste .i. diabolo. Sicut, inquit, Pharao non habuit potestatem super populum gustato agno, sic nec diabolus habet potestatem super homines accepto corpore Xpisti. Iura .i. suam potestatem. Farao .i. diabulus. Egiptus .i. iste mundus uel infernus. Tenet .i. possidebit. Mox .i. ilico. Arma .i. potestates, sicut Far<a>onis demonis. Aquis .s. baptismi. Sicut Farao cum suo exercitu demersus fuit in Mari rubro, ita in aquis baptismi | diabolus cum suis uirtutibus demergitur. Quibus .s. aquis. Infans .i. 43^v^
unusquisque homo. Quia licet fuisset senex, post fontem infans renascitur. Captiuus .s. a diabolo. Hec abissus linquitur .s. <ab> apostolo. Stagna .i. fluenta. Tetri, nigri. Draconis .i. coeti, quod Ebraice *Leuiathan* dicitur et significat diabolum, *interpretatur additamenta* .i. mortis *eorum*, quia diabulus postquam primis parentibus dederat mortem, addidit quoque idolatriam. (1150) Largitur Xpistus pascua .i. sedem uitę etaerne. Erepto gregi <edenti> .i. celestibus iam utenti. Nominibus propriis .s. cum Xpistus electos propriis nominibus uocat, sicut in euangelio: Et uocabit eos nominatim et sequuntur eum, quia agnoscunt uocem eius. Alienum autem non sequuntur, quia nesciunt eum. Hinc .i. ex hac ratione, ex hoc numero .i. XIIII^o^. Aurea .i. splendida. Figuram .i. misticum intellectum. Quae .s. luna. Conspicitur .i. uidetur. Iam plena: XIIII^o^ die. De ortu primę lampadis .i. de illuminacione solis uel de initio ascensionis primę. Die .i. lumine. Corpore .s. de. Creuit .s. eclesia. Factura .i. preceptura, ipsa eclesia. Perennem .i. perpetuam. Luna que plena fuit in passione domini, significat eclesiam, que ex latere eius creuit.

Pelleret ut Paulus crescentia frigora nimbis. Pelleret .i. deiceret. Nimbis .i. de pluuiis tempestatibus. Contulerat .i. congesserat. Sarmenta .s. uitis

2650 Ego - uiuus] *Ioh.* 6, 51. **2660/61** Leuiathan - eorum] Isid. *Etym.* 8 27. **2665/67** Et uocabit - nesciunt eum] cf. *Ioh.* 10, 3-5.

2646 habent *P1* in *om. McKinlay* **2659** ab] *add. ex C* **2661** diabolum] et *add. P1* **2663** etaerne] *lege* aeternae *C P1* **2664** edenti] *add. ex P1* **2670** primę *Lo*, primae *McKinlay*^*varia lectio*^, primo *McKinlay*^*textus*^

.i. putamina ab amputando .i. incisiones. Naute semper in mari frigus patiuntur, maxime quando tempestas oritur. Ergo Paulus magnum frigus habens propter tempestatem, postquam descendit de naui et quia humida erant uestimenta illius, coepit congregare sarmenta .i. putamina uitum, ut faceret focum. Sed serpens, que intus erat, ut sensit calorem, momordit eum. Pendebat enim in digito illius. Ipse uero uidentibus cun<c>tis proiecit eam in ignem. Cui .s. Paulo. Vipera .i. serpens. Fixit manum .i. adhesit manui eius. Feritate .i. crudelitate: quia primum hominem deceperat. Obuia .s. ipsa .i. op<p>osita flammis. Arma .i. uenena. *Vipera dicitur, eo quod ui pariat.* (1160) Dedit .s. Paulus. Vulnus .i. ipsam serpentem, que dederat uulnus. In igne .i. in foco. *Venenum dictum, eo quod per uenas uadit.* Cuius natura frigidissima est. Vnde nocere | [nocere] non /144r potest nisi hominis aut pecudis aut alicuius animantis tetigerit sanguinem. Et ideo quia sedes anime in sanguine est, anima, que ignee nature est, fugit uenenum, quod frigidum est. Reuocare .i. abstrahere. Apostropham facit ad ipsam serpentem. A domino .i. a Xpisto .s. eos, quos suo sanguine saluauit. Sicut enim <interfecerat> primum hominem male suggerendo, ita uolebat occidere Paulum sua uenena inferendo. Primum hominem interfecit uel decepit, ne gloriam, quam ipse perderat, acciperet. Pauli uero manum momordit, ut ei mortem subministraret, ne per illum amitteret, quos per suam perfidiam acceptos habebat .S. et quid adhuc renouas? Veteres .i. antiquas suggestiones .s. quas exercuisti in primo homine. Legis .i. euangelii. Parens .i. quasi mater, quia per te uenit mors. Redemptis .i. quos Xpistus redemit. Predo .i. prederis. Iaces .i. iam predata capta et uicta es. Loetum .i. mortem. Ministrans, deceptis hominibus a te. Consumeris .i. cremaberis incenderis. Inproba .i. crudelis. Ramis .s. crucis siue sarmentorum. 'Alternis' ideo dixit, quia sicut ille per lignum uicit, sic et nunc uincitur per lignum. Post .i. postquam Xpistus in cruce pependit. Tibi .s. o serpens. Portio .i. pars. Ligni .i. dominice crucis. Sicut, inquit, per lignum primum hominem uicisti, ita per ligna crucis deuicta es, et modo quoque lignum fuit tibi mors. Haut aberant .i.

2684/85 Vipera - pariat] Isid. *Etym.* 12, 4, 10; Greg. M. *Moralia in Iob* 15, 15; Christianus Stabul. *Expos. in euang. Mat.* col. 1292, lin. 11. **2686/87** Venenum - uadit] Isid. *Etym.* 12, 4, 41. **2687/90** Cuius natura - frigidum est] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 12, 4, 42.

2680 serpens[corr]] serpentes[a.c] **2681** cunctis *P1* **2684** opposita *C P1* **2690** fugit[corr]] fuit[a.c] **2692** interfecerat] *add. ex P1* **2696** habebat *om. et ss. Lo* **2697** renouas] reuocare cupis *McKinlay* **2699** quos *C P1*, quod *Lo* prederis] ut predareris *C*, prederes *Lo* **2700** loetum] letum *McKinlay* **2703** lignum uicit - per lignum] *om. et add. in marg. Lo* **2706** et *om. et ss. Lo*

non deerant .s. gentiles. Agrestia .i. aliena a cognitione dei. Gerentes .i. <h>abentes. Sati .i. nati. Barbarica gente .s. que in illa insula erat. Qui .s. barbari. Murmure .i. tumultu. Diro, crudeli aspero seuo. Insonuere .i. exclamauerunt. Cum uidissent Militentes, quod uipera adhesit manui eius, dicebant: Homicida est, nusquam enim protectus fuit, qui taliter in mari passus est .s. licet inde euaserit, hoc periculum minime poterit euadere. Sed cum hoc audiret Paulus, excussit manum et proiecit eam in ignem. Satis est .i. multum. Fusi (**1170**) sanguinis .i. homicidii: dixerunt, quia homi<ci>da est. Tutus .i. defensus. In oris .i. in finibus, partibus uidelicet maris. Furent .i. insanient. Tractant .i. meditantur. Dicunt criminosa opera de Paulo, conferunt inter se mortem illius illi populi. Dicebant enim: Cum intumuerit, | statim morietur. Sed diuina probant. /144^{v}/ Qui cum uidissent eum incolumem, dixerunt, quia deus erat. Probant .i. experiuntur. Excutitur .s. a Paulo. Rogis, in focis. Rogus dicitur congeries lignorum. Reddita .s. ipsa bestia. Quam .s. flammam. Prius .i. antea. Serpens dum hominem percutit, primo uenenum frigidum est, postea uero in magno accenditur calore. Recte ergo beatus Paulus eam proiecit in ignem, quia ipsa prima intulit ei ignem infundens digito illius uenenum. Que .s. bestia. Protulit .i. dedit. Reddita .s. a Paulo. Ignem culpe .i. peccati .s. quem dederat Eue. Vnde .i. ex illo peccato uel igne. Kalet .i. urit. Gehenna .i. infernus. Soluitur .i. dissipatur. In cineres .i. in pulueres. Glacies .i. frigiditas. Tepefacta .i. calefacta. Pestis .i. ueneni. Ex ardore .i. calore .s. ignis. Hinc .i. ex serpente. Vapores .i. feruores ignis: quia serpens gelida sit. Solitas .i. consuetas: quia focus ex lignis nutrimenta et augmenta solet recipere. Ex hac uero uipera non accipit nutrimentum uel augmentum. Capiunt .i. accipiunt. Adque .s. non ferunt focos et uapores. Arida .i. sicca .s. ex serpente. Sed tu .s. o fides Pauli. Dequoquis .i. ex[s]uris. (**1180**) Vsa, fruita. Fides .s. que in Paulo es. Feruore tuo .i. calore spiritus sancti. Tibi .s. o fides Pauli. Frigidus .i. gelidus. In uicem .i. alternatim. Faciens .s. ex sarmentis. Flagrat .i. accenditur ardet .s. illa uipera. Fumante .i. ardente. Gelu .i. ueneno. Serpenti Paulus uicem red-

2711/13 Homicida est - euadere] cf. *Act. ap.* 28, 4. **2718/19** Cum intumuerit - deus erat] cf. *Act. ap.* 28, 6. **2720/21** Rogus - lignorum] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 20, 10, 9.

2709 aspero *P1*, aspetro *Lo* insonuere] non sonuere *Lo* **2713** *Post* manum *add. et delin. Lo:* et prodiret Paulus excussit manum **2716** insanient] insaniunt *Lo* **2718** sed] et *McKinlay* **2722/25** frigidum est - illius uenenum] *om. et. add. in marg. Lo* **2726** calet *McKinlay* **2730** hinc *Lo McKinlay*$^{\text{varia lectio}}$, hic *McKinlay*$^{\text{textus}}$ **2733** adque] *lege* atque *McKinlay* **2734** dequoquis] *lege* decoquis *McKinlay* **2735** exuris *C P1*

didit: ipsa dederat ei incendia et ipse incendit eam. Tumore .i. inflatione
2740 ueniente in Paulo. Redit ad narrationem. Labi .i. cadere. Ferunt, dicunt
illi barbari. Quantum, uox poetę. Per inania .i. per uanitates. Cum disputarent de morte Pauli. Mens .s. barbarorum. Ignara .i. inscia. Boni .s. alicuius. Iam tunc .s. quando conuersus est ad fidem. Virus .i. uenenum. Abest .i. recedit. Cum exiit .i. quando. Oculis .s. ab. Squameus .i. ser-
2745 pentinus. Horror .i. spissitudo .i. quando squame ceciderunt ab oculis eius. Quem .s. horrorem squameum. Serpens, diabolus. Purgatus .s. squameus horror. In amne etherio .i. in celesti baptismate. Relegans .i. separans sequestrans .s. terrenis delectationibus .i. crucifigens carnem suam. Beatus apostolus omnem gloriam mundi respuens dicebat: *Michi mundus*
2750 *crucifixus est et ego mundo.* Nescit .i. ignorat: a serpente mortem accipere. Hec flamma .s. fidei. Vim .i. uirtutem. Quibus .s. flammis fidei. Vstus .i. accensus diabolus. Anhelat | .i. deficit. (**1190**) Qui .s. diabulus. Dolet .i. /145r/ tristatur. Remeare .i. redire. Patriam .i. ad paradisum. Veteres .i. antiquos. Colonos .i. habitatores, homines uidelicet, qui in paradiso a deo collocа-
2755 ti sunt. Dudum gloriabatur antiquus serpens .i. diabolus uidens primos parentes a sede paradisi expulsos, nunc autem multo magis dolet, quia cernit eos per gratiam baptismi ipsam gloriam, quam ipso instigante perdiderant, perpetualiter possidere. Incolumem .i. sanum, nil passum a bestia. Iuuentus .i. multitudo barbarorum. Ait .i. dixit. Turba, que antea
2760 dicebat eum esse homicidam, cum uideret eum incolumem stare, dicebat, quod ipse Paulus erat deus. Tandem .i. ad ultimum. Apostropham facit ad incolas Miletę. Disce .i. agnosce. Rudis .i. nouella. Qua .i. in quanta. Polis .i. in cęlis. Talia .s. dona. Confert .i. tribuit. Hoc esse .i. deum. Poeta alloquitur eos, ut discant, quantus est ille deus, qui hoc agit per suos fideles,
2765 ut ipsi estiment eos esse, quod deus est, qui .s. fideles talia per ipsius uirtutem operantur. Causa .i. spiritalis intellegentia. Plenius .i. perfectius. Clari .i. manifesti. Cernenda, uidenda. Facti .i. miraculi. Origo .i. principium mortis. Hinc .i. ex morsu uel serpente: quia pomum interdictum momordit. Vnde a morsu mors dicta est. Contraria .i. ipsa serpens dia-
2770 bolus. Iustis .i. <sanctis>. Manum .i. bonam operationem. Sicut enim ser-

2745/46 squame - eius] cf. *Act. ap.* 9, 17. **2748** crucifigens carnem] cf. *Gal.* 5, 24. **2749/50** Michi - mundo] *Gal.* 6, 14. **2759/61** Turba - deus] cf. *Act. ap.* 28, 4-6. **2769** a morsu mors dicta est] cf. Caesar. Arel. *Sermo* 112, 1: mors a morsu nomen accepit; Isid. *Etym.* 11, 2, 31; *Polythecon* 7, 47 (CCCM 93): a morsu uetito mors dicitur.

2745 spissi**tudo *Lo* **2747** etherio] aethereo *McKinlay* relegans *McKinlay*^{textus}, religans *Lo* *McKinlay*$^{paria\ lectio}$ **2750** mundo] mundu *Lo* **2752** qui^{corr}] quis$^{a.c}$ **2757** ipso^{corr}] ipsa$^{a.c}$ **2768** morsu] norsu *Lo* **2770** sanctis] *add. ex C*

pens inuasit manum Pauli, ut eum perderet, ita diabolus semper uult bonum opus electorum destruere, quod significatur per manum, per quam bonum opus perficitur. Apta, congrua: pro apte. Ministrans .s. bona opera. Talem, tam crudelem. Qui .s. omnis homo. Hostem .i. diabolum. (1200) Impiger .i. uelox, sine pigritia. Excutiat .i. a se eiciat. Vaporibus .i. igne diuino. Sicut Paulus illam serpentem, quę adhesit manui eius, proiecit in ignem, ita unusquisque homo debet diabolum, qui ei aduersatur, a se repellere et igne spiritali concremare. Vt .i. postquam. Admoti pericli .i. adiuncti ueneni. Serpere .i. latenter intrare. Celestia .i. diuinum ausilium. Capescens .i. accipiens: contra diabolum. Statim ut sensit Paulus uenenum ad cor uenire, facto signo crucis incolumis factus est. Pressit .i. calcauit proiecit. Dolos .s. | serpentis. Cui<us> .s. ignis. De 145r
fomite .i. nutrimine. Fides .s. illorum, qui hec uiderunt. Ardor .i. amor diuinus. Hinc .i. ex hoc facto. Calor .s. fidei. Populis .s. Militensibus. Processit .i. uenit. Ab ubere .i. a fertilitate baptismi. Omnes enim baptizati sunt.

Mensibus hibernis tribus in regione Milete. Per tres menses hiemales .i. per Ianuarium Februarium et Martium mansit Paulus in Mile<te> insula, adnuntians populis uerbum dei et sanans infirmos. Opem .i. ausilium: curando omnes egrotos. Parente<m> .i. patrem Puplii, qui febricitabat. Finitima .i. proxima morti. Leuat .i. erigit. Quo munere .i. hoc dono miraculi facti. Precipites .i. festinantes. Subitam, insperatam. Rapuere <id> est uelociter acceperunt. Rapere est uelociter accipere. Statim ut uiderunt omnes, quia liberauit Paulus patrem Puplii, cucurrerunt ad undam baptismatis. (1210) Pullulat .i. cresscit. Inter[r]ea .i. inter hec, dum ibi staret Paulus. Coma frondea .i. arbores frondes emittentes. Nitidi ueris .i. clari aprilis. Quo .s. tempore ueris. Iuueniscit .i. uirescit. Reiuuenescere dicitur terra, quando se aperit dimit<t>endo flores. Senio .i. frigore. Fugiente .i. deficiente hieme. Pruina dicitur, eo quod urit. Pruina est alba aqua hiemalis frigoris ante lucanum candens. Quę inde nomen ac<c>epit pruina, quia sicut ignis urit; pir namque Grece ignis dicitur. Vrere autem ad frigus et ad ignem pertinet. Senio. Terra enim

2799/2802 Pruina dicitur - pertinet] cf. Isid. *Etym.* 3, 10, 8

2778 se^{corr}] sere$^{a.c}$ 2780 ausilium] *lege* auxilium *P1* capescens *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, capessens *McKinlay*^{textus} 2782 cuius *McKinlay* 2784 hinc *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, hic *McKinlay*^{textus} 2787 Melite *McKinlay* 2788 Milete *P1* 2789 ausilium] *lege* auxilium *P1* 2790 parentem *McKinlay* Puplii] *lege* Publii 2793 rapere - accipere] *om. et add. in marg. Lo* 2795 cresscit] *lege* crescit *C P1* interea *McKinlay* 2797 iuuenescit *McKinlay* 2800 candens] cadens *P1*

quasi senescit in hieme, dum folia herbasque amittit. Susspiciens(!) .i. regens. Ratem .i. nauim Pauli. Velis cedentibus .i. prospere nauigantibus, locum dantibus uento .s. quia rapiunt eum. Auster uentus est suauissimus ad Italiam nauigantibus, contrarius tamen Ierosolimam nauigantibus. Prebuit .s. ipse auster. Aligeras .i. alas gerentes, et hoc dicit propter uelocitatem uenti. Placidis .i. quietis. In fluctibus .s. maris. Hunc .s. uentum. Spirare .i. flare. Quem .s. uentum, austrum uidelicet. Personat .i. laudat reuocat. Ore .s. suo, cum dicitur: *Surge aquilo et ueni auster* .i. suaue et calidum tempus. Modo exponit, quid significat iste uentus, qui suauis et calidus dicitur: calorem designat fidei. Qui .s. propheta. Cantat .s. esse. Speciem torrentem .i. uelocem. Fidei austro .i. in calore caritatis. Quia, ut dictum est, hic uentus speciem fidei tenet. In eo uidelicet psalmo can|tat 46[1] propheta, ubi dicit: *Conuerte[re], domine, captiuitatem nostram, sicut torrens in austro.* Auster enim uentus suauis et mollis est et dum flat, dissoluit glaciem et emollit gelu. Inde dicit propheta: *Sicut torrens in austro.* Quando gelu constrictus est fluuius, ueniente austro resoluitur et largius currit: ita conuertat dominus captiuitatem <id est> perfidiam cordis uestri et emollire eam faciat a duritia malignę operationis et inique uoluntatis. Sic quoque uenit .s. Paulus et taliter nauigando. Ad sublimia culmina .i. ad edificia alta. Substratis procellis .i. subpositis tempestatibus: quia nobis Romanis gaudium fuit. Legens .i. nauigans. Op<p>ida .i. castella. Distinctis .i. separatis. Ordo .i. ratio. Petit .i. poscit. Allegorizat nunc de Paulo. Duo .i. Petrum et Paulum. (1220) Conuenisse, in Roma[e]. Partibus .s. mundi. Delegisse .i. ualde elegisse. Locum .i. Romam. Sidera .i. merita uel predicamenta. Iungant .i. copulent: quia ibi simul adorantur. Hec duo uera lumina de diuersis partibus Romam uenerunt. Nam Petrus de Ierusalem, Paulus uero de Asia uenit et iu<n>xerunt simul sua sidera .i. predicamenta. Vel ipsi soli, qui erant duo sidera, sicut sol et luna in uno coitu iunguntur, quando uidelicet luna prima suum lumen a sole recipit. Sidera dicuntur: nam sicut siderum splendor refulget in tenebris nocturnis, ita apostolorum predicatio cepit splendesscere in tenebrosis cordibus gentium. Qui .s. apostoli. Serenant, tranquillant pacificant. Omnia arua .i. totum orbem. Virtutibus .i. sermonibus fidei. Licet ten-

2810 Surge - auster] *Cant. cant.* 4, 16. **2815/16** Conuerte[re] in austro] *Psalm.* 125, 4. **2817** Sicut torrens in austro] *Psalm.* 125, 4.

2803 susspiciens] suscipiens *McKinlay* **2813/14** austro .i. in calore - fidei] *om. et add. in marg. Lo* **2819** id est] *add. ex P1* **2824** petit *McKinlay*, petiit *Lo* **2825** conuenisse *McKinlay*, cum uenisse *Lo* Roma *P1* **2827** iungant *McKinlay*, iungunt *Lo* **2833** splendesscere] *lege* splendescere *P1*

datur .i. prolongetur extendatur. Que causa .i. quid significet, quod illi duo apostoli Romam uenerunt. Innumeris .i. multiplicibus. Edam .i. scribam. Pauca .s. dicta. Referre .i. narrare. Isdem prestantibus .i. apostolis adiuuantibus. Isdem uel eisdem facit ablatiuum. Surrexit .i. positus est a domino. Princeps .i. caput. Hec .s. Roma. Turrita .i. excelsa, turribus munita. Circumtulit .i. ubique erexit. Cap<ut> .s. suum. Oris .i. sinibus mundi. Sicut enim Petrus caput est totius eclesie et Paulus doctor, ita est Roma caput et coniunctura totius orbis. Et ideo | bene conueniunt maio- /146^{v}/
ra maioribus. Non enim erat dignum, ut talia lumina in paruo loco requiescerent. Conueniunt .i. aptantur coniunguntur. Maiora .i. Petrus et Roma. Sicut Petrus maior erat omnibus apostolis, sic[ut] et Roma excelsior omnibus ciuitatibus. Ideo caput eclesię bene conuenit ut societur capiti orbis. Speculentur .i. ut mirentur uideant contemplentur. Omnes .s. gentes. Cacumina .i. sublimia .s. Rome. Fundata <id> est constituta .s. ipsa Roma. Domino .i. a domino. Sedes .i. dominatrix terrarum. Electus .s. a domino. Magister, sicut ipse dicit: *Qui operatus est Petro in apostolatum, operatus est et mihi inter gentes.* (1230) Diffundit .i. inmittit .s. Paulus. Presens, ipse. Huic .s. Rome. Habenas .i. retinacula sue predicationis. Oris .i. sermonis sui. Predicauit ibi equius .i. rectius quam in aliis ciuitatibus. Equius aduerbium est hic. Que .s. Roma. Prelata .i. exaltata a domino. Monet .i. admonet, ut omnes prestent ei honorem propter ue<ne>rationem apostolorum. Quodque intonat istic .i. quicquid personat Paulus Rome. Cogit .i. conpellit. Honor .i. sublimitas principatus. Audiat .i. intellegat orbis .s. predicationem apostolorum. Subiectus .s. Romę. Omnis mundus subiectus erat Rome et ideo necesse erat, ut obediens audiret predicationem Pauli, quam et ipsi Romani libenter receperant. Digna .s. est materies .i. causa. Corone .i. uictorie Petri et Pauli. Superasse .i. uicisse. Minas .i. terrores Cesaris. Et pandere .i. aperire manifestare .s. digna materies. In arce .i. sede, in aula. Tiranni .i. Neronis. Ideo, inquid, sub Cesare Nerone, qui totum orbem regebat, passi sunt isti, ne sub paruo iudice martirio coronarentur et paruę essent memorię. Vincere .i. superare: hec materies est. Summum tribunal .s. Cesaris. Agone .i. cer-

2851/52 Qui operatus - gentes] *Gal.* 2, 8 (Qui + enim *Vulgata*; apostolatum + circumcisionis *Vulgata*).

2841 caput *McKinlay* 2845 conueniunt^{corr}] conenient$^{a.c}$ 2846 sic[ut]] sic *P1* 2850 Domino *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, dominae *McKinlay*^{textus} 2854 quam *P1*, qui *Lo* 2857 uenerationem *P1 Pm* 2861 predicationem^{corr}] deprecationem$^{a.c}$ 2861/62 receperant^{corr}] reciperant$^{a.c}$ 2863 superasse] superare *McKinlay* Cesaris^{corr}] Cesares$^{a.c}$ 2865 regebat^{corr}] rebat$^{a.c}$

tamine. Titulos .i. memorias paru[i]as. Nero Cesar fuit crudelissimus, sub quo legitime certantes coronati sunt hi duo. Egiptus, que meror et tenebre interpretatur, significat mundum. Et sicut liberatus est Iudaicus populus de seruitute illius sub duobus germanis carnalibus, ita et sub duobus spiritalibus totius mundi populus. Formam .i. figuram speciem. Inde .i. ex Egipto. | Que .s. pleps Israelitica. Commissa .i. data. Duobus .i. fratribus /147r/ Moysi et Aaron. In quibus .s. duobus. Officium .i. ministerium sacerdotale[m] regendę plebis Iudaice. Ortus .i. natiuitas. (1240) Premebant obnoxia .i. rea nociua. Corda, hominum. Tenebris .s. infidelitatis. Idola tot .i. multa. Collecta .i. congregata. Mundo .s. de. Subacto .i. subiecto superato: populo. Romani cum deuincerent orbem, omnia idola portabant secum Romam. Et sicut liberatus est populus Iudaicus sub duobus fratribus germanis, ita sub istis spiritalibus liberatus est Romanus populus destructis idolis. Liber et, pro etiam .s. ab erroribus sub Petro et Paulo. Allegorice dicit hoc, comparans populum Romanum Iudaico populo. Populus .s. Iudaicus secundum literam, allegorice Romanus. Vinxerat .i. ligauerat. Pharao .i. diabolus. Exuit .i. deposuit. Vmbras ęgipti .i. tenebras inferni. Quia, ut superius dictum est, per Egyptum infernus designatur. Totidem ductoribus .i. duobus apostolis. Sicut quondam fuit sub duobus fratribus Iudaicus. Nactus .i. adeptus consecutus .s. populus Romanus. Vitę .s. caelestis. Perque lauacra dei, per baptismum. Quę .s. lauacra. Egit .i. portauit. Imago .i. figura. Maris .s. rubri. Tunc .i. in populo uenienti, quia ille saluatus per aquas maris demerso Pharaone cum equis et curribus suis, sic et populus orbis per aquas baptismi prostrato diabolo cum suis nequitiis et uirtutibus. Celestem re<p>erit escam .i. Xpistum, qui dixit: *Ego sum panis uiuus.* His etiam .i. Petro et Paulo. Germanus, fraternus. Amor .s. fuit. Moises et Aaron germani fratres fuerunt carnaliter, Paulus uero et Petrus spiritaliter. Quibus .i. Petro et Paulo. Amplius .i. plus. Actus .i. operatio. Quam natura .i. natiuitas. Geminos .i. equales .s. actus sui. Edidit .i. procreauit. Astris .i. celo. Voluto .s. re-. Sacrauit .i.

2869 legitime certantes] cf. *2 Tim.* 2, 5. **2869/70** Egiptus - interpretatur] cf. Hier. *In Isai.* 7, 19, 1: Aegyptus interpretatur ... tribulans siue ad angustiam redigens; Hier. *Tract. in Psalm.* 67, lin. 217: Aegyptus interpretatur tenebrae: de tenebris istius mundi. **2885** per Egyptum infernus] cf. Rupert. Tuit. *De sancta Trinitate et op. eius* 11, *In Exod.* II, pag. 651: per Aegyptum ... id est per infernum. **2893** Ego - uiuus] *Ioh.* 6, 51.

2868 titulos *McKinlay*^{textus}, titulus *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$ **2871/72** spiritalibus^{corr}] spiritualibus$^{a.c}$ **2874/75** sacerdotales *P1* **2883** uinxerat$^{corr.Lo}$] uixerat$^{a.c}$, uinxerat *McKinlay*^{textus}, uixerat *McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$ **2891** populus *P1*, apostolus *Lo* **2892** repperit *McKinlay*

sanctificauit. Passio .s. Pauli. Repetitam .i. iteratam. Lucem .i. diem. Illa die passionis Pętri, finito anno, fuit et passio Pauli. (1250) Et tenet aeternam socialis .i. parilis. Gratia .s. Petri et Pauli. Palmam .i. uictoriam. Iste Arator secundum Augustinum dicit, quod non fuerunt <simul> passi, sed finito anno integro ipsa die, qua a fidelibus celebratur passio Petri, Paulus decollatus est. Egesippus autem, qui proximus fuit temporibus apostolorum, affirmat, quod in una die simul Petrus crucifixus, Paulus decollatus est. Hic | finiunt glossę. Deo gratias.

<*Probatio pennae*> Dic mihi qua etate erat Ihsus, quando baptizatus est baptismo Iudeorum post natiuitatem.

<*Vermerk des Besitzers (15. Jh.)*>
Possidet hunc librum vero sub nomine Wodson,
Qui pro teste suo Winsor habere potest.
Si quisquam dubitet cuius foret ista *(sic!)* libellus,
Is dominum noscat Woddeson esse suum.

An dieser Stelle möchten wir noch einige Ergänzungen zum *apparatus criticus* des ersten Teils beifügen:

137 progressa *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, praegressa *McKinlay*^{textus}; 169 serunt *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, ferunt *McKinlay*^{textus}; 186 recreare *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, remeare *McKinlay*^{textus}; 449 segnis *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, signis *McKinlay*^{textus}; 453 obortis *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, abortis *McKinlay*^{textus}; 519 amplexu *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, amplexus *McKinlay*^{textus}; 520 parant *Lo McKinlay*$^{varia\ lectio}$, parat *McKinlay*^{textus}.

2901 simul] *add. ex P1* 2902 passio Petri *om. et add. Lo.*

Zusammenfassung

Seit einigen Jahren bereiten wir eine Ausgabe der Aratorglossen, zusammen mit einer Neuedition der *Historia apostolica* Arators vor. Die Ausgabe der Aratorglossen wird die gesamten Interlinear- und Marginalglossen und Kommentare bis zum 11. Jahrhundert, dem Höhepunkt der Glossierungstätigkeit in den Arator-Handschriften, enthalten. Bei diesen Untersuchungen kamen wir einer Handschrift, und zwar London, Royal MS. 15 A. V. (f. 86^{r}-147^{v}), auf die Spure, welche als einzige Arator-Handschrift einen getrennten, fortlaufenden und vollständigen Kommentar zu Arators *Historia apostolica* aufweist und qua Zeit (Ende 11. Jh.) den Übergang zu einer neuen Periode, 'der Renaissance des 12. Jahrhunderts' markiert. Es handelt sich hier nun um den zweiten Teil der Ausgabe dieses Kommentars, der sich, durch seine Form (und Entstehungszeit), deutlich von den in unserer geplanten Edition herauszugebenden Aratorglossen unterscheidet. Teil I ist bereits erschienen in *Sacris Erudiri* XXXVIII, 1998-1999, S. 317-51.

A New Seventh-Century Irish Commentary On Genesis

by
D. Ó CRÓINÍN
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In his famous article, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter',[1] published nearly half-a-century ago, Bernhard Bischoff traced the course followed by Irish biblical exegesis in the seventh and eighth centuries, and announced the discovery of a veritable treasure-trove of previously unknown Hiberno-Latin commentaries that, at one stroke, revolutionised the study of the subject. With this publication, Bischoff – so it seemed – left very little new to discover, so that most of the work since then has been based on the materials which he first brought to light. Thus the catalogue in which he gathered together those 'commentaries of Irish origin or composed under Irish influence' in the pre-carolingian era could be described as one of the masterpieces of modern medieval studies. But despite the fact that Bischoff published his findings in the pages of this journal almost fifty years ago, there remains still a good deal to be said on the subject. Thanks mainly to his work, however, we have a better idea today how this dossier of Irish texts, on all the books of the bible, was formed, as well as the principal stages in the development of the Irish exegetical tradition, and the *modus operandi* that the Irish used in their compositions.

In a brief discussion of each work in turn, Bischoff demonstrated the inter-relationship of many of the commentaries listed in his

[1] *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954) 191-281; rev. ed. in BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols (Stuttgart 1966-67, 1981) 1, 205-73. I cite this second edition throughout.

Sacris Erudiri 40 (2001): 231-265 © BREPOLS PUBLISHERS

catalogue, and offered a set of diagnostic features, drawn from them, which, he believed, allowed him to place the origin of most of those texts in Ireland during its 'Golden Age' of monastic learning, while others were, he believed, either composed by *Scotti peregrini* on the continent of Europe, or else under their influence. Not all scholars in the field, however, have been unanimous in accepting Bischoff's ideas, either about the importance of Hiberno-Latin exegesis in the early middle ages, or about the criteria (one might term them 'The Thirty-Nine Steps') which he used to establish the Irish origin of such texts.[2] In a recent article, for example, by Dr Michael Gorman entitled 'A critique of Bernhard Bischoff's theory of Irish exegesis',[3] a pernicious illusion appears to manifest itself: on the basis of some kind of arbitrary canon, this scholar has convinced himself that all the elements of Bischoff's analysis, and all the criteria which Bischoff established for the analysis of these texts, are utterly without value. According to Gorman, Bischoff's 'Wendepunkte' article was nothing but a catalogue of errors, more or less serious, which have been perpetuated by scho-

[2] See, e.g., Edmundo COCCIA, 'La cultura irlandese precarolingia: miracolo o mito?', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 8 (1967) 257-420; Clare STANCLIFFE, 'Early "Irish" biblical exegesis', *Studia Patristica* 12 = *Texte und Untersuchungen* 115 (Berlin 1975) 361-70. For the importance – or otherwise – of these Irish traits in the area of Latin grammar, see Vivien LAW, *The Insular Latin grammarians*. Studies in Celtic History iii (Woodbridge 1982). The remarks of the General Editor of that series in the preface to that volume are no more than *obiter dicta*, and have no independent value. It is worth pointing out, however, that Dr Law has accepted the validity of some of Bischoff's criteria in attempting to distinguish between early Irish and Anglo-Saxon grammatical tracts; see Vivien LAW, 'Notes on the dating and attribution of anonymous Latin grammars of the early middle ages', *Peritia* 1 (1982) 250-67. Coccia's article is a diffuse and shallow attempt to debunk the entire concept of Hiberno-Latin literature. According to him, that literature was of very little value ('tanto dubbia e incerta quanto mediocre e di scarsissimo valore').

[3] Michael GORMAN, 'A critique of Bernhard Bischoff's theory of Irish exegesis: the commentary on Genesis in Munich Clm 6302 (Wendepunkte 2)', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 7 (1997) 178-233. See the response by Gabriel SILAGI, 'Notwendige Bemerkungen zu Gormans "Critique of Bischoff's theory of Irish exegesis"', *Peritia* 12 (1998) 87-94. For a detailed refutation of Gorman's paper, see Dáibhí Ó CRÓINÍN, 'Bischoff's Wendepunkte fifty years on', *Revue Bénédictine* 110/3-4 (2000) 204-37.

lars in the field since 1954.[4] At first sight – in so far as his comments appear to relate solely to the texts in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6302 discussed by Bischoff, and to that case only – one might be forgiven for thinking that Gorman's remarks are based on a typographical error of some kind; but the same views have been repeated so frequently by him in publications which have appeared since that 'Critique' that one is bound to see in his views a certain *parti pris*.[5]

For my own part, I believe that Bischoff's scholarship was second to none, and that his views still deserve the greatest respect, not only in the realm of palaeography, but in every other area of medieval studies which he touched. The catalogue of texts in 'Wendepunkte' has, to my mind, in no way lost its authority, and I remain convinced that it would be rash to take sides against Bischoff's views in the matter, without having good grounds for doing so. It is true that, since 'Wendepunkte', the possibility of making real discoveries of new texts appears very slim, but it is nevertheless the case that, now and again, one comes across manuscripts which were either thought to be lost, or which have for some other reason been neglected, manuscripts in which one can hope to come across a text, of greater or lesser importance, that may have escaped the eagle eye of the German master. That being the case, there remains always the possibility that a new text may be uncovered, which the vagaries of literary studies have passed by, and to which previous scholarship has, for that reason, perhaps not devoted sufficient attention.

The numbers of manuscripts containing Latin commentaries on the bible are legion, and constitute – along with the bible itself, medieval Latin grammar, and computistics – one of the best-represented fields of medieval literature. The origin of many of the medieval commentaries on the books of the Old Testament is, of course, well known: Isidore, the Venerable Bede, Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbertus, Wigbod, etc., were the authors of some of the most extensive of these. It was, in fact, the immense

[4] 'Critique', 193-4: 'If Bischoff's theories about the Irish origins of this material had been omitted, the article would not have confused readers for several decades, and scholars might have been led to seek out and discover the origins of some of these commentaries'.

[5] His most recent offering on the subject is 'The myth of Hiberno-Latin exegesis', *Revue Bénédictine* 110/1-2 (2000) 42-85.

success enjoyed by these writers that brought about the almost complete disappearance of commentaries from the earlier centuries of the middle ages, before the carolingian reforms of the ninth century. With newer commentaries succeeding previous ones, it was inevitable that the oldest ones would be destined to disappear, except in exceptional circumstances. The same is true of the entire field of biblical exegesis, and it was likewise also for Insular liturgical books and for manuscripts of the bible itself. If bible codices suffered less, relatively, in the course of time, it is for reasons that are easily comprehensible. With due allowance for exceptions, the history of medieval manuscript libraries has been dominated by one simple fact, which is neither mysterious nor unfathomable in its consequences: the old books were eliminated and replaced usually in order to satisfy the requirements of every new generation. The surviving catalogues give us some idea of how extensive our losses have been. This is not meant either to imply that the Irish were any more or less careful with their books, or to deny that the depredations of Irish books were due mainly to fires at home, or wars on the continent, or indeed to sheer vandalism in the modern age.

As far as this type of literature is concerned, it is natural to suppose that what has survived is only a fraction of what once existed, but the sheer quantity of what we have in the manuscripts is itself the principal reason why scholars were deterred from examining the material from the pre-carolingian era. Most of these texts are habitually attributed – both in medieval catalogues and in their modern counterparts – to a particular (patristic) author, such as Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, or whoever. Further, the double character of the texts – their brevity and their pseudonymity (or indeed anonymity) – is sufficient explanation of why many have survived only in single copies.[6] The doubts attached to such works usually meant that medieval scribes and copyists were inclined to give them a wide berth.

A period of research-leave in Munich[7] has enabled me to examine a large number of eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts in the

[6] See BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1, 199: 'Fast alle anonymen irischen Kommentare sind nur in einer Handschrift erhalten'.

[7] I wish to acknowledge here the generous assistance granted by the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, Bonn, and the hospitality of Professors Konrad Vollmann, Menso Folkerts, and Udo Kühne in Munich, and of the authorities in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek there, and to discover in one of them a work which, although it was previously known, has never received the attention it deserves.[8] The Munich manuscript Clm 17739 contains 67 folios, and came from the Augustinian abbey of Saint Magnus at Stadt-am-Hof near Regensburg, Bavaria (1138-1803).[9] Written by a single hand in twenty-nine long lines per page, it is made up of eight quaternions: I (2r-9v), II (10r-17v), III (18r-25v), IV (26r-33v), V (34r-41v), VI (42r-49v), VII (50r-59v [2 + 4]), VIII (60r-67v). Inside the front cover is an eighteenth-century *ex libris*: *Bibl. SS. Andreae & Magni sub Praeposito. Stadt am Hof*, and another hand of the same period has added: 'N. 1308'. The manuscript was copied with care; there are some corrections made to the text, and the omitted words (not numerous) are added in the margin with a *signe de renvoi*. On the flyleaf (1v) there is entered a nineteenth-century table of contents. Halm, in his summary cata-

[8] The text is listed, but without discussion, in Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, 6 (Madrid 1958) 459-50 (no. 9662), who noted a second MS., Vercelli, Bibl. capit., 121. Michael Gorman, in his World Wide Web homepage of 'Commentaries on Genesis' (http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/jod/genesis) reports the existence of a further MS. in Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ., D.iv.20, fols 2-24 (saec. XII) [contrary to what is stated in 'Critique' 206 n. 91, however, the text is *not* available at that site]. I have discovered two further manuscripts of the commentary: Bibl. Vat., Pal. Lat. 275 (saec. XII), and Madrid, Escorial, MS. ç. III, 17 (saec. XI-XII). There may possibly have been yet another copy in Lucca; see Pietro GUIDI & E. PELLEGRINETTI, *Inventari del vescovato della cattedrale e di altre chiese di Lucca* 1 = *Studi e Testi* 34 (Rome 1921) 198-209: 204 (from an inventory of 5 June 1315). However, a search carried out by the staff of the Codex project in Florence on my behalf failed to identify this MS. in the current Lucca holdings. I am grateful to Prof. Mirella Ferrari (Milan) and Prof. Stefano Zamponi (Florence) for their assistance.

[9] Paul LEHMANN, 'Mitteilungen aus Handschriften, 5', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philos.-hist. Abt., Jahrgang 1938, Heft 4 (München 1938) 51 ('Die Handschriften zumeist in München (Staatsbibliothek)'; for the (distant) relations between St Mang and the Irish monastery of Luxeuil, see Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit, 1, Die Bayrischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden 1960) 267. On the history of the monastery and its manuscripts, see now Franz FUCHS, *Bildung und Wissenschaft in Regensburg. Neue Forschungen und Texte aus St. Mang in Stadtamhof*. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 13 (Sigmaringen 1989); the MS. is listed in the catalogue printed p. 61. I am grateful to Prof. Fuchs for the generous gift of a copy of his very valuable book.

logue description (which is, for the most part, excellent),[10] dates the collection to the twelfth century and gives the contents as follows:

> F. 1 Expositio in Genesin. F. 35 De nominibus Christi. F. 37 De nouem ordines (sic) angelorum. F. 39 De XII apostolis. F. 41 De Maria. F. 42 De alleluia. F. 43 De baptismo Christi et de natale (sic) apostolorum. F. 52 Liber V Isidori Etymologiarum de legibus uel instrumentis iudicum ac de nominibus etc. desinens in haec verba cap. 39 §29: Johannes apostolus requiescit. Adrianus annis XXI. F. 65 Carmen incipiens: Cum reuoluo toto corde = Mone n. 299 v. 1-84. Adiecta sunt f. 66 manu XV precatio quaedam et X versus rimati.

The first section (2r-35v) is the one that will interest us from here on.

The commentary entitled *Expositio in Genesin* by Halm is divided into three books[11] of roughly equal length: f. 9r 6: *Hucusque dixit Moyses de informitate rerum. Nunc dicit*, etc.; f. 23v 10-11: *Explicit liber secundus. Incipit liber tercius*; f. 35v 15: *Hucusque pauca de Genesi* (this latter supplies the probable title of the work). I will give a selection of excerpts from the work to illustrate how it was put together; before that, however, it will help if I give a brief description of its general make-up.[12]

The various sections of the biblical text are strung together by means of short (occasionally very short) sentences which explain their import. The author does not hesitate to modify the scriptural citations or the patristic commentary, sometimes also their style, and that in a manner which is distinctive. One notes, for example, at the end of certain sentences, an attempt at cursus: *supra uires hominis est narrare uel praedicare uel dicere, aut etiam cogitare* (f. 24v); *ille sanctus et iustus, bonus et pius, sapiens et potens* (f. 20v). The commentary is uncommonly sensible, if not always very profound. Introduced, for the most part, by the words *Quaerendum est*, or an equivalent (*Quaeritur quare, Interrogandum est, Cur dicit, Quomodo est*, etc., etc.), it concerns itself very often with the minu-

[10] Carolus HALM, Fridericus KEINZ, Gulielmus MEYER, Georgius THOMAS, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis 2/3 = Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* 4/3 (Munich 1878) 118-19.

[11] There are divisions in the manuscript , e.g., f. 31r ('Alii dicunt', marked by a large initial letter) which do not seem to relate to the text. The decoration is limited to five smaller initials (f. 2r, 9r, 23v, 28v, 31r).

[12] In the citations I have silently corrected the text, where necessary, and normalised the orthography (e.g., *prae-* for *pre-*, *caelum* for *celum*, etc.). There are examples of such orthography in the manuscript.

test interpretations of the biblical text, and it expresses the desire to know (*Volumus intellegere*, f. 6v; *Mouet me ad inquirendum*, f. 18v) how all the events of Creation may be explained. For example (f. 2v):

> Serui autem domini sapientes ecclesiae sunt, quomodo apostoli, quomodo praedicatores, quomodo interpretes, quibus deus donauit pristinae legis scientiam, ut cum usura spiritalis intelligentiae redderent et praedicarent.

The entire discourse has the format of interrogation and response (f. 4r):

> Interrogandum est cur plura nomina Moyses posuit ad unam rem significandam, hoc est *informem materiem* [Gn 1,2]. Dixit enim in primis *caelum et terram* [Gn 1,1], et iterum *terra inanis et uacua* [Gn 1,2], atque iterum *tenebrae et abyssus*, et post haec *aquas* nominauit. Ecce septem nomina sunt.

The explanations can be very precise and meticulous: *Quid interest inter 'imaginem Dei' et 'similitudinem Dei'?* (f. 20v); *Quid interest inter 'crescere' et 'multiplicare'?* (f. 21v).
The author proceeds with the answer to each question in turn, giving examples in each case (f. 33v: *ut facilius intelligi potest, ponamus exempla de his rebus, quae in usu habentur*) thus:

> Damus autem exempla de rebus, quae in usu habemus, ut apertius cognoscamus, quomodo creaturae erant in informi materia antequam formarentur. Ecce similitudo una: Tolle unum granum de pomo, quod est semen, unde arbor nascitur. Potes uidere aut etiam discernere in illo semine, ubi est lignum, ubi cortex, ubi rami, ubi radices, ubi folia, ubi flos, ubi est fructus. Nulla apparent per speciem, cum sint tota illo in ipso semine per substantiam. Item alia similitudo: Ecce una massa ferrea. Uis tu loricam facere, gladium, lanceam et cetera ferramenta, quaecumque nulla sibi per speciem, cum sint tota per substantiam. Donec faber producat illa in artem. Ecce aliud exemplum: Considera in ouo, unde auis nascitur. Ecce materia est, sed non habet formam. Numquid potest discernere ibi inter alas et pedes, carnem et plumas, rostrum et ungulas. Nemo uenit aut mater, deo operante. Caleficat, fouet, discernit membra, et uiuificat, et ecce omnia formam tenent. Hac eadem similitudine fecit deus pater mundum.[13]

[13] Our author has here combined ideas of Gregory the Great, *Moralia* XIV (CCSL 143A, 742), and perhaps also Jerome, *In prophetas minores* (CCSL 76, I, 106) and Ps.-Eucherius, *Comm. in Gen.* I 3 (MPL 50, 895), but not mechanically.

Bischoff's researches underlined the Irish penchant – one could almost say mania – for glossing or annotating texts with formulae, for instance the *Tres Linguae Sacrae* (f. 11v):[14]

> Item quaerendum est, qua lingua dictum sit [*Fiat lux*], si hebraica, an graeca, aut etiam latina. Et si hebraice loquebatur, quomodo in hebraica lingua sonat uerbum, quod dictum est *Fiat lux?*

A distinctive feature of Irish texts is a prevalence towards enumeration, particularly of triads;[15] this feature too is found in our text (f. 3r-v):

> *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram* [Gn 1,26]. Hic Moyses tria confirmat, dicens: *In principio fecit deus caelum et terram* [Gn 1,1], hoc est quis, quid, quomodo. Quis fecit? Deus pater. Quomodo fecit? Per filium cuncta fecit. Quid fecit? Caelum et terram dixit, id est, Moyses omnium rerum materiem triformem caelum et terram nominauit.

Another example (f. 18v):

> In tribus enim superatur luna a magnitudine solis, hoc est potestate et claritate et magnitudine orbis, hoc est corporis largitate. Luna uero et lumine et potestate et statura minor uidetur.

On the subject of these *luminaria* the following also occurs (f. 17v):

> Ecce tribus ex causis fecit deus luminaria. Primum, ut ornaret lucem, sicut scriptum est: *Igitur perfecti sunt caeli et terra et omnis ornatus eorum* [Gn 2,1]. Ornamenta autem caeli, sol et luna, cum omnibus stellis. Secunda autem est causa, ut illuminarent terram sicut dixit in libro legis. Tertia est, ut significarent tempora, hoc est, ut discernant.

On the subject of angels, the same preference for triads is evident (f. 11r):

> Quaeritur, cum certum sit, quod angeli primo die facti fuerant, cur non manifesto nomine nominati sunt? Vere summi nominati sunt. Tria enim sunt nomina angelorum: alia enim sunt secundum naturam, alia secundum gratiam, et alia sunt nominata secundum ministerium.

[14] On this theme, see Robert McNally, 'The *tres linguae sacrae* in early Irish bible exegesis', *Theological Studies* 19 (1958) 395-403.

[15] On this theme see Patrick Sims-Williams, 'Thought, word and deed: an Irish triad', *Ériu* 19 (1978) 78-111.

While on the subject of the Creation on the third day the following is found (f.16v):

> Tertia die factae sunt aquae uiuae fluctuabiles, mobiles, currentes, sed congregatae in unum locum. Et haec est formatio aquarum, quam acceperunt tertia die, quia propria natura est aquarum esse instabilis, quod significatum est per uerbum, quod dixerat: *Congregentur* [Gn 1,9]. Simili modo et terra illa, quae erat inanis et uacua, inuisibilis et incomposita, tertia die uenit in suam propriam naturam, et facta est uisibilis, plena fructibus, stabilis. Et haec est formatio, quam accepit terram, hoc est firmiter stare, quod significatur per uerbum, quod dixit: *appareat* [Gn 1,9].

The opening words of the commentary give a good illustration of the author's working methods (f. 2r-v):

> In diuina scriptura quattuor sunt, quae requiruntur: persona scriptoris, tempus conscribendi, locus conscriptionis, qualitas doctrinae. Scriptor est Moyses; locus scribendi: desertum Sinai; tempus scribendi: post exitum populi de Egypto et post datam legem in Monte Sinai. Qualitas doctrinae historia est ... Moyses autem quinque libros scripsit, quos Graeci 'pentatheucos' uocant, quod sonat latine 'quinque libri'. Primus est liber quod apud Graecos 'Genesis' dicitur, apud Hebreos 'Bresith', apud Latinos uero 'Liber generationis caeli et terrae' appellatur. Secundus liber Exodus, tertius Leuiticus, quartus Uagedaber, quintus Deuteronomium, quod sonat 'iteratio legis'. Hí quinque libri, hi sunt quinque lapides, quos de uado fluminis Dauid collegerat ut Goliath interficeret ... Et hi sunt quinque panes, quos dominus Ihesus fregit et benedixit et saturati sunt quinque milia hominum [cf. Mt 14,17 etc.] ... Et haec sunt quinque uerba, de quibus apostolus dixit: *'Habeo quinque uerba loqui sensu'* [1 Cor. 14,19]. 'Quinque uerba' dixit, quinque libros Moysi, quos conuertere uoluit in spiritalem sensum. Haec sunt quinque talenta, quae dominus mandauerat seruis suis [cf. Mt 25,15-16] ...[16]

But it is not a matter of one single style with our author, however compare the following homiletic passage on the subject of the celestial kingdom (f. 24r):

[16] For the analogy between the one stone that David used to slay Goliath, and Deuteronomy, the one book that Christ quoted in all his responses to the devil, see Charles D. WRIGHT, *The Irish tradition in Old English literature* (Cambridge 1993) 227 n. 59 (which supplements and partially corrects an earlier article by the same author in *Anglia* 106 (1988) 130-37. For this and other references and comments I am very grateful to Prof. Wright.

> Sicut enim bonitas dei semper immutabilis, ita et omnes sancti, uidentes eum, immutabiles erunt. Hoc est semper uiuentes, semper beati, semper sancti, semper perfecti, semper gaudentes, pleni sapientia, pleni gloria, pleni exultatione, pleni luminis claritate. In illa autem gloria, ubi est requies sanctorum, multa mirabilia sunt. Ibi sunt omnia bona, et nullum bonum deest. Nullus ibi nascitur, nullus moritur; nulla nox, dies semper; nulla aduersitas, semper prosperitas; nulla tristicia, semper laeticia; nulla scandala, pax semper, nulla dissensio, sed cor omnium unum et anima omnium una.

This passage is made up of citations or echoes from Augustine (*De civitate Dei* 5.16; *Sermo* 222N; *In Iohannem* 30.7), of Gregory the Great (*Moralia* 20.33), of Origen (*Homilies on Numbers* 26.2), and Caesarius of Arles (*Sermo* 58,4), but it is put together with commendable independence of mind; this is not the only such passage in which the author expresses himself in this way.

The collection is attributed on the cover of the manuscript to 'Isidorus Episcopus', but because Isidore's name recurs regularly throughout the text (f. 10v: *Ysidorus dicit in libris sententiarum*; f. 10r-v: *in libro de natura rerum* (but without the name), and several times otherwise (ff. 8v, 10v, 20r, 26v, *Etymologiae*, *Sententiae*, *Allegoriae* (not certain), etc.), there can be no doubt that the commentary is not the work of the Visigothic writer. Who, then, was the author?

An analysis of the abbreviations used in the manuscript (f̄ = *secundum*, once, f. 16v 20; ł = *uel*; 7 = *et*; $\bar{\text{d}}$ = *ergo*; $\bar{\text{d}}$ = *igitur*; h̊ = *homo*; m̓= *mihi*; p̓= *potest*; ꝓ = *pro*; u̓= *ubi*, etc.) suggests strongly that the scribe was copying an exemplar in Insular (Irish) script. Although the author does not say so explicitly anywhere in the text, it is very likely – if not indeed certain – that our commentary was composed towards the end of the seventh century, by an Irishman. The evidence of the abbreviations, together with an analysis of the sources used (direct and indirect), and the commentary's close connections with other Hiberno-Latin commentaries of the early middle ages, has convinced me that such a conclusion is unavoidable. Although the commentator makes no explicit reference to any historical event which would allow us to situate the work securely in time, the list of authors he cites provides an important starting-point: the most recent author cited is Isidore (†636). On the face of it, therefore, our text can be located somewhere between the second half of the seventh century and the beginning of the twelfth

(the date of the manuscript). The absence of any reference to Bede (or to Alcuin, or any of his contemporaries) suggests a *terminus ante quem* towards the close of the seventh century, but this is with due regard to the hazards of arguing from silence (in this case, about the absence of any author later in date than Isidore). The fragility of any argument based on the supposed non-use of known authors is always compounded by the difficulty – ever-present in works of this date – of establishing with any degree of certainty which authors, in fact, were drawn upon for the work.

In addition to the bible – and a number of rare citations from late antique Latin grammarians and from computistical tracts – the bulk of the commentary is made up of citations from the Fathers. In one unique instance (f. 3r), five such authorities are named in succession: *omnes fidelissimi doctores, ut Ambrosius, Hieronimus, Gregorius, Augustinus, et Eucherius papa*;[17] these are also referred to elsewhere as *sancti* (or *sanctissimi*) *interpretes*, while some statements are identified as *dicta sanctorum patrum*, as in the case of Isidore[18] and Iunilius, and others that will be mentioned below. Since the author usually (but not always) mentions his authorities by name, I give here a list of them, in alphabetical order, and an indication of where they occur in the text: Ambrose (*pater Ambrosius*), Augustine (*sanctus Augustinus ... in libris de urbe*, f.10v, f. 13r; *in libris de ciuitate*, f. 13r; *in libris de urbe caelesti*, f. 22r);[19]

[17] I would anticipate one counter-argument at this point, by stating that I do not believe that the reference to Eucherius as *papa* denotes any particular affiliation with either Gaul or Lyon. See, on this point, Mirella FERRARI, 'Il *Codex Muratorianus* e il suo ultimo inedito', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 32 (1989) 1-51: 39 (on the presence of Eucherius, *Instructiones*, etc., in Milan, Bibl. Ambros., MS. 101 sup.).

[18] This citation alone should suffice as refutation of Gorman's extraordinary attack on Bischoff ('Critique', 195) in which he says: 'The citation of Gregory and Isidore as "patristic" authorities at the beginning of 'Wendepunkte' is by itself very surprising, and reveals how thin was Bischoff's patristic learning'. It is also worth pointing out that the best-known handbook of patristic texts in our time, the *Clavis patrum latinorum* of Dekkers and Gaar, did not hesitate to include Isidore in its list of authors (and even the Venerable Bede!).

[19] According to BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1, 217, this usage is found only in the writings of Iohannes Scottus Eriugena, in the 'Bibelwerk' ('Wendepunkte' no. 1, of continental Irish authorship, saec. VIII med.?), and in Clm 14311, f. 163v (a Matthew commentary likewise of Irish origin, in Bischoff's view). Charles Wright has pointed out to me that the usage is found also in the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*; see Hermann WASSERSCHLEBEN (ed),

Eucherius of Lyon (*Eucherius papa*, f. 3r, f. 4v, f. 12r),[20] and perhaps also Pseudo-Eucherius;[21] Gregory; Isidore; Iunilius;[22] Jerome; Pseudo-Clemens Romanus (*consideremus sententiam sancti Petri ... in libris Clementis*, f. 4r);[23] Philippus presbyter (*Philippus in expositione beati Iob*, f. 12r, f. 31v);[24] Theophilus, bishop of Caesarea (*qui fuit archiepiscopus Caesariae Palestinae ... expositione de ratione paschali*, f.9r),[25] and Victor, bishop of Capua (*Victor episcopus Capuae*, f. 31r).[26]

There are two explicit citations of Eucherius, one of which I have not been able to identify (see below, f. 12r: *Fiat lux.* Hinc Eucherius dicit: 'Dicere Dei est et facere'), and the following (f. 4v):

> Diximus quia spiritus sanctus est, qui est deus omnipotens, deus immobilis, deus ubique. Quomodo ergo superferri dicitur, quasi ex altero, cum sit deus omnipotens, aut quomodo dicitur moueri, cum ille sit in omnibus deus immobilis? Super hanc quaestionem sanctissimi interpretes nostri dixerunt. Eucherius papa dicit: '*Ferebatur super aquas* [Gn 1,2], non uagatione, sed potestate, dum creaturae semper eminet regentis imperio'.

This is from the *Instructionum liber* I ii.[27] Since Eucherius is numbered amongst the *fidelissimi doctores* on f. 3r (see above) we may

Die irische Kanonensammlung (Giessen 1874; 2nd ed. Leipzig 1885) 60, Hibernensis XX 2, *De ratione provinciae*: 'Augustinus in libris de orbe' (sic). GORMAN, art. cit., 205, has noted the same usage in our text, but refuses to accept it as an indication of Irish origin. For the Bibelwerk, see now Gerard MACGINTY (ed), *The Reference Bible – Das Bibelwerk inter pauca problesmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis (Praefatio et libri de Pentateucho Moysi)*. Scriptores Celtigenae 3, CCCM 173 (Turnhout 2000) 177 (I 404).

[20] Karl WOTKE (ed), *S. Eucherii Lugdunensis Instructionum libri duo*, CSEL 31 (Vienna 1894) 66, 17-22, and 67, 17-19 (I ii).

[21] *Commentarii in Genesim*, MPL 50, 893-1043; cf. Clavis, 177-78 (no. 498).

[22] *De partibus divinae legis* II 2, ed. Heinrich KIHN, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten* (Freiburg i. Br. 1880) 495.

[23] *Recognitiones*, ed. Bernhard REHM, *Die Pseudoklementinen* 2, *Rekognitionen in Rufins Übersetzung*, GCS 51 (Berlin 1965) 27,1-2 (pp. 23-24).

[24] MPL 23, 1405.

[25] On this text see further below, pp 258-61.

[26] See Jean-Baptiste PITRA (ed), *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 2 vols (Paris 1852) 1, 266, 274, 276, (286-87). For further discussion, with relevant literature, see below, pp 251-55.

[27] Wotke, *S. Eucherii Lugdunensis Instructionum libri duo*, 66, 17-22.

suppose that he was well known to our author. The same appears to be the case with Iunilius, who is cited as follows (f. 14v):

> Quaerendum est de qua natura factum est firmamentum. De aquis, de quibus praedixerat *Spiritus dei ferebatur super aquas.* Inde Iunilius ait: 'Quocies scriptura ex aliquo factas res cupit ostendere, aut palam significat, ut est, *producat terra herbam uirentem* [Gn 1,11], *et producant aquae reptile animae uiuentis* [Gn 1,20], aut certe subtili uerborum significacione, ut est illud *Fiat firmamentum* [Gn 1,6], utique significat fuisse aliquid fluidum an liquidum, id est aquas, quae uel soliditatem ostenderent, firmamentum uocatum est quod fiebat'.

Such explicit citation of patristic and post-patristic authorities by name is very frequent in our text, but there are also occasions when the author is not so forthcoming; take, for example, the following instance (f. 33r): *sinodus Nicaeni in libro dogmatis*: *'Perdidit Adam arbitrium, non tamen electionem'* (perhaps from Gennadius?); or the following (f. 25r) *in exemplis sanctorum: 'Nullus labor durus, nullum longum tempus'*, which is found also in the ninth-century *Florilegium Frisingense*,[28] or the following comments of certain *philosophi* on the subject of the *firmamentum* and its shape: *Factura autem firmamenti sic dictum specie rotundum uolubilem ardentem, ut philosophi existimant*;[29] other citations are taken from Pseudo-Augustine, *Dialogus quaestionum lxv Orosii et Augustini*,[30] or from Origen, *Homiliae in Genesim*, which are cited at length without any indication of authorship.

Much the greater proportion of citations, however, are from Augustine (incl. pseudo-Augustinian works): *De Genesi contra*

[28] Albert LEHNER (ed), *Florilegia: Florilegium Frisingense (Clm 6433), testimonia divinae scripturae <et patrum>*, CCSL 108D (Turnhout 1987) 34.

[29] Perhaps from the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* (ed. REHM, *Die Rekognitionen*, 8,15.1-3 (p. 225.10-226.5) + 8.21.2 (p. 229.23-27); but cf. Isidore, *De natura rerum* xii, 4, ed. Jacques FONTAINE, *Isidore de Séville, Traité de la nature* (Bordeaux 1968) 219 (= MPL 83, 984): 'Caelum autem ab oriente ad occidentem semel in die et nocte uerti sapientes existimant. Hunc autem *rotundum, uolubilem atque ardentem* esse dixerunt'. Isidore, of course, drew on Ps-Clement (ref. from C.D. Wright).

[30] MPL 40, 733-52. Clavis, 149-50 (no. 373a). Note that the editors remark: 'attamen adhibetur, saec. viii mediante, ab auctore *Prebiarii de multorium exemplaribus*', a work which Bischoff argued was Irish; cf. *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1, 230, and the edition by Robert E. MCNALLY, *Scriptores Hiberniae Minores* 1, CCSL 108B (Turnhout 1973) 155-71 (text 161-71).

Manichaeos, *De Genesi ad litteram* (*'in tractato Exameron'*),[31] *Enarrationes in psalmos*, *De symbolo*, *De Trinitate*, *Sermones*, *De civitate Dei*, *Contra Faustum*, *Adnotationes in Iob*, *Confessiones*, *De unico baptismo*, *In evangelio Iohannis*, *Contra Iulianum*, *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, these are all definitely drawn upon, and perhaps also the following: *Commentarium in Gal.*, *Epistolae*, *De doctrina christiana*, *Breviarium in psalmos*, *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, and *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*. Detailed analysis of the commentary indicates the extent of these borrowings, but the author is at all times independent of his sources and uses only those materials that he needs. In many instances he has one or other of these underlying sources at hand, but he uses only a few words or phrases, without copying them out in servile fashion. Thus one can say that, in many cases, it is a matter of his being influenced by Augustine; rather than citations from the great church Father, we hear echoes.[32] Here are a few specimen examples (f. 3r):

> Bresith enim 'caput' siue 'capitolium' Aquila interpretatur. Omnes enim fidelissimi doctores, ut Ambrosius, Hieronimus, Gregorius, Augustinus, et Eucherius papa, hunc locum interpretati sunt de Christo. Augustinus dicit: '*In principio fecit deus caelum et terram* [Gn 1,1]. Non in principio temporis, sed in domino nostro Ihesu Christo deus pater cuncta creauit.

This passage is a combination of Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I. 2 (MPL 34, 174) and his *Sermones* (CCSL 41, 78). Another example (f. 3v):

> Omnium rerum materiem triformem caelum et terram nominauit, Augustino dicente: *'In principio fecit deus caelum et terram* [Gn 1,1], quasi semen caeli et terrae, cum confusa adhuc esset caeli et terrae materies. Non quia caelum et terra factum esset, sed quia inde futurum erat certissime caelum et terram formari',

This is based on *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* I. 2 (MPL 34, 178). A further example (f. 3v):

> Terra inuisibilis et incomposita, sed mutato nomine ostendit profunditatem et discretionem informis materiae. Inde Augustinus dicit: 'Abyssi nomine profunditatem et inmensitatem informis materiae sig-

[31] On this title, see further below, p 264 n. 79.

[32] There are as well in our text a number of citations of Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory which I have not been able to identify.

> nificat. *Tenebras* uero dixit, quia nulla species erat in massa illa maxima. In tenebris enim nulla species discernitur',

This is a combination of *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 41.13 (CCSL 38, 470) and the *Confessiones* XIII. 3 (CCSL 27, 243); again (f. 6v):

> Et terram quasi pauimentum domus constituit, quam seminauit omni semine frugum. Et aquas congregauit in unum quasi uiuarium, quod omni genere piscium repleuit atque uolatilium.

In this case we have to do with a combination of *Enarrationes*, Ps. 118, *Sermo* X. 1 (CCSL 40, 1692) and the *Sermones* (*Rev. Bén.* 84, 38); another example (f. 7r):

> Dixit Moyses: *Fecit caelum et terram* [Gn 1,1]. De informitate omnium dixit; caelum pro spiritalibus, terram uero pro omnibus corporalibus adsignauit. Ita et sanctus Augustinus, in tractato Exameron, sic dicit: 'Corporalis et spiritalis creaturae informitas his posterioribus uerbis significatur. Corporalis in eo, quod dictum est, *Terra autem erat inanis et uacua* [Gn 1,2], spiritalis in eo quod dictum est *et tenebrae* erant *super faciem abyssi*, ut, translato uerbo, tenebrosum abyssum' informitatem naturae spiritalis intellegamus.

This last citation is based on *De Genesi ad litteram* 3. 1, but is used in a distinctive way; in this case, as with the others we have just reviewed, this is reminiscence, rather than direct citation. The author is thoroughly steeped in Augustine's works, and cites them effortlessly, quite possibly from memory.[33]

As we remarked above, an analysis of the commentary has revealed that the author, besides drawing on well-known authorities whom he cites by name, also drew on other works, which he introduces with some vague form of words. In these instances, he rarely indicates where he has found his inspiration. A few examples will suffice to illustrate his method: (f. 12v)

> Item Augustinus dicit: 'Et dixit deus *Fiat lux* [Gn 1,6] et *Fiat firmamentum, Congregentur aquae, Appareat arida, Producat terram herbam, Fiant luminaria*, et cetera'. Non corporali modo diuina loquitur natura, nec quotiens deus dixit diuina toties uerbum formauit, sed unum et aequale genuit uerbum sibi coaeternum, in quo omnia ineffabiliter et intemporaliter dixit.

[33] One is reminded of the seventh-century Irish *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, for which see further below, pp 256-57.

The first few words of this passage are taken from Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (MPL 34, 176), but the bulk of the text is an almost verbatim citation of the *Dialogus quaestionum lxv Orosii percontantis et Augustini respondentis, Quaest. XXIII* (MPL 40, 740):

> Neque enim corporalibus modis loquitur divina natura; nec quoties dicitur, *Dixit*, toties verba formavit. Unum enim Verbum genuit coeternum et consubstantiale sibi, in quo omnia ineffabiliter et intemporaliter dixit.

In fact, this pseudo-Augustinian treatise has furnished several passages to the author of our commentary (more than a dozen of the *Quaestiones* are used by him, each time without mention of an author's name). This problem of lack of identification of certain works cited is further complicated when our author refers to such works under the generic title *scriptura*, as he does, for example in the following passage (f. 19v-20r):

> Homo noster interior, id est anima [cf. Eph. 3,16], et homo exterior, quod est corpus. Sic et littera legis ostendit duos homines, et differentiam posuit inter illum et illum. De primo dixit 'Fecit', de altero 'plasmauit'. Ergo secundum interiorem hominem factus est homo ad imaginem dei, scriptura dicente: 'His autem homo, qui ad imaginem dei factus est, interior homo noster est inuisibilis, incorporalis, incorruptus atque inmortalis, sicut et deus est. Alter uero homo exterior, de quo dictum est *Plasmauit deus hominem*, hoc est fincxit, *de limo terrae* [Gn 1,27], ille non est similis deo, quia uisibilis corporalis est corruptus atque mortalem habetur ... Inde ait scriptura: 'Quae est ista imago dei, nisi saluator noster, de quo scriptum est, *qui cum sit splendor* aeterni luminis *et figura expressa substantiae dei* [Hbr 1,3], qui et de se ipso dixit: *Ego in patre et pater in me est* [Io 1,10], et *Qui uidet me uidet et patrem meum* [Io 1,9; cf. Io 10,38]. Ad Christi ergo imaginis similitudinem homo factus est. Uidens autem imaginem suam depositam ab homine et maligni imaginem indutum, motus misericordia, assumpta carne uenit ad eum, ut rursum reciperet quod prodiderat. Hinc de se ipso dixit: *Uenit filius hominis saluare, quod perierat*'.

This is, in fact, a verbatim citation from Origen on Genesis.[34] Origen is cited elsewhere at least once by name; in this case the

[34] W.A. BAEHRENS (ed), *Origines Werke VI, Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung*, 1 (Gn, Ex, Lev), GCS 29 (Leipzig 1920) 15, 17; Louis DOUTRELEAU (ed & transl), *Origène, Homélies sur la Genèse*, SC 7bis (Paris 1985)

quotation is very long. This same use of *scriptura* occurs elsewhere in our commentary, but à propos of another author (f. 10r):

> Ideo in unum Moyses coniuncxit, ut ostenderet lucem cum nocte unum esse diem, in quo die legitimo uiginti quattuor horae continentur. Propterea dicit scriptura: 'Spatia diei duo sunt, interdianum et nocturnum', et est dies naturalis horarum uiginti quattuor. Hac de causa Moyses *dies* dixit ***unus*** [Gn 1,5].

The *scriptura* in this instance is actually Isidore, *Etymologiae* V. 30, 2. In addition, one also finds the formula *Quidam sapiens dixit* (f. 24v), where the reference is to Caesarius of Arles: *Putasne qualis tunc erit splendor animarum, quando solis claritatem habebit lux corporum* (*Sermo* 58.4, CCSL 103, 257).

Bischoff remarked in 'Wendepunkte' that one of the principal traits amongst Irish exegetes was a taste for using grammatical handbooks[35] to explain certain points in Scripture (one could add with equal validity their penchant for using computistical texts as well). Our text offers a number of examples of such usage (f. 8v-9r):

> Terra enim dixit informem materiem rerum, quae inperfecta iacuit, quia necdum ad formam producta est, ut fieret creatura formata. Ideo elegit uerbum inperfectum, ut significaret et rem inperfectam, hoc est, non formatam. Ideo grammatici dicunt: 'Perfectum dicimus de re facta, ut "scripsi", ac si diceret modo definiui finitatem; plusquamperfectum, ut "scripseram", id est, iam olim compleui. Non dicitur enim, nisi de antiquo tempore factum. Inperfectum dicimus, ubi omisimus, necdum compleuimus, ut "scribebam". Qui enim dicit "scribebam", monstrat se dedisse ad scribendum, nec complesse per totum'. Sic erat mundi materia incepta, per substantiam, necdum consummata per formam. Propterea usus est praeterito inperfecto 'erat', quia de imperfecta re narrabat. Propterea ergo usus est in hoc capitulo praeterito inperfec-

60. For further parallels in other Hiberno-Latin texts, see C.D. WRIGHT, *The Irish tradition in Old English literature*, 58 n. 49; these include the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, Recension B, and the *Proverbia Grecorum*. See Dean SIMPSON, 'The *Proverbia Grecorum*', *Traditio* 43 (1987) 1-21. See also the same author's edition of *Sedulius Scottus Collectaneum miscellaneum*, CCCM 67 (Turnhout 1988) 271 (lxviii.6): 'Homo noster interior .vi. modis ad similitudinem Dei factus est: citus, mobilis, subtilis, incorporeus, inuisibilis, aeternus', in a selection of excerpts otherwise taken exclusively from Lactantius ('Ex libro Lactancii'); Simpson correctly identified the text as deriving from Origen.

[35] BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1, 217-18.

> to semper, ut est *Terra erat* [Gn 1,2], *Tenebrae erant, ferebatur super aquas*. Verba sunt inperfecta, quia inperfectam rem significabant.[36]

For the passage in Gn 1,14 (*Et sint in signa et tempora et dies et annos, ut luceant in firmamento caeli et illuminant terram*) the following discursus on computus is offered (f. 17v-18r):

> *Et in tempora* dixit, id est spatia temporum cognoscenda horarum, dierum, mensium, annorum. Item *in tempora*, id est in signa qualitatis temporum quattuor, quae dicuntur: uer, aestas, autumpnus, hyemps, per quae, secundum uarietatem temporum, diuersis uestigiis sidera peragunt cursum. Item in quattuor tempora, quae sunt inter duo solstitia et duo aequinoctia, quae siderum cursu regulantur, *et in dies*, id est omnis dies solis et lunae. Dies solis a mane usque ad alterum mane. Hii termini diei a sole regulantur, uel etiam artificalis diei termini ab ortu usque ad occasum solis monstrari solent. Dies uero lunae, id est a septima hora mediante, usque ad alteram septimam mediantem altero die. Et hanc regulam omnes dies lunae suscipiunt, ab incessu lunae quo usque perueniat dies illa ad plenitudinem horarum xxiiii. *Et annos*, id est, annos solaris, aut etiam annos lunae. Anni autem solares sunt duo: aut solaris annus, aut bissextilis annus. In anno solari dies ccclxv computantur; bissextili uero anno, uno die superaddito. Quarto anno bissextus inuenitur. Et annos lunae, id est annus communis, annus embolismi, annus saltus. Hii omnes anni a cursu lunae et actu nominantur et moderantur.

Such a passage in a seventh-century Irish work would cause no surprise.[37] The veritable forest of such texts in circulation in Ireland at that time makes it difficult to establish for certain, which is being used here, but we can say nevertheless that this passage proves again a point that has been made repeatedly about Hiberno-Latin compositions of all kinds during this period: exegesis, grammar, and the computus all are found side-by-side in them, and scholars who are learned in one branch of this trivium are invariably conversant with them all.

[36] I have failed to locate a direct source for this, but cf. Hermann HAGEN (ed), *Expositiones Sergii de prioribus Donati grammatici urbis Romae*, in *Anecdota Helvetica* (Leipzig 1870) 143-58: 154.14-18.

[37] See, e.g., *De ratione conputandi*, Maura WALSH & Dáibhí Ó CRÓINÍN (eds & transls), *Cummian's letter 'De controversia paschali', together with a related Irish computistical tract 'De ratione conputandi'*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies & Texts 86 (Toronto 1988) 154 §46, or the *Liber de computo* §lxx (MPL 129, 1307).

We have remarked above how our Genesis commentator bases almost all his discussion on the authority of the Fathers. However, it is not so much the style of his exegesis as the unusual range of sources that gives a distinctive physiognomy to his work, which sets it apart from the general run of such texts. We have in this commentary a systematic series of citations from Genesis (the Six Days of Creations in particular), together with supplementary sources, some of which are of a nature that requires closer attention. Take, for example, the following passage (f. 14v):

> Quid est caelum, aut quem sensum tenet? Ambrosius ostendit, dicens: 'Caelum graeco uocabulo "Uranus" dicitur, apud Latinos autem propterea "caelum" appellatur, quia inpressa stellarum lumina uelut signa habens tamquam "caelatum" dicitur'. In libro de cognitione nominum sic definitur: 'Caelum a celsitudine nomen accepit, uel eo quod intra se grandia celat archana'.

The citation of Ambrose is from the *Hexameron* 2.4.15, but the etymology of *caelum* at the end of the passage is what attracts notice here, and its derivation from a *Liber de cognitione nominum*. The etymology itself is nothing unusual; it is found in several Irish and non-Irish works.[38] However, this particular wording is found otherwise only in the Pseudo-Bede *Commentarium in Pentateuchum* (MPL 91, 189-394: 192): '*Caelum* dicitur *eo quod celat arcana*; vel *a celsitudine*, vel a caelatura'.[39] What is the *Liber de cognitione nominum* that our author cites as authority? Is it a glossary? It is to be hoped that some other scholar will resolve the mystery. By way of

[38] See Thomas D. HILL & James E. CROSS, *The prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus* (Toronto 1982) 63; see also Roswitha KLINCK, *Die lateinische Etymologie des Mittelalters*. Medium Aevum, Philologische Studien 17 (München 1970) 85-89 for parallalels from Varro and Cassiodorus, amongst others. Charles Wright has also pointed out the following passages: Paris, BN lat. 11561 (the Bibelwerk), f. 9r: 'ISIDORUS: Caelum a celsitudine dicitur, uel quod caelat diuina misteria intra se'; Paris, BN lat. 10457 ('Wendepunkte' no. 3), f. 20v: 'Caelum caelando quia in se et ultra se posita celat multa; f. 21r: 'caelum scriptura intellegitur eo quod alia celat et alia ostendit'.

[39] For arguments in favour of an Irish origin for this commentary, see Dáibhí Ó CRÓINÍN (ed), *The Irish Sex Aetates Mundi* (Dublin 1983) 144-5, 154. For a study of the manuscripts, see Michael GORMAN, 'The Commentary on the Pentateuch attributed to Bede in PL 91: 189-394', *Revue Bénédictine* 106 (1996) 61-108, 255-307. Gorman does not accept the proposed Irish origin of this text.

contrast, it is easier to identify the source for this next passage in our text (f. 12r-v):

> *Fiat lux* [Gn 1,3]. Hinc Eucherius dicit: 'Dicere Dei idem est et facere'. Et Philippus, in expositione beati Iob, sic ait: 'Deus autem loquitur cum efficientia eius. Res intellegitur, quemammodum ad beatum Iob dominus dixit: *Aut putas me aliter tibi locutum, nisi ut appareas iustus?* [Iob 33,32][40] Locutum se dixit pro illa tribulatione, quam fecit.

As was remarked above, I have been unable to trace the source here cited as Eucherius (it does not seem to occur in his *Instructiones*, at any rate). In the case of the Philip citation, however, recourse to Migne (MPL 23, 1401-70) shows that we are dealing in this instance with a text which the indefatigable abbé cited 'ex antiquissima Catena in Genesim in Ambrosiano ms. saeculi circiter septimi, F littera et num. 60 praenotato'.[41] The Ambrosian manuscript is an Irish collection (*saec.* VIII), and the same Catena provides a second citation (MPL 23, 147-8) which occurs also in our manuscript at f. 31v:

> Philippus dicit: 'Vides ergo quanta differentia sit facturae et plasmationis. Quod fecit deus, ad imaginem suam fecit, id est animam; et quod plasmauit, corpus est de terra, quam uiuificauit animae inspiratione, quam fecit. Imago igitur dei in anima ad inmortalitatem pertinet; similitudo ad potestatem et operationem, ut naturalitas possideret imaginem inmortalitatis dei et similitudinem potestatis super omnia, quae creauerat, et piis operibus immitaretur deum'.

This 'enigmatic' Philip was known to the author of the famous Hiberno-Latin poem *Altus prosator* once attributed to Columba/Colum Cille (†597), founder of the island monastery of Iona off the western coast of Scotland, but thought now, as a result of more recent scholarship, to be a composition of the seventh century.[42] The *Expositio beati Iob*[43] was known to and used by the Irish

[40] The biblical reading is not quite as significant as it appears at first sight: the editors of *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem* 9 (Hester-Iob) (Rome 1951) 179 note: 'vers. non ad verbum refert Philip.'

[41] On this manuscript see CLA III 336-40. For its Old Irish material see Whitley STOKES & John STRACHAN (eds), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old Irish glosses, scholia, prose and verse*, 2 vols (Cambridge 1901-3) 2, 234.

[42] See now Jane STEVENSON, 'Altus prosator', *Celtica* 23 (2000) 326-68.

[43] Dom André Wilmart gave a list of the principal manuscripts in his *Codices Reginenses Latini* 1 = *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recen-*

author of the tract *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* (dated by internal evidence to AD 655).[44] It is found as well among the books listed in the early library catalogue from Bobbio (*Librum Philippi presbiteri in Iob i.*).[45] The Venerable Bede also knew the work, and cited it twice, with obvious respect, in his computistical manual *De temporum ratione.*[46] According to Michael Richter (the most recent writer on the subject), 'there can be no doubt that Philip's commentary came to the knowledge of Bede from Ireland'.[47]

However, the 'pièces de résistance' in our commentary are those citations which are taken from rare or, in certain cases, almost unknown sources. *Damus exemplum* (as the author of our commentary would say). On f. 31r of the Munich manuscript the following passage is found:

> Alii dicunt, quod factura hominis quattuor naturis constet, id est terra, aqua, aer, ignis. Unde hoc probatur, uel qua auctoritate firmari potest? Victor episcopus Capuae respondit: 'Formauit igitur dominus hominem de limo terrae, quo limi nomine humectam uoluit significare substanciam. Ergo duo elementa euidenter ostendit, terrae simul et aquae. Dehinc etiam ignis et siccitate, quae ei terraeque communiter inest'.

The extract continues, in fact, up to f. 31v, where it ends with the following words: ... *Ne arbitreris animam, quod nefas est atque profanum, particulam diuinae substantiae.*

siti (Vatican 1937) 236: (1) Oxford, Bodl. 426, olim Canterbury [written in Anglo-Saxon minuscule; cf. E.A. Lowe, CLA II 234], 'fortasse s. IX', according to Wilmart, but saec. VIII-IX according to Lowe; (2) Cambrai 470, 's. VIII ex'; The Hague, Meerman Mus., MS. no. 1, 'fortasse VIII med.'; he also remarks: 'insuper aliquot fragmenta exstant'. See also Michael RICHTER, *Ireland and her neighbours in the seventh century* (Dublin 1999) 190, 231-3, and Clavis 227 (no. 643). An edition of the *Expositio* was apparently undertaken by P. Irénée Fransen, but unfortunately the project never came to fruition. According to M. Richter, a new edition, by Maria Pia Ciccarese, is in preparation.

[44] On this text see further below, pp 256-57.

[45] Gustav BECKER, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn 1885) 64-73, no. 121 (66). The most satisfactory text, more complete than any heretofore printed, is that of Michele Tosi, 'Il governo abbaziale di Gerberto a Bobbio', in idem (ed), *Gerberto: scienza, storia e mito. Atti del 'Gerberti Symposium' (Bobbio 25-27 luglio 1983)* (Bobbio 1985) 71-234: 197-223; the Philip commentary is no. 130 (200).

[46] Charles W. JONES (ed), *Bedae opera de temporibus* (Cambridge, Mass. 1943) 185 (DTR IV), 234 (DTR XXIX), and see also *ibid*, 334-5.

[47] RICHTER, *Ireland and her neighbours*, 231. See also D.R. HOWLETT, 'Insular Latin *idama, iduma*', *Peritia* 9 (1995) 72-80.

What should we make of this attribution, almost unnoticed by scholars up to now? The great Jean-Baptiste Pitra remarked – and one can only agree with the sentiments of that learned French scholar – that Victor has not enjoyed a happy history with scholars, ancient or modern: 'Verum mirari satis nequeo [he says] undenam Capuanus alto silentio tam veterum quam recentiorum, "doctissimus sane vir ac sanctissimus," obruatur, aut cur a nullo, praeter Bedam, quem caeteri deinceps ad verbum retulere, laudetur; coaevus scilicet nec impar Ennodio, Boethio, Cassiodoro, Aratori, Dionysio', and he cites in the same vein the words of the famous Iohannes Trithemius, who remarked: 'In Scripturis sanctis eruditus, et in saecularibus litteris sufficienter imbutus, theologus et computista egregius, acer ingenio, et eloquio clarus, in sacris voluminibus fertur nonnulla scripsisse; sed paucissima eorum ad notitiam meam pervenerunt'.[48]

According to Pitra, only fragments of Victor's writings have come down to us: a translation of the Diatesseron of Tatian (but Dom Donatien De Bruyne judged that Victor played no real part in the enterprise; 'il a ajouté les chiffres que les copistes avaient omis').[49] On the other hand, there is no doubt that Victor was the author of the tract *De Pascha* which was used by Bede in his *De temporum ratione*,[50] but which has otherwise, unfortunately, not survived. The other texts attributed to Victor[51] are a *Libellus Reticulus seu de arca Noe*,[52] a *Catena in Evangelia*,[53] which is cited by Hrabanus Maurus, Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, and Walafrid Strabo,[54] exegesis on the Pauline Epistles, on Exodus (*ex scholia*

[48] PITRA, *Spicilegium* 1, l-li.

[49] Donatien DE BRUYNE, 'La préface du Diatesseron latin avant Victor de Capoue', *Revue Bénédictine* 39 (1927) 5-11: 10.

[50] See JONES, *Bedae opera de temporibus*, 216 (DTR XVII), 272-3 (DTR LI), 289 (DTR LXIV), and 338, 353, 378, 386, 391.

[51] On Victor see *Clavis*, 308-9, nos. 953a-956 + *Clavis patrum Graecorum* 1 (Turnhout 1974) 169 (no. 1479), 173 (no. 1493, no. 1495); CPG 2 (1983) 343 (no. 3817), 470 (no. 4195). See also Michel HUGLO, 'D'Helisachar à Abbon de Fleury', *Revue Bénédictine* 104 (1994) 204-30, and Irénée FRANSEN, 'Traces de Victor de Capoue dans la chaine exégétique d'Elisachar', *Revue Bénédictine* 106 (1996) 53-60, and *Clavis patristica pseudepigraphorum medii aevi* 2 A (Turnhout 1994) No. 2960 a,b,c.

[52] PITRA, *Spicilegium*, 1, 287-89.

[53] IBID., 1, lii-liii; cf. Fidel RÄDLE, *Studien zu Smaragd von Saint-Mihiel.* Medium Aevum, Philologische Studien 29 (München 1974) 199.

[54] See RÄDLE, *Studien zu Smaragd*, 189 ff.

Diodori in Exodo), *Scholia patrum* (citing Pacatus, Basil, Didymus, Severianus of Gabala, etc.), *Verba Seniorum* (in which he cites and translates texts by Origen, Diodorus, Severianus, and Cyril of Alexandria), and *Capitula de resurrectione domini*, likewise cited by Smaragdus and by the enigmatic Frigulus.[55] The final composition in Pitra's list of works by Victor is a collection of *Scholia in Genesin* that Pitra himself discovered in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 12309 (Saint-Germain-des-Prés 838, olim Sangermanensis 60), fols 1v-70r, under the title *Expositum Iohannis Romanae ecclesiae diaconi in Genesim.*[56] This Iohannes (fl. post 554), deacon of the Church of Rome,[57] undertook to collect materials on the explication of the bible from previous centuries; the *Expositum* is thus a very valuable treasure-trove of precious fragments from ancient christian writings that have otherwise not survived.[58] This is the

[55] For Frigulus, see BISCHOFF, 'Wendepunkte' no. 20 = *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1, 249-52; RÄDLE, *Studien zu Smaragdus*, 151-55. Dr Anthony Forte, Los Angeles, has an edition in preparation.

[56] PITRA, *Spicilegium* 1, 265, 278-80. Otto BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 1 (Darmstadt 1962) 168, was convinced that the manuscript was lost ('inzwischen leider völlig verschollen'), but he was mistaken; cf. Albert SIEGMUND, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Benediktiner-Akademie 5 (München-Pasing 1939) 130 n. 2. GORMAN, 'The commentary on the Pentateuch attributed to Bede in PL 91, 189-394', 258-59, has proposed to see in the 'Iohannes diaconus' of the Paris BN lat. 12309 collection, not the individual whose floruit was c. 554, but another Iohannes diaconus 'who worked with Anastasius Bibliothecarius during the pontificate of Pope John VIII (872-882)'. His argument is that 'the compiler of a treatise who later became pope would not normally be referred to as *diaconus*'; but he has overlooked the exactly parallel instance of Hilarus 'ecclesiae Romanae archidiaconus', who commissioned Victorius of Aquitaine in AD 457 to compose his Easter tables, and who subsequently (after the death of Pope Leo, 19 Nov. 461), became pope. Although most of the MSS of Victorius's tables refer to Hilarus by his papal title, the oldest and best ones retain the original *archidiaconus*. See Bruno KRUSCH, 'Die Einführung des griechischen Paschalritus im Abendlande', *Neues Archiv* 9 (1884) 101-69: 102, and Theodor MOMMSEN (ed), Victorii Aquitani cursus paschalis annorum DXXXII', MGH AA 9 = *Chronica minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII* (Berlin 1892) 666-735: 677. Gorman's proposed redating of the *Expositum* also seems extremely difficult to reconcile with Bischoff's dating (saec. IX $^{4/4}$) for the Paris MS., which he reports.

[57] See the *Clavis*, 307 (no. 951).

[58] See SIEGMUND, *Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Lieratur*, 130 n. 2: 'Dieser Kommentar ist übrigens für uns sehr beachtlich, weil ausnahmslos griech. Väter zitiert sind: Polykarp, Origenes, Basilius, Diodor, Severian'.

source of our Victor citation. A table giving the two texts in parallel will best illustrate the relationship between them (in the left-hand column I give the Munich text; in the right-hand column the text from Pitra):

Alii dicunt, quod facturam hominis quattuor naturis constet, id est, terra, aqua, aer, ignis. Unde hoc probatur, uel qua auctoritate firmari potest? Victor episcopus Capuae respondit: *'Formauit igitur dominus hominem de limo terrae* [Gn 2,17],	*Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae.* VICTOR, episcopus Capuae, in libro *Responsorum*, capitulo vigesimo primo, secundum hebræam translationem. Refert Scriptura divina, quod humanum corpus assumto Deus limo terrae plasmaverit; quo limo nomine, humectam voluit significari substantiam. Ergo duo elementa evidenter ostendit, terrae simul et aquae.
quo limi nomine, humectam uoluit significare substanciam. Ergo duo elementa euidenter ostendit, terrae simul et aquae.	
	Sed ex horum quibusdam qualitatibus reliquorum duorum introducitur intellectus, id est, aeris ex humore qui communis est ei, et aquae; dehinc etiam ignis ex siccitate quae ei terraeque communiter inest.
Dehinc etiam ignis et siccitate, quae ei terraeque communiter inest.	
	Et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae [Gn 2,17].
Et inspirauit in faciem eius spiraculum uitae, et factus est in animam uiuentem [Gn 2,7]. Quid significat dicere 'et inspirauit', et non sic dixit: 'et fecit eis spiraculum uitae'? Victor episcopus Capuae dicit: 'Inspirationem Dei operationem sancti spiritus datur intellegi, ut quemammodum pater cum uerbo suo cunc-	*Victor*, episcopus Capuae, ex *Scholia Sermonum* SEVERIANI, *episcopi Gabalonis.* Inspiratione Dei operatio Sancti Spiritus datur intelligi: ut, quemadmodum Pater cum Verbo suo cuncta fecisse cognoscitur in eo quod refertur, *Dixit Deus* (Verbo enim suo dicit; et

ta fecisse cognoscatur, in eo quod refertur 'Dixit Deus'. Uerbo enim suo dicit, et sic, iubente Deo, uerbo suo facere intellegitur uniuersa. Sic et spiritus sanctus, ut cooperator et creator pariter esse diceretur, dicitur : *Insuflauit Deus*, id est, spiritu suo animam procreauit. *'Insuflauit'* dixit, ut creatorem intellegas spiritum sanctum. *'Emitte'*, inquid, *'spiritum tuum et creabuntur'* [Ps. 108,30], ne arbitreris animam, quod nefas est atque profanum particulam diuinae substantiae.

sic, dicente Deo, Verbo suo facere intelligitur universa): sic et Spiritus Sanctus ut cooperator et creator pariter esse doceatur, dicitur: *Insufflavit Deus*, id est, Spiritu suo animam procreavit. *Inspiravit* igitur dictum est, ut creatorem quoque intelligas Spiritum Sanctum. *Emitte*, inquit, *Spiritum tuum, et creabuntur. Vitae* vero *spiraculum*, humanae vitae cognosce spiritum procreatum, ne arbitreris animam, quod nefas atque profanum est, particulam existimare divinae substantiae, quam animam constat esse mutabilem, dum sit sancta Trinitas incommutabilis et incommutabiliter semper beata.

It is clear from this that the two columns contain the identical material almost without variation. The passage from Victor in our Genesis commentary, therefore, has every appearance of being a quotation from the *Expositum*; the manuscript text differs from the printed version in only a few minor details (probably due to scribal error). Thus it is not impossible – quite the contrary – that this is the same Victor whom medieval scholars ignored but of whose works the *Pauca de Genesi* has preserved for us precious fragments. Precisely because it is attested by two different sources – in the Paris manuscript published by Pitra, and in *Pauca de Genesi* – I am inclined to believe that the Victor citation in the Munich commentary is genuine, and should be accepted as such.[59]

In the section of our text devoted to Gn 1.2 *Et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi*, another interesting source is drawn upon in a passage (f. 4r) which likewise deserves attention:

[59] The *Clavis* reports that an edition of the *Expositum* is being prepared for the *Corpus Christianorum* by Anne-Marie Genevois, and Michael GORMAN, in 'Commentary on the Pentateuch attributed to Bede', 259 n. 15, refers to an article in the *Mélanges Vernet*, which I have not seen.

> Consideremus sententiam sancti Petri, qui dixit sic in libris Clementis: 'Ipsa umbra, quae in corporibus mundi reddita erat, intrinsecus clausa, tenebras ex se dedit. Sed cum uoluntas dei introduxisset lucem, ipsae umbrae, quae ex corporibus mundi factae fuerant, continuo deuoratae sunt; tum deinde lux in diem, tenebrae deputantur in noctem'.

This may be compared with the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* (in Rehm's edition), where the same passage is found almost without change.[60] In addition, the citation is found continued at another point in our commentary (f. 15v):

> De illo autem altero caelo, quod est corporale, Petrus dicit: 'Aqua, quae erat intra mundum, in medio illius primi caeli terraeque spacio, quasi gelu concreta et christallo solidata distenditur, et huiusmodi firmamento intercluduntur spacia caeli a terrae media, idque firmamentum caelum appellauit, et eius mundi machina, cum una domus esset, in duas diuisit regiones. Diuisionis autem haec causa fuit, ut superior angelis, inferior autem hominibus habitaculum praeberet'.[61]

The presence of this same passage in the (genuine) Hexameron of Bede (MPL 91, 9-190: 19-20) can be explained perhaps in the same way that Michael Richter has explained Bede's familiarity with Philip's *Expositio in Iob*, namely that he acquired his text from Irish sources.

There is a precious piece of evidence that further supports the proposed Insular (Irish?) origin of our commentary (f. 33r):

> Cur tacet scriptura de peccato diaboli, quando de peccato hominis narrat? Augustinus dicit: 'Angelicum uulnus uerus medicus, qualiter factum sit, indicare noluit, dum illud postea curare non destinauit'.

This citation is from a text mentioned briefly above, oft-cited in discussion of Hiberno-Latin literature, and which is securely dated, namely the *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* of the Irish Augustine. Thanks to a dating-clause in the body of the work, we know that it was composed in AD 655, and from other internal references we know that it was put together by an Irishman in Ireland.[62] It is

[60] Rehm, *Rekognitionen*, 23-24 (*Rec.* I 27.1-2).

[61] *Rec.* I 27.3-5 (REHM, op.cit., 24).

[62] On this text see William REEVES, 'On Augustin, an Irish writer of the seventh century', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* [PRIA], 7 (1857-61) 514-22; Mario ESPOSITO, 'On the Pseudo-Augustinian treatise *De mirabilibus sanctae scripturae* written in Ireland in the year 655', *PRIA* 35 C 2 (1919) 189-207 [repr.

widely regarded as the most impressive product of the Irish monastic schools in the seventh century and was used in turn by the compiler of the well-known Munich Computus (Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Clm 14456, *saec.* IX, which itself is dated by internal references to the years AD 689 and 718), and by the author of the *Liber de ordine creaturarum* (c. 700?), likewise of Insular origin.[63] The Computus is a collection of materials assembled almost certainly at Iona; the *De ordine creaturarum* may have been composed in the same general area of Irish activity and influence. What is clear is that the author of our Genesis commentary had access to the same range of sources as these (and other) Hiberno-Latin writers of the seventh century. It is, therefore, almost incredible that Gorman – having all these facts before him – could have stated that the *Pauca de Genesi* 'ha[s] no demonstrable connection with Ireland or Irish circles on the continent'.[64]

in Esposito, *Latin learning in medieval Ireland,* ed. Michael LAPIDGE (London 1988) no. XI]; James F. KENNEY, *Sources for the early history of Ireland, 1, ecclesiastical* (New York 1929) 275-7 (no. 104), and WALSH & Ó CRÓINÍN, *Cummian's letter,* 88; Michael LAPIDGE & Richard SHARPE, *A bibliography of Celtic-Latin literature 400-1200.* Royal Irish Academy Ancillary Publication 1 (Dublin 1985) 79, no. 291. In order to dispose of the nonsense written by Gorman on this text ('Critique', 192-3), who wrote: 'I do not accept the traditional attribution [sic] that it was written in Ireland in 655, which was popularized [!!] by Mario Esposito', it is sufficient to point out that Bruno KRUSCH, 'Die Einführung des griechischen Paschalritus im Abendlande', 158-59, had already indicated (in 1884!) this fact, which was 'popularized by Mario Esposito', and that after him the great Bartholomew Mac Carthy – one of the foremost experts in the field of computus – provided an elegant confirmation of Krusch's dating; cf. *The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus No. 830.* RIA Todd Lecture Series 3 (Dublin 1892) 365-68. Gorman's interpretation is based on the wholly misguided views of COCCIA, 'Cultura irlandese precarolingia', 334-40.

[63] See Manuel C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, 'Sobre el "Liber de ordine creaturarum"', *Sacris Erudiri* 5 (1953) 147-66; IDEM (ed), *Liber de ordine creaturarum un anónimo irlandés del siglo VII.* Monografias de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostella 10 (Santiago de Compostella 1972). Note, however, Gorman's view of this text ('Critique', 179 n. 5): '*De ordine creaturarum* should, I believe, be attributed to Spain in the last quarter of the seventh century'. According to Coccia ('Cultura irlandese precarolingia', 331) 'non è escluso, a nostro parere, che sia il *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae,* opera anch'essa di discutibile origine, a dipendere dal *De ordine creaturarum*'. This is the solitary original idea in the entire article.

[64] 'Critique', 205-6. The evidence of all the manuscripts needs a thorough study.

It is scarcely necessary at this point to remark that the *Pauca de Genesi* contains all the indications of Irish origin that one would expect from such a work. Although (as we remarked above) the author has given no explicit indication of that fact, the evidence seems to me to establish the case for Irish origin – and not Italy *c.* 700, as Gorman (following Stegmüller) proposed. This would seem to best accord with the facts as we have established them up to now. There is, however, a possible further indication of that Irish origin in another passage of the commentary, where the author discusses Gn 1.3 *Et dixit Deus: 'Fiat lux', et facta est lux* (f. 9r-v):

> Si ad diem pertinet lux illa, qualis est in diebus septimanae? Septem enim sunt, quae et specialia nomina habent. Ita quaerendum est et in diebus mensis, qualis dies est. Dies enim mensis aut triginta sunt aut etiam triginta et unum, qui semper ab inicio mundi diebus septimanae inuicem concurrit. Vel quo tempore in anno facta est dies illa et illa? Sunt enim quattuor tempora anni: uer, aestas, hyemps, autumnus. Primus dies saeculi est dies dominicus, qui est et primus dies septimanae, qui apud Hebraeos 'prima sabbati' appellatur, apud Latinos 'prima feria'. Christiani autem dicunt dominicum diem, quia ille, qui dominatur super omnia, in eo surrexit. De diebus uero mensis primus dies saeculi est octauo Kalendarum Aprilium, sic dicunt de primo tempore anni, uer fuit; de primo mense, Marcius est, in cuius aequinoctio mundus est factus. Firmemus hoc. Qui uult probare, consideret expositionem sancti Theophili de ratione paschali, qui fuit archiepiscopus Caesariae Palestinae, qui, rogatus a Uictorio papa urbis Romae episcopo, ut ordinaret rationem de paschali die. Et uocauit episcopos Asiae in unum et interrogabat eos de die et tempore, quo sacra sollempnitas celebraretur. Illi autem respondentes dixerunt, *etc.*

We are dealing here with the 'Acts of the Council of Caesarea', one of the so-called 'Irish Paschal Forgeries', a work well-known in Ireland in the seventh century, cited, for example by Cummian in his famous *Epistola de controversia paschali* (composed AD 632/3),[65] and by the authors of numerous other Irish computistical treatises. The work survives in over forty manuscripts, in three recensions. One was published by Ludovico Muratori (and reprinted in MPL 129, 1273-1372: 1350-53) from Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. H. 150 inf., a Bobbio manuscript containing much Irish material; a second was published by Bruno Krusch in his great pio-

[65] See WALSH & Ó CRÓINÍN, *Cummian's letter.*

neering study of the Easter controversy;[66] a third was published, from a Vatican manuscript, by André Wilmart.[67] The entire manuscript and literary history of the work leads back to Ireland in the seventh century, and besides the Irish only Bede seems to have known and used it (for a rather dubious purpose, it must be said).[68] Again a table of the two texts in parallel will best illustrate the relationship between the passages in our commentary and in the Acts proper (the Munich manuscript in the left-hand column; the text from Muratori/Migne in the right-hand column):

'Oportet prius inuestigari de principio saeculi, quomodo factus est mundus, et sic postea salubriter ordinari de die festo'.	Primum nobis inquirendum est, quomodo in principio mundus fuerit factus, et cum hoc fuerit diligentius investigatum, tunc poterit ex eo Paschalis ordinatio salubriter pervenire.
Et postea dixerunt: 'Quem credimus saeculi primum, nisi dominicum diem?'	Dixerunt ergo episcopi: Quo die credimus primum fuisse factum mundum, nisi Dominico?
Respondit Theophilus: 'Probate hoc'. Illi responderunt: '*Et factum est uespere et mane dies unus* [Gn 4,5], deinde secundus, tercius, quartus, quintus, sextus, septimus. *In quo septimo die requieuit dominus ab omnibus operibus suis* [Gn 2,2].	Alii dixerunt: Quomodo ergo potest probare, quia primus dies, dies Dominicus fuerit? Theophilus episcopus dixit: Probate, quod dicitis. Episcopi responderunt: Secundum Scripturae auctoritatem divinae factum est vespere, et factum est mane dies unus, et secundus, et tertius, et quartus, et quintus [et sextus,] et septimus. In quo septimo requievit ab omnibus operibus suis,
Ergo, cum nouissimo die significabat sabbatum, quis potest esse primus, nisi dies dominicus?' Et	quem diem septimum sabbatum appellavit. Cum ergo novissimus dies sit Sabbatum, quis potest

[66] Bruno KRUSCH, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie [1]: Der 84-jährige Ostercyclus und seine Quellen* (Leipzig 1880) 303-10.

[67] André WILMART, 'Un nouveau texte du faux concile de Césarée sur le comput pascal', *Analecta Reginensia = Studi e Testi* 59 (1933) 19-27; JONES, *Bedae opera de temporibus*, 88-89; WALSH & Ó CRÓINÍN, *Cummian's letter*, 35-37.

[68] Besides its regular use in computistical collections, the 'Acts' are also found in the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*; cf. WASSERSCHLEBEN, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, 68 (XXI. 17 f.: *Teophilus episcopus dicit ad senes: Probate, quod dicitis*).

dixit Theophilus: 'Ecce de dominico die, quia primus sit, bene probastis. De tempore quid dicitis, quia quattuor sunt tempora anni?'	esse primus, nisi Dominicus. Theophilus episcopus dicit: Ecce de die Dominico quia primus sit, probatum. De tempore quid vobis videtur? [Quattuor] autem tempora mundi in anno accidunt: Ver, Æstas Autumnus, et Hyems. Quod ergo tempus primum factum esse creditis in mundo?
Episcopi dixerunt: 'Uerno tempore, sicut scriptum est: *Germinet terra herbam foeni secundum genus suum, et lignum pomiferum ferens fructum* [Gn 1,11]. Etenim uernis temporibus accipiuntur'. Theophilus dixit: 'Quo loco caput mundi creditis esse, in principio temporis, an medio, an in fine?' Dixerunt: 'In aequinoctio, octauo Kal. April., sicut scriptum est: *Et uocauit deus lucem diem et tenebras uocauit noctem. Et diuisit lucem et tenebras* [Gn 1, 3-5]. Hoc est aequas partes'. Ecce quomodo interpretati sunt hunc locum episcopi Asiae et Theophilus, qui fuit patriarcha.	Episcopi dixerunt: Vernum. Theophilus episcopus dixit: Probate quod dicitis. Et illi responderunt: Scriptum est: *Germinet terra herbam feni secundum genus suum, et lignum pomiferum ferentem fructum.* Hæc enim veris temporibus videmus fieri. Theophilus episcopus dixit: Quo loco caput mundi esse creditis? in principio temporis, an medio temporis, an in fine? Episcopi dixerunt: In Æquinoctio, idest 8 Kal. Apr. Theophilus episcopus dixit: Probate quod dicitis. Et illi responderunt: Scriptura dicit, quia *fecit Deus lucem, et vocavit Deus lucem diem, et fecit Deum tenebras, et tenebras vocavit noctem, et divisit inter lucem et tenebras æquas partes.*

It is clear from the foregoing that the author of *Pauca de Genesi* was thoroughly at home with the arguments in the Acts of the Council of Caesarea, but there is another indication in the text that he was well acquainted with the technical aspects of computus. In this case he expresses himself with a noticeable degree of certainty (f. 9v):

> Ecce quomodo interpretati sunt hunc locum episcopi Asiae et Theophilus, qui fuit patriarcha. Non de angelis dixerunt, sed de die locuti sunt, historialiter. Quae auctoritas peruenit ad sedem sancti Petri, et de qua auctoritate tota ecclesia seruat regulam diei festi, ut non celebretur, nisi in dominico die, neque celebretur ante aequinoctium, id est

> ante principium mundi, sed in aequinoctio, si fuerit dominicus dies, aut post aequinoctium, per septem aetates lunae, quibus Pascha celebratur.

Unfortunately, where we might have hoped for a definitive proof of date and origin from this statement, we are left instead with a conundrum: Easter Sunday on the day of the equinox was anathema in the Church since the Council of Nicea (AD 325), and was not observed in Ireland or anywhere on the continent after the fourth century. On this question, at least, Columbanus – unless there is an ambiguity in what he says – and his confrères appear to have been at one with everyone else when he wrote on the subject in AD 600: *'Pascha, id est sollemnitas dominicae resurrectionis, ante transgressum vernalis aequinoctii, decimae quartae lunae initium, non potest celebrari', ut scilicet aequinoctium non antecedat.*[69] In Ireland itself (north and south) in the second half of the seventh century, and for the monks of Iona up to the year 715/16, when they renounced the ancient Irish Paschal usage, it was a veritable *cause de guerre*. There is, however, a computistical text which may cast light on this curious doctrine: the work known as *Disputatio Morini Alexandrini episcopi de ratione paschali* is one of the curiosities of the Insular Paschal controversy.[70] It survives in eight manuscripts, and the evidence of those manuscripts points to Irish origin for the work; it is cited by Cummian in 632/3, in the mid-seventh-century Irish *De ratione conputandi*, in the Munich Computus, and nowhere else outside of Irish computistical tracts.[71]

[69] G.S.M. WALKER (ed & transl), *Sancti Columbani opera*. Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 2 (Dublin 1957) 4 (Ep. 1).

[70] First edited by Aegidius BUCHEIUS, *De doctrina temporum commentarius in Victorium Aquitanum* (Antwerp 1634), then by DU CANGE, 'Chronicon Paschale', *Corpus Byzantinae historiae* (Paris 1688), Appendix 23, 480-81. Muratori published another ed. from the Milan MS. mentioned above, *Anecdota quae ex Ambrosianae bibliothecae codicibus nunc primum eruit*, 2 vols (Milan 1697-98), then PITRA, *Spicilegium Solesmense* 1 (1852) 14-15 (cf. ibid. XII-XV); for a modern ed. see Alfred CORDOLIANI, 'Les computistes insulaires et les écrits pseudo-alexandrins', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 106 (1945/46) 28-34, and Paul GROSJEAN, 'Recherches sur les débuts de la controverse paschale chez les celtes', *Analecta Bollandiana* 64 (1946) 225-39.

[71] JONES, *Bedae opera de temporibus*, 97 n. 2 noted that 'the only references to it, so far as I can tell, are the one in Cummian, and one in a work, *De Bissexto*, attributed erroneously to Alcuin, but actually Irish and pre-Bedan'. He was not aware of the further citations in the *De ratione conputandi* and in the Munich Computus.

The purpose of the *Disputatio* is exceedingly obscure, and has defied explanation by the best modern computistical scholars.[72] The first half of the text is concerned with computistical minutiae exclusively; the second, on the other hand, contains obscure and scarcely intelligible allegorical arguments in favour of the computistical doctrine expounded in the first part. It appears, however, that the author wrote in favour of the Paschal rules advanced by Victorius of Aquitaine, for he gives a Passion date of *luna .xiiii.*, with the Resurrection on *luna .xvi.*, in accordance with Victorius's doctrine. In the only direct references to its doctrine that we have (*De ratione conputandi*), this inference appears to be borne out:

> Et per hoc nobis ostenditur .xvii. luna primi mensis iuxta Ebreos in pascha resurrectionis fuisse. Iuxta Grecos uero .xvi. luna fuit, ut Morinus dicit: 'Non est mirum, si acciderit iudicium, si conuenerit aequinoctium, quod est .viii. Kl. Aprelis, luna .xiiii., et resurrectio luna .xvi. post .xii. Kl. Aprelis, quod est equinoctium uernale, hoc est initium anni solis. Et ante hoc initium non facitur pascha apud Ebreos et Grecos et Latinos, nisi in errore'.[73]

The *Disputatio* appears to be attempting to reconcile the discrepancy (found in many writers of the early christian centuries) between the old Roman equinoctial date of 25 March and the Alexandrian date of 21 March, which was the date generally observed after the Nicene council. In doing so, he might appear to provide sanction for the doctrine contained in the *Pauca de Genesi*, that Easter, while it may not be celebrated before the equinox, could be observed on the date of the equinox, if that date is a Sunday. In support of this argument our author invokes the authority of Rome (*quae auctoritas peruenit ad sedem sancti petri, et de qua auctoritate tota ecclesia seruat regulam diei festi*), and one may compare this statement with identical sentiments expressed by the author of the probably Irish and seventh-century commentary on

[72] For discussion, see WALSH & Ó CRÓINÍN, *Cummian's letter*, 40-41; JONES, *Bedae opera de temporibus*, 97-98.

[73] DRC §86; WALSH & Ó CRÓINÍN, 194. The doctrine is repeated in §94 (200): 'Morinus enim ostendit non posse pascha celebrari ante .xi. Kl. Aprelis, ita dicens: <"resurrectio luna .xvi. .xii. Kl. Aprelis, quod est aequinoctium uernale, hoc est initium anni solis. Et ante hoc initium non facitur pascha apud Ebreos et Grecos et Latinos, nisi in errore">'. The text is actually missing from the sole MS. at this point, but the restoration is certain.

Mark's Gospel,[74] which Bischoff argued was the work of the same Cummian who composed the letter *De controversia paschali*. The Mark commentator refers to *mater nostra, Romana ecclesia*, and is similar to our Genesis commentator also in his treatment of heresies. The Mark commentator expresses himself just once on the subject; our text likewise refers once to the doctrine of the Trinity thus (f. 5r-v):

> Prius [sc. deus] creauit materiem saeculi per filium suum, et postea formauit et uiuificauit per spiritum sanctum. Alii autem interpretati sunt hunc locum non legitime. Dicunt enim non esse spiritum sanctum, sed de altero spiritu dictum, qui est spiritus dei, ex quibus est Uictorinus.[75] Quibus interrogandum est de illo spiritu: 'est creatura, an non, aut etiam sit creator?' Si quis dixerit, quod creatura est, quomodo, cum nulla res facta sit antequam caelum et terram fieret? Primo enim omnium facta sunt, sicut Moyses dixit: *In principio* [Gn 1,1], et reliqua.
>
> Deinde per ordinem dixit omnem creaturam factam, usque ad hominem, qui in nouissimo factus est, sexto die, et post quem nulla creatura legitur facta. Si dixerit, quia deus est ille spiritus dei, hereticus est, quia uidetur inducere quasi quartam personam in trinitatem, quod etiam absurdissimum est dicere, contra auctoritatem ueteris et noui testamenti, quae trinitatem tantum in deo credidit et docet.

Having passed all this evidence in review we may now draw some conclusions from our study. Although the author of our commentary says nothing which would enable us to locate him precisely either in place or in time,[76] there can be little doubt that the

[74] BISCHOFF, 'Wendepunkte' no. 27, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1, 213-15; cf. WALSH & Ó CRÓINÍN, *Cummian's letter*, 217-21 (Appendix 1); GORMAN, 'Critique', 180-81, 191; COCCIA, 'Cultura irlandese', 343-5. See now the excellent new edition by Michael CAHILL, *Expositio evangelii secundum Marcum*, CCSL 82 (Turnhout 1997), who, however, has declared himself neutral on this subject.

[75] The reference is presumably to some statement by Marius Victorinus, which I have not identified. On the use of Victorinus in Ireland in the seventh century, see Jane STEVENSON, 'Irish hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers', in Jean-Michel PICARD (ed), *Aquitaine and Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin 1995) 81-110: 96-97.

[76] There is a passage, two-lines long, erased at the head of the commentary in the Munich MS. which may have contained the name of the author, but I have been unable to recover the text (even with the aid of an ultra-violet lamp). On the other hand, a conjectural restoration might read: 'In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram' (Gn 1.1).

work was composed in Ireland (or perhaps on Iona, or in Irish-influenced Northumbria).[77] All the indications in the text itself point to an Irish composition, in the style which Bischoff showed was typical for Hiberno-Latin exegetical treatises of the period. All the characteristic traits of that Irish exegesis are present: *tres linguae sacrae*, enumeration, the use of triads, the title *Pauca de Genesi*,[78] use of unusual titles for well-known patristic works, such as *Libri de urbe caelesti* for Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, or (h)*Exameron* for the same author's *De Genesi ad litteram*,[79] the use of the *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, and of rare and unusual sources, such as the Acts of the Council of Caesarea, the *Expositio beati Iob* of Philip the presbyter, the catena of Victor of Capua, and the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, and – last but not least – the tell-tale Irish abbreviations in the Munich manuscript.[80]

From the point of view of chronology, the allusion to the Paschal question might incline us to date the text in the seventh century, perhaps around the time when the Irish churches of the north of Ireland and Iona came to renounce the older Paschal usage championed by Columbanus and his followers at the beginning of that

[77] Lest anyone should be tempted to conclude from the foregoing that the author of our commentary was actually Bede, I should state here that such a proposition appears to me extremely unlikely. That said, the absence of any mention of, or dependence on, Bede remains unexplained.

[78] 'Eine andere bei den Iren beliebte Titelform verwendet das Wort *Pauca*', BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1, 217. Many more examples could be added to his list.

[79] Cf. *De ratione conputandi* §55, and Angers, Bibl. mun., MS. 477, f. 49r: 'Agustinus in tractu Exameron dicit'; WALSH & Ó CRÓINÍN, *Cummian's letter*, 167, 175. Michael Gorman claimed this text is an Irish epitome of *De Genesi ad litteram*, 'An unedited fragment of an Irish epitome of St. Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 28 (1982) 76-85, but has since renounced this view; see 'Augustine manuscripts from the Library of Louis the Pious: Berlin Phillipps 1651 and Munich Clm 3824', *Scriptorium* 50 (1996) 98-105. In his earlier publication, Gorman was not aware of the seventh-c. Irish uses of the title *Exameron* (which provide posthumous support for Bischoff's views).

[80] It would be most interesting to try to establish the type of biblical text used by the author of the *Pauca de Genesi*, but that would require also a thorough sifting of all the patristic and post-patristic citations in the text, which might not leave much in the way of independent evidence. Preparation of a critical edition of the commentary would doubtless determine the question, one way or the

century.[81] The hypothesis which takes best account of these facts would be to see in our commentary the work of an Irish cleric or monk writing either in Ireland, or Iona, or in Northumbria before the renunciation there of Irish ways and influences. The good quality of the text in the Munich manuscript brings us back to a point not far distant from the original composition, a text which could date from perhaps the last quarter of the seventh century. The name of the author remains unknown, but all in all we can endorse the judgement of Bernhard Bischoff, who remarked: 'Aber von Clm 17739 kann ich erklären: "italienisch saec. XII"; schon der erste Satz hat einen irischen flavour'.[82]

Summary

The publication in 1954 of Bernhard Bischoff's 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter' was itself a turning-point in the modern study of medieval exegesis. Bischoff's catalogue of 39 biblical commentaries, most of them previously unidentified, revolutionised at a stroke the field of biblical studies in Ireland and Britain, and his belief that these commentaries were either the work of anonymous Irish exegetes, or influenced by Irish exegetical techniques, opened a new vista on biblical studies in the Early Middle Ages. Not everyone, however, accepted Bischoff's arguments, and some scholars questioned his conclusions. Indeed one recent writer (Dr Michael Gorman) has denied completely the validity of Bischoff's methods, dismissing his corpus of supposedly Hiberno-Latin exegetical writing as an elaborate hoax. This paper focuses on one particular text mentioned in passing by him, a Genesis commentary, and analyses its contents, with a view to establishing whether or not it satisfies the criteria for 'Irishness' laid down by Bischoff. The paper shows that the sources drawn on in the commentary, as well as the techniques used, combine palaeographical and other data to vindicate Bischoff's ideas.

[81] WALKER, *Sancti Columbani opera*, 18 (Ep. 1): 'Plus credo traditioni patriae meae iuxta doctrinam et calculum octoginta et quattuor annorum et Anatolium ab Eusebio ecclesiasticae historiae auctore episcopo et sancto catalogi scriptore Hieronymo laudatum Pascha celebrare, quam iuxta Victorium nuper dubie scribentem et, ubi necesse erat, nihil definientem'.

[82] Cited by GORMAN, 'Critique', 206 (who, however, uses it to ridicule Bischoff's views).

The *praefatio* of the Irish 'Eglogae tractatorum in psalterium', edited with a critical introduction

by
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The Psalm prologue I present here in a critical edition, is part of a Psalm commentary written in Ireland about the end of the eighth century, entitled '*Eglogae*[1] *tractatorum in psalterium*'[2]. The work consists of quotations ('*eglogae*'), mainly from patristic writings[3], and was intended for teachers[4]. It has come down to us in two

[1] I will justify my spelling of the title infra, p. 271.

[2] On the *Eglogae* see Michael LAPIDGE - Richard SHARPE, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400-1200* (*Ancillary Publications* I), Dublin, 1985, n. 783; Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Turning-points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages: A.D. 650-800*, in: *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*, 1 (1976) [translation of *Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter*, in: *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 1, Stuttgart, 1966²; first ed. in: *Sacris erudiri*, 6 (1954)], p. 106 (also p. 84,86,89 and 100); Martin McNamara, *Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church (A.D. 600-1200)*, in: *PRIA*, 73 C, 1973, p. 225-227 and passim [= *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church* (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series*, 263), Sheffield, 2000, p. 42-44]; ID., *Tradition and Creativity in Early Irish Psalter Study*, in: *Irland und Europa, die Kirche im Frühmittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1984, p. 354, 363 [= *Psalms in the Early Irish Church*, p. 254, 262].

[3] I have identified quotations from Cassiodorus, Eucherius, Hilary, Isidore, Jerome, (the Latin) Josephus and Junilius. In the commentary proper the main source is Theodore of Mopsuestia, in the translation (for the greater part summarized) by Julian of Eclanum; thus the commentary follows mainly the historical-literal tradition of the School of Antioch.

[4] The importance of the psalms in the medieval educational system, especially in Ireland, is well-known.

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ninth-century codices, viz. in St Gall and Munich. In 1973 four excerpts from the latter MS. were published by Maurice Sheehy[5]; the extant 'Munich' part of the prologue was one of them.

This article is a summary of the conclusions I had arrived at in a M.A. thesis of 1993. I first worked with microfilms which Dr. M. McNamara had put at my disposal. In 1999, however, with the kind permission of Dr. H. Leskien, I had the opportunity to examine the Munich MS. on the spot, in order to distinguish the various hands with certainty. It is not my intention to edit the commentary proper, but with this partial critical edition I hope to have rendered a service to the future editor of the *Eglogae* in their entirety[6].

SOME CODICOLOGICAL AND PALAEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The oldest witness ('G') of the *Eglogae* consists of the pp. 147-274 of a composite volume from the 'Stiftsbibliothek' at St Gall (codex 261), which has 276 pages of 15.4-15.7 by 23.3-23.4 cm as a whole. The pp.135-276, in which the *Eglogae* are preceded by other excerpts on the Psalms, were written in the abbey of St Gall itself in the first half of the IXth century[7], ca. 820 if Albert Bruckner[8] is right. The parchment is solid and has been prepared with care, though it is thin in places. The ruling by a hard point (between 23 and 19 lines, with double bounding line at either side) was apparently done before folding; there are pin-pricks in the outer margins. Each page has one column of text, and its written space measures 12.5 (-10.5) by 17 cm. The ink is dark brown to rusty, the script an Alemannian minuscule with Carolingian influences.

[5] In: MCNAMARA, *Psalter text*, p. 285-290 [= *Psalms in the Early Irish Church*, p. 116-123].

[6] I wish to thank Dr. L. De Coninck for his encouragement and helpfulness in preparing this essay for publication, and for his many useful suggestions. I also wish to thank Dr. M. McNamara for his encouragement and for reading over the text, Dr. H. Leskien (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich) and Prof. Dr. P. Ochsenbein (Stiftsbibliothek St Gall) for giving permission to publish the *praefatio*, and the Editorial Board of *Sacris erudiri* for making this publication possible.

[7] See also BISCHOFF, *Turning-points*, 1976 [=1966²], p. 106: "saec. IX¹".

[8] *Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica*, III, Genf, 1938, p. 88.

The second witness ('M') is an incomplete one: the first and the last quire of the original MS. have been lost, i.e. two thirds of the prologue and the end of the commentary proper. Meanwhile, the surviving quires became the ff.1r-56v of a composite volume of 88 folios of 14 by 19 cm, the *codex latinus monacensis* 14715. It was from St Emmeram (Regensburg) that the quires were brought to the 'Bayerische Staatsbibliothek' in Munich. The exact place where our MS. had been written is unknown, but according to Bischoff[9] it was in South Germany in the second half of the IXth century. The parchment is solid and even coarse. The method of ruling was largely the same as in G, although the prickings are situated farther from the double bounding lines. Each page has one column of text (22 or 23 lines) within a space of 9.5 by 16.5 (-15.5) cm. The ink, of a very dark brown, has faded into rusty in the prologue and on several other pages. The script, finally, is a Carolingian minuscule, which has a rather small *modulus*.

The greater part of the corrections in this MS. are unmistakably made by a second hand. This 'M2' has made use of a somewhat lighter ink. The letters also are smaller and their *ductus* is very thin at several places. The repeated use of *cc-a* is a feature of earlier Carolingian script and suggests that an older, more experienced monk revised the work[10].

II. Traces of an Irish original

A) Abbreviations

A study of the abbreviations occurring in the prologue of our MSS. leads to a remarkable conclusion. Some of them, of course, are clearly Continental: ẽ ('est'), p̃ ('per'), qd̃ ('quod'), and ꝝ

[9] *Turning-points*, 1976 [=1966²], p. 106. On the MS. see also ID., *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen*, I, 1974³, p. 253.

[10] There seems to be an indication that this corrector (M2) is different from the main scribe in that his abbreviation sign for *pro* does not end in a curve (ꝓ instead of ꝑ).

[11] See W.M. LINDSAY, *Notae Latinae. An Account of Abbreviation in Latin MSS. of the Early Minuscule Period (c. 700-850)*, Cambridge, 1915 and Doris BAINS, *A Supplement to Notae Latinae (Abbreviations in Latin MSS. of 850 to 1050 A.D.)*, Cambridge, 1936. On the abbreviations of St Gall before c.840 see BRUCKNER, *Scriptoria*, II, 1936, p. 31-34.

('-rum'), which G and M share in common; au̅ ('autem'), hb̅ ('habet'), hd̅ ('hic deest'), nom̅ ('nomen'), s̄ (with the meaning 'sunt'), uł ('uel') and i' ('-ius'), only found in G[12]; finally au̅t ('autem'), di̅ ('dicitur'), m̄ ('-men'), t̀ ('-tur') and m' ('-mus'), absent from G[13]. Several other abbreviations, however, are either typically Irish or Insular, and provide evidence of an Irish stratum in the text tradition[14].

The following Insular abbreviations are used in G: d̄r̄ ('dicitur'), loq̄r ('loquitur'), q̣ (for Insular q̣= 'quia'), rł ('reliqua'), s̄t̄/st' ('sunt') and ꝛ̄ ('uel'). M has q̣ (also: q̣), rł and st[2], but also a ̄ ('aut')[15], d̄ī ('dicit'), g° ('ergo'), h̄s̄ ('huius'), nō ('nomen'), nōe ('nomine'), q̄t̄ ('quot'), scrip̄ ('scriptum'), s̄ ('sed'), un̄ ('unde') and r̄t̄ ('-runt')[16].

This enumeration brings to light a difference between G and M: proportionally, the number of Insular abbreviations is much higher in the Munich MS. In the text that both MSS. have in common, M retains fourteen Insular abbreviations, G only three (d̄r̄, rł and s̄t̄). This is a first indication of what will prove to be the greater value of M for the reconstruction of the *Eglogae*.

Finally, our MSS. display two hybrid abbreviation signs, which give evidence of an early Continental interpretation of Insular abbreviations by 'piling up': a reader or revisor trying to clarify them by adding strokes of equivalent Continental *notae*. Thus M's q̣ᵡ, mentioned above, consists of Insular q̣ (*quia*) and Continental qᵡ; q̣̄ (thrice in M; once, parallel with M, q̣ in G) combines q̄ (Insular and Continental *quae*) and q̣ (Continental *-que*, and also *que*/*quae*).

[12] The syllabic abbreviation i' does occur in M, but not in its prologue.

[13] In the commentary proper, however, G sometimes reads m̓. The sign q̣ᵡ in M is evidence of an earlier Continental intervention (see infra); it has been corrected by M2 into the Continental qᵡ.

[14] Besides direct traces of Irish abbreviations, there are also indirect ones: the textual corruptions which have originated in mistaken expansions of them (see infra, p. 274 and 276).

[15] The Irish abbreviation stroke, however, is never hooked.

[16] The emendation q° (from q̣; l.165), too, is typical of the Irish tradition. It is, however, incorrect: see infra, p. 281.

(B)Linguistic features

Other formal characteristics of the work's Irish origin are a number of orthographic, syntactical and lexicological peculiarities.

Three spellings of our MSS. are extremely rare outside Ireland: *possitio* (with gemination of intervocalic *s*: G, l.28), and the words '*permotationem*' and '*commonis*' (with substitution of *ū* by *o*: M, ll.141 and 195 respectively; G reads *-mut-* and *-mun-*).

According to the strict norms proposed by Herren[18] no other 'hibernisms' can be found in the prologue; still it seems quite probable that the following orthographic phenomena were also inherited from the original: *a* for *o* (*Salamonis*: M, l.182; progressive assimilation); voicing of *p* in the group '*pt*' (*obtatae*: G and M, l.164); gemination of intervocalic *s* (*Assab*: G, l.84; class. *Asaph*); *s* for *sc* before (*e*)/*i*[19] (*siendum*: G ante corr., l.193; cf. infra, p. 275); *eglogae* (with voicing of *c*; G, l.1, *Hestras* (with unvoicing of *d*; M*, l.182)[20].

[17] I have found useful material for comparison in the following studies: *The Irish Penitentials*, edited by Ludwig BIELER (*Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, V), Dublin, 1963, p. 27-47; *Der hibernolateinische grammatiker Malsachanus*, ed. Bengt LÖFSTEDT (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Latina Upsaliensia*, 3), Uppsala, 1965, p. 81-156; M. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Liber de ordine creaturarum*. Un anónimo irlandés del siglo VII. Estudio y edicion critica (*Monografias de la universidad de Santiago de la Compostela* 10), Santiago de Compostela, 1972, p. 219-228 ("indice gramatical"); Bengt LÖFSTEDT, *Some Linguistic Remarks on Hiberno-Latin*, in: *Studia Hibernica*, 19 (1979), p. 161-169; Michael HERREN, *Sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten in den Hibernolateinischen Texten des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1982, p. 425-433; J.M. PICARD, *The Schaffhausen Adomnán - A Unique Witness to Hiberno-Latin*, in: *Peritia*, 1 (1982), p. 216-249; Pádraig A. BREATNACH, *The Pronunciation of Latin in Medieval Ireland*, in: *Scire litteras (Abhandlungen [der] Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, N.F., 99), München, 1988, p.59-72. The question of 'Hiberno-Latin', however, is complex and needs further exploration.

[18] *o.c.*, p. 432-433.

[19] See *Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus*, ed. LÖFSTEDT, 1965, p. 106 and Breatnach, *o.c.*, p. 68.

[20] *Hestras* regularly occurs in the psalm prologues of the '*Reference Bible*' ('*Das Bibelwerk*': '*Opus biblicum*') and the '*Old Irish Treatise*' ('*Tractatus Palaeo-hibernicus*'), the main Irish parallels to the *Eglogae*.

Both MSS. agree on a composition by means of the prefix '*ob-*' instead of '*ab-*' (*obsolutis*, l.162) and on the derivative '*prosalis*'[21] (l.195).

On the syntactic level, two 'hypercorrect' constructions which the Irish had a predilection for, are worth mentioning. The preposition '*ex*' is omitted in *instrumento (...) profunditur* (G, l.44) and *doctrinis existat* (G and M, l.166): Löfstedt[22] points out that Malsachanus and his compatriots had a predilection for single ablative; and the compilator of the *Eglogae* has changed Jerome's *in Latino* into *in Latina* (M, l.145) because he assumed ellipsis of *lingua*: similar formulations (*in Greca*, *de Ebrea*, etc.) occur often in Hibernian Latin texts[23].

III. 'RECENSIO'

(A) Brief study of the first hand corrections

Before determining the mutual relationship and value of our MSS., let us have a look at the first hand corrections G1 and M1[24]: in this manner, I hope to determine firmly the basis of my comparison.

Going over the St. Gall text, four 'corrections' arouse our suspicion: *positio* for *possitio* at l.28, *Ebraic-* for *Ebreic-* at ll.110 & 130 (at ll.133 & 183 simply *Ebraic-*), *Chorae* for *Corae* at l.182 (but G at l.84 and M: *Cor-*), and *sciendum* for *siendum* (l.193). Some or even all of these forms should be considered the result of so-called 'normalization', a practice fairly frequent in Carolingian times: linguistic features were made to fit into the prevailing (i.e. classical) standards[25].

As far as the Munich codex is concerned, only two emendations can be found which can clearly be attributed to the copyist himself:

[21] See *Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus*, ed. LÖFSTEDT, 1965, p. 143.

[22] *Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus*, 1965, p. 126-127.

[23] I have found instances in: '*Reference Bible*' prol.ps., 16 and 18, and in one of the passages quoted by Robert E. MCNALLY, *The "tres linguae sacrae" in Early Irish Bible Exegesis*, in: *Theological Studies*, 19 (1958), p. 395-403 (cf p. 400).

[24] I will deal with M's younger hand ('M2') and with some unidentified corrections (M1 or M2: 'M*') in the last phase of my *recensio*.

[25] On the forms mentioned see infra, p. 275.

Ebraeicus M1, *Ebraicus* GM (l.130) and *ante prioris* GM1, *ante priores* M (l.170-171)[26]. We cannot be sure whether the copyist has revised his text or has made these corrections *in scribendo*.

(B) G(/G1) versus M(/M1)

1. Mutual relationship

When we turn to compare our MSS. with each other, our first question is: what is their exact relationship? Obvious mistakes which our codices cannot have in common merely by accident, compel us to pass in review three possibilities.

Of course, the older MS. G cannot be a copy of M. Could M then, conversely have been copied from G? This question we should also answer in the negative: indeed, more than once, we notice inaccuracies in G, viz. normalizations and errors of transcription, which the scribe of M, if he had found them in his source, would probably not have been able to avoid; further, two abbreviations in M speak for themselves. Let us go more deeply into non-normalized forms in M first, then into some of G's errors of transcription, and finally into M's particular abbreviations.

Irish peculiarities are still preserved in M's *permotationem* (l.141) and *commonis* (l.195); they have been conformed to the continental standard in G[27]. Also to be considered is the expression '*in Latina*' ("in the Latin language", M at l.144-145; G writes here : *in Latino*).

Significant errors occur at several places in G. I think of the forms '*facimus*' and '*poterit*' (M correctly writes *faciemus* and *potuerit*, l.143, of ελευμ (cf. l.183), which is more distant from the source's *thallim*[28] than M's θαθυμ, of *p(ro)feratur*[29] (M: *p(rae)feratur*, l.172), and of *explanati* (without M's abbreviation stroke, l.197). Furthermore, one can point to the inaccurate place of insertion of the names '*Hila(rius)*' and especially '*Is(i)d(orus)*' at the end of the prologue (cf. ll. 199-200 and 193-194 respectively); besides,

[26] See infra, p. 275 and n. 38.

[27] Analogous pairs in the psalm commentary proper are e.g. *ussus* (M) - *usus* (G) or *longue* (M) - *longe* (G).

[28] Hier., *Hebr.*, praef. (ed. DE SAINTE-MARIE, 1954, p. 6, l.2).

[29] By brackets in a word I indicate that it has come down to us in an abbreviated form.

indications *in margine* are several times lacking in G's commentary proper.

The 'Munich' abbreviations, finally, that prove M's independence, are the 'double' ones q̄ (*quia*) and q̃ (*quae*), mentioned above[30]. They have not been copied from G, nor have they been made by the scribe himself, since they presuppose an evolution passing through several stages.

Two possibilities have thus been eliminated. If G and M do not depend on one another, they cannot but go back to an archetype ('A').

2. Continental character of the archetype

The codex A should be distinguished from the primal MS. ('H', i.e. 'Hibernicus'), since A was Continental. The main evidence of this lies in certain errors found in both G and M, which seem to find their origin in Irish abbreviations expanded by a scribe unfamiliar with the Irish abbreviation system: *quam* for *quia* at l.135, *uel* for *inter* at l.136, and *qui* for *quia* at l.154[31].

The following abbreviation signs seem to have been confused: q. (often with hastily written cross-stroke: *quam*, Hibernian, but also used on the Continent, where it mostly indicates Hibernian influence) with q (Irish *quia*); ꝛ̄ (*uel*, both Continental and Hibernian) with the Irish ꝛ (*inter*); q (one of the Continental *qui*-signs) with q (Irish *quia*).

About *quam* for *quia* two more observations might be useful. Firstly, as can be understood already from the data given above, it is uncertain whether the Continental copyist really knew an abbreviation for *quam*, and a look at the commentary proper has not made me any wiser in this respect; *quam*, for this reason, need be no more than a pure contextual guess of his. Secondly, the fact that the word '*hoc*' (probably abbreviated h') has been overlooked before q (*ob quam* instead of *ob hoc quia*) supposes inattentive reading of the context.

[30] See p. 270.

[31] There would undoubtedly have been more wrong expansions if the scribe of A had not simply transcribed some abbreviations.

3. The value of M

At this point of the *recensio*, we have already come to a rudimentary stemma. In the next phase of this work, still leaving M2 aside, the present writer should answer the question whether or not one of our MSS. is preferable to the other and might be suitable to be taken as the basis for the edition of the text. In the following paragraphs I will investigate first the number of normalizations and secondly the quantity of errors; the part where only G is extant will be kept out of the comparison.

It is difficult to find the scribe of the Munich codex normalizing. I could find two classical M-forms where G has non-classical variants: *sciendum* (M and G1: l.193) possibly replaces an authentic Irish orthography '*siendum*' that was copied as such by G *ante correctionem*; but *species* (M: l.193), as opposed to *speties* in G, was the original form, since the *-t-*form would have been an anomaly in an Irish text[32]. Further, I would like to draw attention to the 'M1' emendation '*Ebraeicus*' mentioned above[33] (l.130; *Ebraicus* GM), which was in fact a 'de-normalization'. Yet, we cannot be sure that there was no normalization at all, because M's orthography is not constantly Irish but partly classical. This inconsistency may date back to the Irish compiler of the *Eglogae* himself, as a result of his use of patristic sources in a more or less classical spelling.

On the other hand, the St. Gall copyist is rather prone to change the spelling of the text. The first hand 'corrections' that were listed above[34] are a clear indication of this tendency: the *-s-* that he expunges in *possitio* (l.28) was an Irish phenomenon, and so was also presumably the spelling '*siendum*', into which he introduces *-c-* (l.193; see above for M); he changes the second *-e-* of *Ebreic-* into an *-a-* (l.110 and 130), yet *-e-* was a common early medieval orthography; and he inserts *-h-* in the Vulgate name '*Core*' (l.182). Besides these G1-corrections, I mentioned also some variant couples (e.g. *permotationem* M versus *permutationem* G) in which only G follows the Continental norm[35]. Less decisive but still significant differences between M and G can be found in words with the clas-

[32] See *Der hibernolateinische Grammatiker Malsachanus*, ed. LÖFSTEDT 965, p. 104-105; BREATNACH, *The Pronunciation*, 1988, p. 70.

[33] See p. 272-273.

[34] See supra, p. 272.

[35] See p. 273.

sical *ph*-element (e.g. *profetae* M / *prophete* G: l.146 etc.), in *sympsalma* as well as *psallere* and its derivatives (e.g. *salletur* M / *psallitur* G: l.149) and in *h-* at the beginning of loan words (e.g. *ymnorum* M / *hymnorum* G: l.184)[36]. Still, such forms are found as *oportunitate* (l.10), *Dauiticum* (l.34), *psalmigrafos* (l.91) and *Salamonis* (l.182). There is no evidence of merely morphological, syntactical or lexical normalizations; on the contrary, I found e.g. *discutens* (l.138), *per mille passuum* (l.19), and *citharidas* (l.65). The logical conclusion is that certain non-classical linguistic features of the original *Eglogae* tend to be removed almost systematically in G, while others escape notice or are accepted as adequate.

Let us turn to the patent mistakes on the part of G/G1 and M/M1, either arbitrary conjectures or mere inaccuracies. Because a touchstone is indispensable here, I have to restrict my investigations once more to the part of the text where M shows no lacuna.

A notable feature of the St. Gall copyist is his conjectural resolution of difficult abbreviations: to the three GM(=A?)-cases mentioned at p. 274, he himself adds another three, viz. *quem* for q̃ (*quae*) at l.163, *quo* for q (*quia*) at l.165 and *quam* for q̃ (*quae*) at l.200. Further guesswork on the part of either G or M, however, appears to have been fairly limited. In G *poterit* (for *potuerit*, l.143) could be a conjecture; if so, it was provoked by the error '*facimus*' (for *faciemus*, l.143).

When we investigate either copyist's inaccuracies caused by error, carelessness and the like, the image we have of M turns out to take shape more definitively. Whereas the scribe of G, despite his revision, not only quite often failed to copy the names of the authors beside the excerpts from their works, but caused some eight or nine corruptions of the text itself as well[37], the scribe of M (*post correctionem*)[38] for the same extent of text has been wrong only once[39].

[36] In G, *h-* is lacking only in: *immo* (l.47; for *imno*: the copyist did not recognize the spelling used for the word 'hymn'); *ilarissat* (l.73; hardly surprising), and *istoria* (l.91).

[37] *Facimus-poterit* (l.143), *quo* (l.165), *proferatur* (l.172), ελευμ (l.183), *stracta* (l.189), *quod* (l.193), *explanati* (l.197), *psalmis* (l.199, *quam* (l.200), and probably *libris* (l.175; see infra, p. 277-278).

[38] A misreading *ante correctionem* is '*ante priores*' (l.170-171); M1's '*ante prioris*' (also attested in G) was the reading found in the archetype, all the more so because the source text (Hil., *Tract. ps., instr.*, 3) reads *anterioris*.

[39] In *psalm(us)* (l.198; the correction has presumably been made by M2).

Further, there were numerous omissions in G, prior to the intervention of G1; M has none. And it might be revealing, then, that the Munich copyist has not converted *quot* at l.193 into *quod*, as the copyist of G did, and as many scribes would have done in a similar context.

(C) The corrections in M. Completion (?) of the stemma

Thus far we have weighed G (/G1) and M (/M1) against one another. Although they both have the same Continental ancestor, G has nonetheless lost out to M with regard to critical value. Before we come to present a stemma, we have to study the corrections (and expansions) on the part of M's second hand ('M2') and to touch briefly on the unidentified ones ('M*': either M1 or M2).

One thing is beyond doubt: M2 is closely related to G. This is chiefly indicated by the errors which they share: *quo* for q̨ (l.165; = Irish *quia*?), *p(ro)feratur* for *p(re)-* (l.172), *psalmis* for *psalmos* (l.199), *libris* for *libros* (l.175; cf. infra, p. 277-278), and many other common faults in the commentary itself[40].

Was the St. Gall codex, then, the corrector's model? That is by far less sure, for difficult q- abbreviations (twice q̃ in the prologue; in the commentary often q̨ etc.) which have been replaced by the full form in G, are not expanded by M2. Apparently, this revisor's source still retained several q-signs.

The present writer, therefore, deems it necessary to reckon with the existence of a MS. 'B', to be situated between G and the archetype 'A'. It would be normalizing, like the former, but to a lesser extent[41].

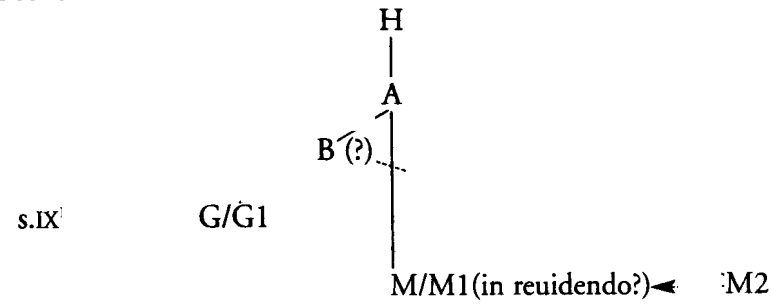
I conclude with a few words about some M*-corrections: *Ebraic-* at l. 133 and 183 for the non-classical '*Ebreic-*', and *Hesdras* (l. 182) for *Hestras* (the latter probably an Irish spelling) are also found in G. On the basis of our *recensio* I am inclined to consider them as normalizations and attribute them to M2. Finally, *libris*

[40] Further support for my inference are the identical normalizations and the fact that errors or normalizations other than those in G are not found (apart from the additional *e(st)* at l.144).

[41] The existence of a MS. 'B' would also explain why several errors and normalizations that I find in G have not been taken up by the younger hand. Unless, of course, M2 would have been wise and independent enough to prefer *faciemus*, *potuerit*, *Corae*, θαθυμ and *repperitur* to *facimus*, *poterit*, *Chorae*, ελευμ and *reperitur* (l.143, 143, 182, 183, 193-194).

(for *libros*, l. 175), an important 'Verschlimmbesserung' also found in G, is most likely to be a second hand correction, mainly for palaeographical reasons[42].

Having completed our examination, a stemma can be drawn up as follows:



IV. 'EMENDATIO'

In this point of the essay I set forth my specific criteria for the reconstruction of the text.

The *recensio* has hardly left any doubt that M should be preferred as the base text. Occasionally, when manifest errors need to be corrected in this MS., M2 and G agree in one and the same alternative reading, which may be right. Variant readings found either in M2 or in G but not in both (i.e. which arguably do not stem from their common source) are outweighed by M's authority.

Having finished the *recensio* of the MSS., to what extent should I try to emend the reconstructed text further? As the *Eglogae* mainly consist of excerpts from patristic works, my *emendatio* should aim to eliminate corruptions of the compilation as such, not those that had possibly affected the source texts before they came in the compiler's hands.

Consequently, I shall avoid emending even manifest errors if the apparatus in editions of the source texts show the direct tradition to be unstable itself, or if I find comparable errors elsewhere in the indirect tradition. In general, I do not take much notice of gram-

[42] The second *i* is a tiny, uncurved stroke, his characteristic i longa. The error, moreover, reminds us of M2's (erroneous) *psalmis* for *psalmos* at l.199.

matical incoherences, because the compiler of the *Eglogae* appears to depend on a global understanding of sentences. Perverted word forms, e.g. of Greek loan-words, fit into what is known about knowledge of ancient languages (other than Latin) in early Irish civilization[43]; and some irregularities may be the consequence of mixing up different sources. On the other hand, emendation seems legitimate if a suspect reading may easily be explained as an error of a Continental copyist confronted with the specific Irish notation system (characters, ligatures, abbreviations).

Classical Latin forms on which M and G agree will not be 'hibernized' in this edition, unless their orthography is absolutely incompatible with regular Irish practice; I shall weigh those found in G alone against M's spellings. G's problematic spellings of the text which are lacking in M will be checked against analogous material further on in the preface and in the commentary proper, but I do not pretend to restore the original orthography of the *Eglogae* completely.

V. ANNOTATIONS TO INDIVIDUAL PASSAGES

- l.3, *quae*: The distribution of the phonetic variants *e*, *ae* and *oe* follows almost wholly the classical norm in this edition. Exceptions are the quite common Irish spellings '*Ebreus*'(everywhere in M) and '*Grecus*' (everywhere in M and G)[44].

The reason is that even the reliability of M is uncertain in this matter. Apart from that, the impression exists that the Irish for the greater part knew the classical norm well and respected it[45].

Prae(-), *pre-* and *quae* (in M's prologue text always abbreviated; in G mostly *pre* and *quae*) have been treated the same way. As far as *prae* is concerned, one may suspect that the Irish made use of an abbreviation.

[43] Michael Herren provides a summary but thoughtful account of the question in his contribution *Hiberno-Latin Philology: The State of the Question*, in: *Insular Latin Studies* (*Papers in Mediaeval Studies* 1), Toronto, 1981, p. 1-22. David Howlett, however, defends the view that even before the (ninth-century) *peregrini* Irish and British scholars were acquainted with Hellenic learning and competent in Greek: see D. HOWLETT, *Hellenic Learning in Insular Latin: An Essay on Supported Claims*, in: *Peritia*, 12 (1998), p. 54-78.

[44] *C(h)orae* instead of the indeclinable '*Core*' (l.182; in M as well as G) is most probably a case of morphological variation, in order to mark the genitive.

[45] See LÖFSTEDT, *Some Linguistic Remarks*, 1979, p. 167-168; HERREN, *Sprachliche Eigentümlichkeiten*, 1982, p. 427.

- l.14, *autem*: The *Old Irish Treatise* at ll. 12-15, almost completely parallel to ll.13-15a, has a causal adverb[46]; did A or B/G commit a 'Continental' confusion of *enim* (⁊ etc.) and *autem* (h͂)?

- l.16-24: Cf. ps.-Jerome, *Epist.*23. The *PL*-text[47] needs to be adapted. G's *clamoris* (l.16), *quasi* (l.18) and *concitatur* (l.19) are evidently better than (respectively) *clamores*, *quos* and *concitat* for reason of grammar and content. As a result of this, *·xii·* at l.17 need not be less correct than Vallarsi's *·xv·*.

- l.31, *supernae*: I have no valid reason to restore Cassiodorus's *superna*[48]. On the other hand, the adverb '*superne*' could very well be meant here (cf. *Reference Bible*, prol. ps., 28: *de superno culmine*), but nothing can confirm this hypothesis.

- l.43, *enim*: for *autem* (cf. the source[49]) by confusion of abbreviation signs (⁊ for h͂)? Or did the compiler change *autem* into *enim* because he saw in *psalmus... a psalterio dicitur* the origin of the word '*psalmus*'?

- l.55, *Cassiodorus*: My expansion with classical *o* is perhaps questionable because of *Isiderus* for *Isidorus* at l.47 and 94.

- l.55, *canticum psalmi*: This spelling is used instead of Cassiodorus's *canticumpsalmum*[50] in the Irish tradition (see the *Old-Irish Treatise*, 285-288). It explains the compiler's mixing up of the terms '*canticum psalmi*' (Hilary, Isidore: l.52 & 54) and '*canticumpsalmum*' (Cassiodorus), which in reality are opposite to each other[51].

- l.57 (and further), *ymn-* (without h): My choice is based on nothing more than *immo* in G at l.47 and the only 'Munich' form, *ymnorum*, at l.184. The alternative, however, would have been to depend on a normalizing copyist.

- l.79, *Paralipeminon* (class. *Paralipomenon*): The commentary proper, however, shows *Paralipiminon* in M as opposed to *Paralepemenon* (G and M2, probably normalizing). For this reason the *-e-* at l.79 may be the product of normalization too.

- l.87, *mereti* (G: *meriti*): I have preferred this unclassical variant on the basis of M *ad ps.* 1-50. Moreover, *sunt mereti* comes closer to the source (Cassiod., *Exp.ps.*, praef., 2: *sumerent*).

- l.110, *abicitorium*: < *abecedarium*, -ii, n. (= *alphabetum*), for which cf. Forcellini, *Lexicon*, tom.I (1965 [=1864-1926]), p.8; *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, vol.I (1900), col.63 (including a reference to the gloss '*abicitarium*').

- l.110 and 111, *quia*: *Quae* (G) and *quod* were confused above at ll.28 and 35, but I prefer *quia*, because it is in keeping with parallels in the *Reference Bible*[52].

[46] The source has neither of these particles.

[47] XXX, ed. Vallarsi, 1846, col. 213, B-C.

[48] *Exp. ps.*, praef., 4.

[49] Isid., *Orig.*, 6, 19, 12.

[50] *Exp. ps.*, praef., 8.

[51] The real equivalent used by Cassiodorus for *canticum psalmi* is *psalmocanticum*, mentioned further down.

[52] *Prol. ps.*, 24.

- l.165, *quia*: The reading of G and M2 is *q(uo)*. This, however, makes the whole sentence unclear, with a second, different type of *quo* further down. M's q -sign belongs undoubtedly to the row of q's in M which are merely transcribed Irish abbreviations for *quia*.

- l.187, *uel abent*: This could be a critical note added to *latent*; its sense is not clear, as skimming through M's text (until Ps.50) has not yielded me any example of *habere* without *h-*.

- l.194, *Is(i)d(erus)*: G attributes to this (ps.-)Isidore ll.193 (*Sciendum*) - 198 (*est*), M only ll.194 (*XI historiae*) - 197 (*reliqua*). M appears to be right: a sentence beginning with '*sciendum quid sit ...*' came before an excerpt at ll.39-40, another excerpt broke off with *r(e)l(iqua)* at l.7.

VI TEXT AND APPARATUSES

Conspectus siglorum et compendiorum

In textu

Uncis fractis < > uocabula inclusi quae codicum lectioni uidentur esse addenda.
Tribus stellulis *** designaui incertum cuiusdam compendii supplementum.

2. In apparatibus

- sigla :

G	Sangallensis 261, s.IX[1]
M	Monacensis Clm 14715, s.IX[2]
G1, M1	ipsi Sangallensis siue Monacensis scriptores librarii corrigentes
M2	manus posterior in codice M
G*, M*	manus quae (siue in Sangallensi siue in Monacensi) utrum prior sit an altera incertum est

- compendia :

Praeter ea quae quisque nouerit et facile intellegat, haec adhibui:

a.	ante	i.m.	in margine
al.	alias	om.	omisit
cett.	ceteri	p.	post
ci.	conieci	scr.	scripsi
del.	deleuit	sim.	similiter
i.	infra	u.	uide

Index editionum quibus usi sumus:
Augustinus, *Enarrationes in psalmos*: CCSL 38; Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*: CCSL 97; Eucherius, *Instructiones*: CSEL XXXI, I; Hieronymus, *Commentarioli in psalmos*: CCSL 72; id., *Epist.*28 et 30 (ed. D. DE BRUYNE, *Préfaces de la Bible latine*); id., *Psalterium Gallicanum*: *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam vulgatam versionem*, X; id., *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*: *Collectanea*

Biblica Latina, XI; id., *Tractatus sive homiliae in psalmos*: CCSL 78; Hilarius, *Tractatus super psalmos*: CCSL 61; Iosephus/Cassiodorus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, 6-20: ed. Basileensis, 1524; Isidorus, *Origines*: *Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis*; id., *Praefationes in libros veteris ac novi Testamenti*: PL 83 et DE BRUYNE (*o.c.*); Iunilius: H. KIHN; *Opus biblicum* (*'das Bibelwerk', 'the Reference Bible'*), *prologus in psalmos*: M. SHEEHY, in: PRIA, 73 C (1973), p. 291-298; Ps.-Beda, *Interpretatio psalterii*: PL 93; Ps.-Hieronymus, *Epist.* 23: PL XXX; Ps.Hieronymus, *Praefatio 'Omnem psalmorum'*: D. DE BRUYNE, *o.c.* et *Florilegium Casinense* (*Bibliotheca Casinensis*, Tomus primus) (u. et PLS II*, col. 79-85); *Tractatus Palaeohibernicus*: ed. K. MEYER, *An Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Med. and modern series VIII), Oxford, 1894.

EGLOGAE TRACTATORUM IN PSALTERIUM

< praefatio >

Profetia est aspiratio diuina quae euentus rerum aut per facta aut per dicta quorundam inmobili ueritate pronuntiat. De qua bene quidam dixit: *Profetia est suauis dictio caelestis doctrinae fauus et dulcia diuini eloquii mella conponens.* Unde et ipse Dauid in ·c·xviii· psalmo dixit: *Quam dulcia faucibus meis*, et reliqua. Animaduertandum est quoque Spiritum sanctum sic fuisse profetis sanctissimis adtributum ut tamen ad tempus pro infirmitate carnis contrarietate peccati ab ipsis offensus abscideret et iterum placatus sub oportunitate temporis aduenire.

Haec sunt nomina huius libri: apud Ebreos 'sepher', 'spitamis', 'nabla'; cum Grecis 'taloim', 'psalmus', 'psalterium'; cum Latinis uero 'uolumen'

3/10 Cassiod., *Exp. ps.*, praef., 1, l.2-8. (*anim.*-) 28-32 CCSL 97 11/13 cf.Isid., *Orig.*, 6, 2, 15 (ex Hil., *Tract. ps.*, instr., 7, p.8, l.4-5 CCSL 61; Hier., *Hebr.*, praef., p.6, 1-2 De Sainte-Marie); u. et Eucher., *Instr.*, 2, p.149, 19 CSEL 31, 1: *spithames palmus*)

11/13 cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, -6; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps.

1 *tit.*] incipiunt eglogae tractatorum in psalterium *G* 3 profet- *scr.hic et i.*] prophet- *G* quae *scr.*] que *G* per (*bis*) *Cassiod.*] pre *G* 5 caelestis *scr.*] celestis *G* (*et i.sim.*) fauus *G*] fauos *Cassiod.* 6 mella *G1*] melle *G* 7 animaduertandum *G*] -tendum *Cassiod.* 9 contrarietate *G*] et contr- *Cassiod.* abscideret *scr.*] absced- *G* 11 ebreos *scr.hic et i.*] hebreos (*al.*hebraeos) *G* 12 uolumen *Tract. Palaeohib.*] uolumus *G*

uel 'laus' uel 'organum'. Psalmorum liber grece 'psalterium', ebreice 'nablam', <latine> 'organum' dicitur. 'Organum' autem uocabulum est generale uasorum musicorum. Ideo interpretatio 'psalterio' est.

Organum omnium maius est in sonitu et fortitudine clamoris. Duabus elefantum pellibus concauum coniungitur et per ·xii· fabrorum sufflatoria conprehensatum, per ·xii· cicutas aereas in sonitum nimium quasi in modum tonitrui concitatur, ita ut per mille passuum sine dubio sensibiliter et eo amplius audiatur, sicut de organis apud Ebreos ab Hierusalem usque ad montem Oliueti conputatur, et amplius sonat et auditur. Duo genera organorum a plerisque esse dicuntur. Primum est quod praediximus, et aliud de quo in psalmo dicitur: *In medio eius suspendimus organa nostra.* AG.

Psalterium, ut Hieronimus ait, *in modum deltae litterae formati ligni sonora concauitas, obessum uentrem in superioribus habens ubi chordarum fila, disciplinabiliter plectro percussa, suauissimam dicuntur reddere cantilenam.* Huic citharae possitio uidetur esse contraria, dum quod in imo continet, illud conuersa uice gestat in capite. Hoc autem genus organi canorum atque singulare aptatur corpori Domini Saluatoris, quoniam sicut istud de altioribus sonat, sic et illud gloriosae institutionis supernae concelebrat, sicut Ipse in euangelio ait: *Qui de terra est, de terra loquitur; qui*

13/14 Isid., *Orig.*, 6, 2, 15 **14/15** (*mus.*) ibid., 3, 21, 2 **23/24** = ps.136(137), 2 (u. Hier., *Gall.*) **25/38** Cassiod., *Exp. ps.*, praef., 4

13/14 Ps.-Hier., *Praef. 'Omnem ps.'*, p.74, 1 De Bruyne et p.220 Flor. Cas.; cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 6-9 (quibus uersibus conferre omisit Meyer ps.-Hier., *Epist.*23, 8); *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 11 14/15(*mus.*) cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 14-15 **16/24** cf. Ps.-Hier., *Epist.*23, 1-2 25/32 Ps.-Beda, *Interpr.*, p.1099 D-1101 A PL 93; (/29) *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 28 25/28.31.34/35 cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 22-23 29/35 cf. Ps.-Hier., *o.c.*, p.74, 2-6 De Bruyne et p.220 Flor. Cas.; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 28, l.<6-9> Sheehy

13 ebreice *ci.*] hebraice *Isid.* hebraeum *G* 14 nablam *G*] nabla *ps.-Hier., Praef. 'Omnem ps.'* nablum *Op. bibl.* autem *G*] enim *Tract. Palaeohib.* 15 psalterio *G1* 16 clamoris *G*] clamores *PL30, col.213B* 17 ·xii· *G*] quindecim *PL30, col.213B* 18 conprehensatum *ps.-Hier, Epist.23*] conpensatum *G* quasi *G*] quos *PL30, col.213B* 19 concitatur *G*] concitat *PL30, col.213B* 22 praescr.] pre- *G* (*et i.sim.*) 25 psalterium *G*] psalterium est *Cassiod. Op.bibl.* hieronimus *scr.*] iher- *G* 26 obessum *ci.*] obesum *Cassiod. Op.bibl.* obsessum *G* 28 huic *G Op.bibl.*] hinc *Cassiod.* possitio *G*] positio *G** quod *Cassiod. Op.bibl.*] quae *G* 31 supernae *G*] superna *Cassiod.* de superno *Op.bibl.* 32 qui de terra est *G Op.bibl.*] qui est de terra de terra est *Cassiod.*

autem de caelo uenit, quae uidit et audiuit testatur. Unde quidam et hoc opus Dauiticum psalmos dictos esse praefiniunt, quia de superno culmine retonare noscuntur. Cognosce uero quod isti tantum pro excellentia sui dicantur psalmi, qui hoc uolumine continentur. Nam et psalterium genus esse musicorum Daniel profeta testatur, inquiens: *uocem tubae, fistulae, usque psalterii.*

Sciendum quid sit psalmus, quid sit canticum et psalmus cantici et canticum psalmi.

Psalmus est, dum cessante uoce pulsus tantum organi concinnentis auditur. Iterum dicit: "'Psalmus' autem dicitur qui cantatur ad psalterium. Psalmus enim a psalterio dicitur, unde nec mos est ex alio opere eum conponi." Psalmus est cum ipso solo instrumento musicorum, <id> est psalterio, modulatio quaedam dulcis et canora profunditur.

Canticum est, cum chorus, libertate sua utens nec in consonum organi adstrictus obsequium, imno canorae tantum uocis exultat. Unde Isiderus ait: "Canticum est uox cantantis in laetitia." Canticum est quod ad honorem Deo canitur, quando Deo quis libertate propriae uocis utitur nec loquaci instrumento cuiquam musico consona modolatione sociatur, hoc est quod etiam nunc in diuinitatis laudibus agitur.

Canticum uero psalmi est, cum organo praecinnente subsequens et aemula organo uox chori canentis auditur, modo psalterii modolis imitata uociferi. Canticum psalmi est, cum id quod organum modolatur, uox postea cantantis eloquitur. Cassiodorus uero aliter ait: "Canticum psalmi

41/42 Hil., *Tract. ps.*, instr., 19, 2-3 **42/44** Isid., *Orig.*, 6, 19, 11.12 **44/45** Cassiod., *Exp. ps.*, praef., 5 **46/47** Hil., *Tract. ps.*, instr., 19, 3-5 **48** Isid., *Orig.*, 6, 19, 10 **48/51** Cassiod., *Exp. ps.*, praef., 6 **52/54** Hil., *Tract. ps.*, instr., 19, 5-8 **54/55** Isid., *Orig.*, 6, 19, 12 **55/57** Cassiod., *Exp. ps.*, praef., 8

41/45 cf. Ps.-Hier., *o.c.*, p.75, 22 De Bruyne; *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 281-283; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 4; **(44/)** Ps.-Beda, *o.c.*, p.1101 A PL 93 **46-51** cf. *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 4; **(48/50)** Ps.-Beda, *o.c.*, p.1101 A PL 93 (uerbis *quod ..._canitur* exceptis) **54/55** cf. Ps.-Hier., *o.c.*, p.75, 22-23 De Bruyne **55**(*cant.*)**/57** cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 287-288; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 2, l.<2-3>(!) Sheehy

35 retonare *G* *Cassiod.(codex unus)*] resonare *Cassiod.(cett. codd.)* quod *Cassiod.*] quae *G* **41** dum *G*] cum *Hil.* **43** enim *G*] autem *Isid.* **44** musicorum *G*] musico *Cassiod.* cas(siodorus) *iuxta l.44*] *iuxta l.43(unde-) G* id *Cassiod.*] *om. G* **47** imno *ci.*] hymno *Hil.* immo *G* **48** cas(siodorus) *iuxta l.48b*] *iuxta l.48a G* **49** d(e)o^1 *G1*] dei *Cassiod.*] *om.G* quando *Cassiod.*] q(uonia)m *G* d(e)o^2 *G*] *deest apud Cassiod.* **50** loquaci *Cassiod.*] loca qui *G* cuiquam *Cassiod.*] cuique *G* **53** chori *Hil.*] horis *G* **53/54** modo psalterii modolis imitata uociferi *G*] modos psalterii modulis uocis imitata *Hil.* **55** cassiodorus *scr.*] cas *G* canticum psalmi *G*] canticumpsalmum *Cassiod.*

erat, cum choro ante canente ars instrumenti musici in unam conuenientiam comiti aptatur, uerbaque ymni diuini suauis copula personabat."

Psalmus uero cantici, cum choro ante canente humanae cantationis HILA.
ymno ars organi consonantis aptatur, et uocis modolis suis praecinnentis
pari psalterium suauitate modolatur. Psalmus uero cantici, quod humana ISID.
uox praeloquitur, ars organi modolantis emitatur. Psalmocanticum erat, CAS.ALIT.
cum instrumento musico praecinente canens chorus sociatis uocibus adclamabat, diuinis dumtaxat sermonibus obsequutus.

Ipsum uero 'psalmum' Grecum constat esse quem dictum quidam uol- CAS.
unt *apo tu ψauin*, hoc est *a tangendo*. Nam et 'psalterias' citharidas uocamus, docto police modolationes musicas exprimentes.

Item cur per p et s scribuntur haec nomina: 'psalmus', 'psalterium', 'psallo'? Ideo quia secundum rationem Grecorum scribuntur. Sex enim duplices apud Grecos dicuntur. Alii putant ·vi· litteras duplices esse cum AUG.
Grecis: x (chi), π (phi), Φ (fi), ϟ uel Ψ (psi), θ (theta), Z (seta), ? ξ (csi uel ces): chi (c et h) ut 'chirographum'; phi (p et h) ut 'philosophus'; fi (f et h) ut 'filargiria'; psi (p et s) ut 'psalmus', 'psalterium', 'psallo'; theta (t et h) ut 'Thabor'; seta (t et s, uel duo ss) ut 'ilarissat'; csi uel ces (c et s, uel x) ut 'hecs'. 'Psallo' enim grece 'canto' latine. 'Psallo' enim per p et s scribitur, ISID.
quia s sola littera non potest uim exprimere Grecae litterae, nisi per p et s scribatur, et haec est nota litterae Grecae psi (Ψ).

Psalterium autem Ebrei *decachordon* usi sunt propter numerum deca- ISID.
logum Legis.

58/60 Hil., *Tract. ps.*, instr., 19, 8-11 **60/61** Isid., *Orig.*, 6, 19, 12 **61/63** Cassiod., *Exp. ps.*, praef., 7 **64/66** ibid., praef., 4 **71/78** Isid., *Orig.*, 3, 22, 7

60/61 cf. Ps.-Hier., *o.c.*, p.75, 23-24 De Bruyne **61/63** cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 285-286; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 2, l.<3-4>(!) Sheehy **64/66** Ps.-Beda, *o.c.*, p.1101 A PL 93; (*/65*) cf. *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 28 **67/68**(*scrib.*).**75/76** cf. ibid., prol. ps., 8; *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 35 **77/78** cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 19-22.25-26

57 comiti *G*] communiter *Cassiod.* aptatur *G*] aptabatur *Cassiod.* ymni *scr.*] hymni *G* (*et ita i*) **58** cantici *G*] cantici est *Hil.* **60** cantici *G Isidori cod.C*] canticum *Isidori codd.BKT* cantici cum *Isidori codd. cett. et edd.* **61** emitatur *ci.*] emittitur *G* imitatur *Isid.* **62** chorus *Cassiod.*] choris *G* **65** apo tu ψauin *ci.*] apo tu ψaum *G* apotopsauin *Op.bibl.* ἀπὸ τοῦ ψάλλειν *Cassiod.* psalterias citharidas *G*] psaltrias citharoedas *Cassiod.* **66** modolationes *G**] -ionis *G* **68** quia *Op.bibl.*] que *G* **69** apud *scr.*] abud *G* **70** fi *ci.*] phi *G* ϟ *ci.*] Φ *G* csi *ci.*] chi *G* **71** chirographum *ci.*] ciro- *G* p et h *ci.*] pih *G* **71/72** f et h *ci.*] fec *G* **73** seta *ci.*] Z *G* **74** hecs *ci.*] hets *G* **75** quia *ci.*] q *G* **77/78** decalogum *G Isidori codd.BCK*] decalogi *Isidori codd.cett. et edd.*

In primo libro *Paralipeminon* legitur, cum profeta Dauid deuota Domino aetate senuisset, ·iiii· milia iuuenum ex Israhelitico populo dilegisse, qui psalmos, quos ipse in se Domini aspiratione protulerat, organis, citharis, nablis, timpanis, cimbalis, tubis propriaque uoce in magnam iocunditatem supernae gratiae personarent. Ex quo numero indita nomina frequenter in titulis inuenimus, ut Iditun, Assab, filii Core, et similia, non quia ipsi, ut quidam uolunt, auctores fuere psalmorum, sed quoniam, praepositi artificibus, amministratores earum rerum probabiles extiterunt, ut honorem de tali commemoratione sunt mereti, qui officio sancto deuotis mentibus seruiebant; maxime quia et nomina eorum intellectus rerum congruos indicare noscuntur. Non enim supradicti uiri ad psalmos faciendos electi sunt, sed eos congregatos tantum legimus ad cantandum; psalmigrafos autem fuisse istoria nulla testatur, et praesumtiosum est dicere quod nulla possit auctoritate firmari. Psalmos enim ad solum profetam Dauid pertinere certis declaratur indiciis.

Isiderus aliter ait: "Liber *Psalmorum*, quamquam uno uolumine concludatur, tamen non est uno auctore eodemque editus. ·X· enim paene profetae sunt qui eos diuerso tempore scripserunt." ISID. (/HIR.)

Metro apud Ebreos psalterium uel lamentationes Hieremiae et omnia ferme Scripturarum carmina conprehenduntur.

Omnes psalmi apud Ebreos metrico carmine constant esse conpositi. Nam in more Romani Flacci et Greci Pindari nunc alii iambico currunt, nunc alcaico sonant, nunc saphico nitent trimetro, uel tetrametro pede incidentes.

79/93 Cassiod., *Exp. ps.*, praef., 2, l.3-8. (*ex quo-*) 17-29 CCSL 97 **94/96** Isid., *Praef. test.*, 33; (**95/**) cf.Hier., *Hebr.* (inter alia), praef., p.5, 7-10 De Sainte-Marie **99/102** Isid., *Orig.*, 6, 2, 17

79/93 cf. *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 27; (**/83**) cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 276-280; (**83/**) cf. ibid., 134-138.158-171.237-238 (**92/**) cf. ibid., 99 **94**(*lib.*)**/96** cf. Ps.-Hier., *o.c.*, p.73, 36-40 De Bruyne et p.220 Flor. Cas.; *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 103-108; (**95/**) cf. *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 5 **99/102** cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 175-177.186-190; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 14 (l.<1-2> Sheehy).31; (**99**) *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 183-184; (**100/**) cf. ibid., 184-185

80 israhelitico *G1*] isrehel- *G* **81** dilegisse *G** diligisse *G* delegisse *Cassiod.* ipse in se *G*] ipse *Cassiod.* **82** propriaque *scr.*] propriaquae *G* **83** magnam *Cassiod.*] magnum *G* **87** sunt mereti *scr.*] sunt meriti *G* sumerent *Cassiod.* **88** quia *Cassiod.*] que *G* **94** isiderus *scr.* (*ut fort. G a.corr.*)] isidorus *G*(1?) **94/95** concludatur *G1 Isid.*] -ditur *G* -dantur *Op.bibl.* **102** incidentes *scr.*] inced- *G*

Cum esset expeditus Dauid a proeliis, et cum pace altissima frueretur, IOSEP.
cantica in Deum ymnosque conposuit uario metro, alios quidem trimetros, alios uero quinquemetros, diuersa faciens organa, ut his leuitae Deo ymnos edicerent per sabbata et festiuitates.

Cur Helarius et Hieronimus ·v· psalmos per metrum dicunt cantandos, id est *Noli aemulari, Beatus uir qui timet Dominum, Beati inmaculati, Confitebor, Benedictus Dominus Deus meus, Exaltabo te Deus meus rex*? Ideo quia hii quinque psalmi abicitorium Ebreicum super se specialiter habent, quia interpretatio uniuscuiusque litterae sensui uniuscuiusque uersus conuenit.

Nulla dictio metrum in alia lingua conseruat, nisi uim uerborum IUNILI.
ordinemque non motet.

Non est autem ignorandum indiscretum apud Ebreos numerum esse HILA.
psalmorum, sed sine ordinis ordinatione esse conscriptos. Non enim illic primus aut secundus aut tertius aut quartus aut quinquagesimus aut centesimus praenotatur, sed sine discrimine alicuius ordinis numerique permixti sunt. Hestras enim, ut antiquae traditiones ferunt, inconpositos eos et pro auctorum ac temporis diuersitate dispersos in unum uolumen collegit et retulit.

Septuaginta interpretes psalmos inter ceteros libros transferentes et in AG
numerum redigerunt et in ordinem collocauerunt et diapsalmis distincxerunt, quia omnes secundum Ebreos in unum confusi habebantur.

103/106 Ios./Cassiod., *Antiq.*, 7, 305, p.209 (= liber 7, caput 12, par.3) ed. Basileensis **107/112** cf.Hieronymi praesertim *Hebr.* (·v· psalmi alphabetici) et *epist.*30, <2-3>, p.49, 28 - 50, 15 De Bruyne, Hilarii utique *Tract. ps.*, ps.118, prol.; **(108/109)** u.ps.36(37), 111(112), 118(119), 110(111) (uel potius 137(138)?), 143(144), 144(145) **113/114** Iunil., 1, 9 **115/121** Hil., *Tract. ps.*, instr., 8, 1-8 **122/124** ibid., ps.2, 3, 8-11

107/111 cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 177-182.190-194; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 24, l.<1-4> Sheehy; **(/109)** cf. *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 14, l.<4-7> Sheehy; **110/112** cf. *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 24, l.<11-12> Sheehy **115/124** cf. Ps.-Hier., *o.c.*, p.74, 7-9 De Bruyne et p.220 Flor. Cas.; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 7; **(119/121)** cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 213-215; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 19, l.<5> Sheehy

110 quia *Op.bibl.*] que *G* ebreicum *scr.*] aebreicum *G* aebraicum *G1* **111** quia *Op.bibl.*] quae *G* **113** nisi *G*] si *Iunil.* **114** motet *scr.*] mutet *G* **116** ordinatione *G*] adnotatione *Hil.* **118** alicuius *G*] aliquo *Hil.* **119** Hestras *scr.*] Hesdras *G* antiquae *ci.*] antiqui *G*

De Greco uero in Latinum ante translationem Hieronimi male translati sunt. Sub obelis et asteriscis psalterium correxit. Obelus est uirga iugulans uel iacens quae subponitur in uerbis uel in sententiis superflue iteratis, uel in his dictis ubi aliqua lectio falsitate notata est, ut quasi sagitta iugulat atque falsa confodiat. Sagitta enim grece 'obelus' dicitur. Asteriscus est stella radiens // ubi aliquid de Ebraeica ueritate defuisse radiat.

<DIAPSALMA> Inter expositores psalmorum de hoc nomine quaedam noscitur prouenisse diuersitas. Hieronimus, Ebreicae linguae doctissimus inquisitor, continuationem Spiritus sancti esse confirmat, ob <hoc> quia 'diapsalma' significat 'semper'. Beatus autem Augustinus, rerum obscurarum subtilissimus indagator, inter ardua sine offensione discurrens, hanc potius partem elegisse cognoscitur, ut magis diuisio esse uideretur, nominis ipsius discutens qualitatem. 'Symsalma' quippe dicitur Greco uocabulo uocum adunata copulatio, 'diapsalma' uero sermonum rupta continuatio, docens ubicumque repertum fuerit, aut personarum aut rerum fieri permotationem. Merito ergo tale nomen illic interponitur, ubi uel sensus uel personae diuidi conprobantur. Unde et nos diuisiones congruas faciemus, ubicumque in psalmis diapsalma potuerit inueniri.

'Zesalla' uel 'sella' in Ebreo, 'diapsalma' in Greco, 'semper' sonat in Latina.

126(*ob.*)/**129**(*dic.*) Isid., *Orig.*, 1, 21, 3 **132/143** Cassiod., *Exp. ps.*, praef., 11 **144/145** cf. praesertim Hier., *Epist.*28 *de diapsalmate*; *Comm. ps.*, ps.4, 3; *Tract. ps.*, p.75, 4

125/131 cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 336-343; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 25 **133/135** cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 292-293; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 19 **138/141** cf. Ps.-Bedam, *o.c.*, p.1102 D PL 93 **144/145** cf. ibid., p.1102 D PL 93 (= Hier., *Comm. ps.*, ps.4, 3); *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 292-293; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 18.19

126 sub *Op.bibl.* s(un)t *G*] *del.G*?* **126/127** uirga iugulans uel iacens *G*] uirga iugulans *Tract. Palaeohib.* uirgula iacens *Isid.* **127** quae *ci.*] quam *G* **128** quasi *Isid.*] qui si *G1* (si *om.G*) **130** ebraeica *M1*] hebreica *G* (*et i.sim.*h-) ebraica *MG1*(h-) **132** quid sit diapsalma *Cassiod.*] *deest in GM* **133** ebreicae *M*] ebraicae *M*G* (*et ita i.*) **134** confirmat *ci.*] corfirmat *GM* **134/135** ob hoc quia *Cassiod.*] ob quam *GM* **135** significat *GM*] -ficet *Cassiod.* **136** inter *Cassiod.*] uel *GM* **138** discutens *GM*] discutiens *Cassiod.* symsalma *M*] sympsalma *GM2* **139** adunata *Cassiod.*] adimata *GM* **141** permotationem *M*] permut- *GM2* **143** congruas *GM*] congrue *Cassiod.* faciemus *M Cassiod.*] facimus *G* potuerit *M Cassiod.*] poterit *G* **144** ebreo *scr.*] eb *M* hebreo *G* e(st) *p.uerbum ebreo inseruit M2* **145** latina *M*] latino *GM2*

Interuallum orationis profetae - 'Diapsalma' quidam Ebreum uerbum esse uolunt quo significatur 'semper', id est, quod illa quibus hoc interponitur sempiterna esse confirment. Quidam uero Grecum uerbum existimant quo significatur interuallum psallendi, ut psalma sit quod salletur, diapsalma uero interpositum in sallendo silentium: ut quemadmodum 'sinsalma' dicitur uocis copulatio cantando, ita 'diapsalma' disiunctio earum, ubi quaedam requies distincta continuationis ostenditur. Unde illud probabile est, non coniungendas sententias in psallendo ubi diapsalma interposita fuerit, quia ideo interponitur ut conuersio sensuum uel personarum esse noscatur. ISD.(/AG.) (/AG.)

Quid sibi uult illud quod frequenter in psalmorum titulis inscribitur: *in finem psalmus Dauid*? Responsum: quod psalmi in finem mundi bonorum repromissionem respiciunt, uel quod ea quae Iudaei obtinere se posse in principio crediderunt, nos consequamur in Christo, quem uenisse confitemur, in fine. EUCHERI

Psalmi igitur quibus inscribentur '*in finem*' ita intellegendi sunt, ut ex perfectis atque obsolutis bonorum aeternorum doctrinis et spebus existant, quia ad ea quae in his dicentur, fidei se nostrae cursus extendat, et in his doctrinis nullo ulteriore procursu in ipso suo obtatae et adeptae beatitudinis fine requiescat, id est quia spes nostra bonorum aeternorum doctrinis existat, quo fides nostra tendat. HELA.

De his autem qui sine auctorum nominibus sub diuersis superscriptionibus habentur, antiquorum uirorum ista traditio est, quod ex eo HILA. (CAS.)

146(*diaps.*)/155 Isid., *Orig.*, 6, 19, 14-16 et cf. Aug., *En. ps.*, ps.4, 4 **156/160** Eucher., *Instr.*, 1, p.89, 4-9 CSEL 31, 1 **161/165** Hil., *Tract. ps.*, instr., 18, 5-10 **167/174** ibid., instr., 3, 1-10

146(*diaps.*)/152 cf. *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 18; (148/) cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 295-297 154(*ideo*)/155 Ps.-Hier., *o.c.*, p.76, <3> De Bruyne **161/165** cf. ibid., p.75, 18-21 De Bruyne

146 profet- *M*] prophet- *G* (*et ita i.*) a(u)g(ustinus) *iuxta l.146* (Diapsalma *sqq.*) *M*] *iuxta l.146-147* (quidam...esse) *G* **149** salletur *M*] psallitur *GM2* **150** sallendo *M*] psallendo *GM2* **151** sinsalma *M*] simpsalma *GM2* cantando *GM*] in cant- *Isid.* disiunctio *M*] disiuntio *G* **154** quia *Isid.*] qui *GM* **155** noscatur *GM et Isidori codd. (2)*] noscantur *Isidori codd.cett.* **156** eucheri(us) *M*] euclieri(us) *G* **157** finem *GM*] fine *Eucher.* **158** respiciunt *GM*] respiciant *Eucher.* quae *scr.*] q̃ *M* q̃ *G* **159/160** confitemur *GM*] confitebimur *Eucher.* **161** quibus *GM*] qui *Hil.* hela(rius) *M*] hila(rius) *G* **163** quia *Hilar.G1*] q *M* quam *G* quae *Hil.*] q̃ *M* que *G** quem *G* **164** doctrinis *GM*] *deest apud Hil.* **165** quia *ci.*] q *M* quo *G* q(uo) *M2*

psalmo <cuius> auctor in superscriptione praeponitur, qui deinceps sine
170 auctorum superscriptione succidunt, huius esse existimandi sunt qui ante prioris psalmi auctor inscribitur, usque in eum psalmum quo nomen auctoris alterius praeferatur; ut, si psalmi alicuius superscriptio talis sit: *psalmus Dauid*, ceteri qui sine titulo consequantur Dauid esse credantur, donec profetae alterius nomen in superscriptione ponatur.

175 Scio quosdam putare psalterium in ·v· libros esse diuisum, ut IIRO.
ubicumque apud Septuaginta interpretes scriptum est: *σηνουτω*, *σηνουτω*, id est fiat, fiat, finis librorum sit, pro quo in Ebreo legitur *amen, amen*. Nos autem, Ebreorum auctoritatem sequuti, et maxime apostolorum qui semper in Nouo Testamento *Psalmorum librum* nomi-
180 nant, unum uolumen adserimus psalmosque omnes eorum testamur auctorum qui ponuntur in titulis, Dauid scilicet et Asab et Iditum, filiorum Corae, Essai, Architae, Moysi et Salamonis et reliquorum quos Hestras uno uolumine conprehendit. Nam et titulus ipse Ebreicus *Σηπηρ θαθυμ*, quod interpretatur *Uolumen ymnorum*, apostolicae auctoritati congruens,
185 non plures libros, sed unum uolumen ostendit.

Si toto effectu inuestigaueris psalmos, multum laborem arripies; nam AM
etiam intellectu historico duplices sensus latent uel abent. Lege psalmos HIL

175/185 Hier., *Hebr.*, praef., p.5, 2-10. (*nam-*) p.6, 1-4 De Sainte-Marie

175/180(*ads.*) cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 41-58.415-420; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 23; (**178/**) cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 216-227; **178/182** cf. Ps.-Hier., *o.c.*, p.73, 36-40 De Bruyne et p.220 Flor. Cas.; (**180/**) cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 103-110; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 5 **182**(*quos*)/**183**(*conpr.*) cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 213-215 **183**(*nam*)/**184**(*ymn.*) cf. ibid., 3-4 **186/188.190/192** *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 6

169 cuius *Hil.*] om.*GM* **170** succidunt *M*] succedunt *GM2* **170/171** ante prioris *GM1*] ante priores *M* anterioris *Hil.* **171** quo *GM et Hilarii codd.quidam*] in quo *Hilarii codd.cett.* **172** p(rae)feratur *M Hil.*] p(ro)- *GM2* **175** libros *M Hier.*] libris *GM** **175**(ut)/**176**(est) Hi(eronymus) *i.m. del. (?) M* **176/177** σηνουτω σηνουτω *GM*] γένοιτο γένοιτο *Hier.* **180** psalmosque *GM*] psalmos quoque *Hier.* **181** iditum *ci.*] iditunt *G* iditun *M* **182** corae *GM*] chorae *G1* essai architae *GM*] eman ezrahitae *Hier.* hestras *M*] hesdras *GM** **183** titulus *Hier.*] titulis *GM* *post* ebreicus (*in fine lineae*) *rasura aliqua complurium litterarum cerni potest in codice M* σηπηρ *GM*] sephar *Hier.* θαθυμ *M*] ελευμ *G* thallim *Hier.* **184** ymnorum *M*] hymnorum *GM2* **186** effectu *GM*] affectu *Op.bibl.* **187** duplices sensus *GM*] duplici sensu *Op.bibl.* uel abent *M*] uel habent *GM2 deest in Op.bibl.*

historico intellectu, ubi diuersos modos inuenies. Commemoratio historiae de *Regum* tracta uolumine, in ipso limine posita, uirtutes noscitur indicare psalmorum. Historico intellectu psalmos inuestigaui et certas personas in his consideraui. Iterum dicit: "Me totum diuino labori reddidi inseruique psalmos historico ordine."

Sciendum quot species historiae sint et quae de his in psalmis repperitur. ·XI· historiae species uariae ac diuersae uidentur. Nam simplex historia est, multiplex historia, commonis historia, prosalis historia, metrica historia, canonica historia, profetica historia, prouerbialis historia, historia nuda, historia stricta, historia explanati***, reliqua... Historia autem profetica in psalmis est.

Incipiunt in nomine Iesu Christi argumenta Hieronimi in psalmos. Argumenta sunt quae causas ostendunt ex breuitate sermonum longumque sensum habent. HILA.

188/190 Cassiod *exp. ps.*, praef., 16 10-12 CCSL 97

196(*profet.*)/197(*nuda*) cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 79-81; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 15, l.<1 2> Sheehy 197/198 cf. *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 81-82; *Op. bibl.*, prol. ps., 15, l.<3 Sheehy 200-201 *Tract. Palaeohib.*, 259-261

189 tracta *M Cassiod.*] stracta *G* 191 iterum *GM*] item *Op.bibl.* 192 inseruique *GM*] et inserui *Op.bibl.* psalmos historico ordine *GM*] psalmo historico ordini *Op.bibl.* 193 sciendum] *primo* siendum *scr.G* quot *M*] quod *G* species *M*] speties *G* 193/194 repperitur *M*] reperitur *G* is(i)d(erus) *iuxta l.194*(XI-) *M*] *iuxta l.193 G* 195 commonis *M*] communis *G* 197 explanatī *M*] explanati *G* 198 psalmis *GM**] psalm(us) *M* 199 psalmos *M*] psalmis *GM2* 200 quae *scr.*] q̃ *M* quam *G* hila(rius) *iuxta l.200 M*] *iuxta l.199 G* 201 longumque *GM*] longum *Tract.Palaeohib.*

Summary

The article consists mainly of the edition of a Latin Psalm preface from the late eighth-century Irish tradition, handed down to us in two Continental IXth-century MSS. (preserved in St Gall and Munich). The edition is preceded by a critical introduction. In this, the author offers first some codicological and palaeographical information (par. I) and deals with abbreviations and linguistic features which furnish evidence for the Irish origin of the text (par. II). In the following paragraphs, he determines the mutual relationship and value of the MSS., on the basis of a study of normalized forms and patent mistakes (par. III), and sets forth his specific criteria for the reconstruction of the text (par. IV). Some annotations on individual words or passages complete the introduction (par. V).

The Σωτήριος, the original of the Izbornik of 1073

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The project that is presented here, ows its genesis to research by Slavists into the origin of the Izbornik of 1073, a splendid codex of Grand Duke Sv'atoslav of Kiev, and the second oldest dated Slavonic manuscript. Its title, 'A selection from many (Church-) Fathers [...]', already implies that we are dealing with a translation (from the Greek). The colophon, a poetic eulogy of the recipient, confirms it explicitly . The colophon also informs us that the recipient, Kn'az Sv'atoslav, had ordered the translation; he is praised for the wisdom of his order, and, more generally, for his knowledge of books, his desire to disseminate this learning, and his decision to establish a library. The colophon thus calls to mind the image of the wise, enlightened prince, but before we apply it to Kn'az Sv'atoslav, we are warned by the discovery that title and name have been written over older ones, which the scribe had found in, and copied from, the exemplar, and which had been erased and replaced before the presentation of the book to Sv'atoslav. Thanks to evidence from another manuscript we know the original reading: Tsar[1] Symeon. This takes us back one and a half century into history, to Symeon, the first Tsar of the Bulgars (893-927), the second Christian Bulgar monarch after his father Khan Boris-Michael, who in 865 had adopted the Orthodox faith for himself and the Bulgars[2]. So we are dealing with a (Byzantine) Greek συλλογή, a collection of texts or florilegium, translated into Slavonic for Tsar

[1] Literally 'Great among Tsars'.
[2] Not counting the short reign of the renegade Vladimir, the elder brother.

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Symeon. This Greek original probably was composed in the second half of the 9th century (see 'Dating the Σωτήριος'). It has never been published[3].

The 900th anniversary of the Izbornik was marked by various activities in 1973 and the following years: a conference at Leningrad, further textological research, articles and an edition[4]. At the same time interest in the Greek original grew. A number of Byzantine manuscripts had already been found to contain Izbornik material[5], now the search for them was intensified, resulting in a report by M.V. Bibikov from Moscow, which presented and described ca. 20 Greek manuscripts of the 10th to the 16th century as copies of the Greek original of the Izbornik; it also provided a stemma[6]. At the suggestion of the Antwerp scholar F.J. Thomson (see n. 4) the Institute of Early Christian and Byzantine studies at Louvain developed a plan for further collation of the Greek manu-

[3] The 88 Ἐρωταποκρίσεις, ascribed to Abbas Anastasius the Sinaïte (see 'A sketch ...', 3d al.), which make up the central section of the florilegium, have been used, probably in the 11th century, in a compilation of 154 Ἐρωταποκρίσεις, also presented as Anastasian. An edition was made of it by J. Gretser in 1617 (now in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca 89*, col. 329 sqq.). The compiler combined 'our' collection of 88 Ἐρωταποκρίσεις with the larger part of an older collection of 103 Ἐρωταποκρίσεις, which have been recognised as genuinely Anastasian (the editio princeps of the authentic Anastasianae is now being prepared; see n. 14). The way this compiler went about his compilation is rather baffling: starting with the collection of 88, he copied out the questions 1-85, skipping, however, 60-69; then he added 66 or 67 Ἐρωταποκρίσεις from the collection of 103, and finished with the unused questions of the collection of 88, the nrs. 60-69 and 86-88. When he saw that the 82th genuine Anastasian question had the same subject as question 81 from the '88', he dismissed the latter, although the answers are very different; all the more surprising, because in other such cases he opted for the question from the collection of 88; in one case he retained both.

[4] *Izbornik Sv'atoslava 1073 g., Sbornik Stat'ej*, Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', Moscow 1977; *Simeonov Sbornik (po Svetoslavovija prepis ot 1073 g.), Tom 1. Izsledbanija i Tekst, Tom 2. Retsjnik - Indeks*, Izdatelstbo na Blgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Sofija, 1991-1993; see also Francis J. THOMSON, The Symeonic Florilegium – Problems of its Origin, Contents, Textology and Edition (...), in: *Palaeobulgarica, XVII* (1993), *1*, p. 37-53.

[5] Coislinianus 120, Vaticanus gr. 423 and seven other manuscripts had by 1980 been found by M.Capaldo to contain the Greek original: see W.R. Veder's report in *Polata Knigopis'naja*, 3 (1980), p. 59; see also I. ŠEVČENKO, *Byzantium and the Slavs*, Cambridge/Naples, 1991, p. 152 sqq. and 241 sqq.

[6] M.V. BIBIKOV, *Vizantijskij Prototip Drevn'ejsh'ej Slav'anskoj Knigi*, Moscow, 1996.

scripts, reconstruction of the 'earliest retrievable text', and a critical edition of the Greek florilegium for the Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca. An editorial team was formed, consisting of P. Van Deun and J. Noret of the Institute of Early Christian and Byzantine Studies, F.J. Thomson, W.R. Veder and D.Tj. Sieswerda. The latter two are in charge of the daily proceedings, W.R. Veder, professor of Slavonic Languages of the University of Amsterdam, acting as consultant, and the author of this article, D.Tj.Sieswerda, classicist and visiting researcher, also at the University of Amsterdam, as editor. Since we observed that at least two manuscripts carry the title 'βίβλος (...) ἡ λεγομένη σωτήριος'[7], we speak of the Σωτήριος and the Σωτήριος project.

Intriguing though the Slavonic connection, particularly Tsar Symeon's interest in the Byzantine work and its translation into Slavonic may be, the project has been set up like any other Byzantine text reconstruction. It is clear that at some time one of the Σωτήριος manuscripts – now lost – was used for a translation into Slavonic, and that implies a stemmatological connection with the Byzantine work. The Izbornik of 1073 and the other manuscripts that make up the Slavonic tradition, reflect the state of the Σωτήριος text at a certain point of one branch of the Σωτήριος stemma. For the moment, however, it seems that there is sufficient evidence to work on in the Greek manuscripts, which justifies looking into the Slavonic version at a later stage of the project. As regards Tsar Symeon's involvement, I am, on primarily logical grounds, inclined to consider it minimal. But in view of some different opinions among Izbornik investigators, one of whom suggested that Symeon was involved, not only in the translation, but in the composition of the Σωτήριος, I have found it useful to take up this matter in an appendix to this article[8].

[7] In full 'βίβλος γενομένη καὶ συντεθεῖσα ἐκ διαφόρων λόγων καὶ διηγήσεων ψυχωφελῶν ἡ λεγομένη σωτήριος'

[8] See E.I. GEORGIËV, K voprosu o voznikov'enii i sostavit'el'stvach Izbornika Simeona-Sv'atoslava (...), in: *Izbornik Sv'atoslava (...)* (see n. 4), p. 263 sqq.

A sketch of the Σωτήριος

The composers[9] (or: compilers[10]) themselves characterise the work in the title as a σύνθεσις ('... *συντεθεῖσα* ...'), and stress the variety of its contents by adding 'ἐκ *διαφόρων* λόγων καὶ διηγήσεων ...'. They evidently aim at a diversity of subjects and problems, and perhaps of approaches and reasonings. And they certainly succeeded, as the following sketch shows. They are less clear about the intended meaning of the Σωτήριος. The title gives it in abstract, evaluative terms: support to the soul ('... *ψυχωφελῶν* ...'), and salvation ('... *σωτήριος* ...'). The former implies alleviation of mental and spiritual doubt and agony, or edification of the soul in general[11], the latter reminds us of the ὀλίγοι *σωζόμενοι* in the Σωτήριος itself, who enter the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ[12]. When read together they suggest that the Σωτήριος stands for edification and support in earthly life, and guidance towards the hereafter. More explicit information about the means to achieve these aims, the nature of the book's content, is lacking; it is evidently left to the interpretation of the reader to decide about that.

That this is no easy task, was already observed by Richard, who discusses the florilegium in the Dictionnaire de Spiritualité. He classes it among the *'florilèges monastiques'*, but at the same time concedes that it is *'un genre à lui tout seul'*, preceding by two cen-

[9] I use the plural because it seems to me that a body of work as large as the Σωτήριος must be regarded as a 'project', in which a considerable number of people were involved.

[10] It is customary to speak of 'compilation' where a low level of authorial creativity is detectable, i.e. where entries have been brought together without a strong authorial purpose. R.Picchio, in a paper for the Cyrillo-Methodian Congress of 1979 at Thessaloniki, 'Compilation and Composition: two levels of Authorship in the Orthodox Slavic Tradition' (in: *Cyrillomethodianum V* (1981) p. 1 - 4), warned against underestimating authorship in compilation, but nevertheless maintained the distinction 'compilation': 'composition', even strengthened it by limiting the term 'composition' to 'actual production of individual texts', i.e. strongly authorial, purposeful selection and ordering of material. This is rather impractical, because, if put into general use, it would prevent us from using 'composition' in the neutral sense, which it fits so well.

[11] For ψυχωφέλεια = edification cf. A. THIBAUT, Édification, section 3. Le monachisme, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, IV, 1*, col. 279-293, esp. col. 287-291.

[12] In the 13th Ἐρωταπόκρισις of the second section; the reference is to Luk 13:23

turies works of a comparable nature, such as the *Euergetinon* and Nikon's *Pandektes*[13].

The Σωτήριος consists of three sections. Nine or ten (depending on whether a marginal text or note is counted in or not) entries of a dogmatic nature, by Basil of Caesarea and others, are followed by the so-called '88-questions version' of the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις ascribed to Anastasius the Sinaïte (*floruit* ca. 700). Only about thirty of them, the first 23 in succession and 6 to 12 scattered ones, are genuine. They have, for the greater part, been thoroughly revised by one or more 9th-century revisers . We should, therefore, rather speak of Pseudo-Anastasian ἐρωταποκρίσεις[14]. The third section is made up of some twenty pieces varying in length, origin and nature.

The first section is the most uniform in content. The nine or ten entries are strictly theological: the true faith, the ὀρθὴ πίστις, is expounded and confirmed in descriptions of the Holy Trinity and

[13] M. RICHARD, Florilèges Spirituels Grecs, in: *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, V*, col. 475 - 599, esp. col. 499 sqq. Of course, there are great numbers of florilegia (see also Th. SCHERMANN, *Die Geschichte der dogmatischen Florilegia vom V.-VII Jh.*, Leipzig, 1904; P. ODORICO, *Il Prato e l'Ape*, Vienna, 1986, ch. 1.0., p. 3-11, and La cultura della Συλλογή, in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift 83* [1990], p. 1-21); there are also many collections of ἐρωταποκρίσεις (see H. DÖRRIES, Erotapokriseis, in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, 5*, col. 342 sqq.); what makes the Σωτήριος exceptional, is the combination of genres and the diversity of its subjects.

[14] The term '88-questions version' is used to distinguish this collection from that of the 103 genuine questions-and-answers by Abbas Anastasius mentioned in n. 3. The 103-questions version is known to us from, i.a., the Mosquensis Synod. 265 and Wolffenbüttel Herzog-August 4240. A critical edition of the *Genuinae* is being prepared by J.A. Munitiz. His investigations confirm the observation of M. Richard (Les Véritables 'Questions et Réponses' d'Anastase le Sinaïte, in: *Bulletin de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 15*, 1967/1968, p. 39 sqq.), that only the first 23 and 6 to 12 others scattered among the rest of the 88-questions version are – thoroughly revised – genuine Anastanianae. The general drift of this 9th-century Constantinopolitan revision, as appears from a paper by Munitiz (presented to the Seminar in Eastern Christian Studies in February 1998) is: a toning down of local (Palestine) and period-related (7th-century) elements of the original Ἐρωταποκρίσεις, and a stricter, not to say harsher, imposing of religious duties; obviously in order to enhance the authority of the answers, a string of quotations, most of them biblical and patristic, is added to each. A full and detailed comparison of the authentic and the revised Anastasian Ἐρωταποκρίσεις, undertaken by myself, will be published in due time.

its persons, with much emphasis on the person and the dual nature of Christ. The last two entries are a confession of orthodox faith and a summing up of the decrees of six oecumenical councils defining orthodoxy[15]. From the very start one is struck by the polemic tone, from the fragment of the *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου* by Basil: '...it is a νόσημα ψυχῆς to want to know too much about God ...', up to and including the last entry, about the councils: again and again the council decisions are preceded by sharp condemnation of deviations and deviators alike, and by the penalty meted out: '..., οὓς καθελοῦσα [ἡ σύνοδος] ἀνεθεμάτισεν ...'. Only then does the accepted definition follow.

The middle section, the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις, is less easy to label. The opening series I am inclined to call pastoral: it is concerned with questions of how to live a correct christian life, how to bear up against great problems ('bad government'), and how to solve small ones ('how much money to donate to the church'). Then follow mainly exegetic questions, theoretical questions about intention and meaning of Old-Testamentary prophetic and New-Testamentary apostolic utterances, and more concrete questions; some of these are quite down-to-earth, such as the question about the measures of Solomon's temple. Each ἐρωταπόκρισις is a florilegium in itself: after an introduction by 'Anastasius' the answer continues with a string of quotations from the Fathers and other authors, and from the Testaments. Many of these can themselves count as – miniature – florilegia, composed as they are of statements and passages from different parts of a patristric work or Bible book, often linked by means of connecting phrases such as 'Καὶ πάλιν·' and 'Καὶ μετ'ὀλίγον· ...'. Some of the answers do without the 'Anastasian' beginning, which all the more strengthens the impression of florilegia within a florilegium.

The third and last section is even more diverse, ranging from spiritual to profane entries, theological discourses, e.g. on essence, nature and substance of the Trinitarian persons, but also entries dealing with literary tropes, chronology, prophets, apostles, kings and emperors.

The fact that the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις make up three fifths of the work, could lead us to define the Σωτήριος as the Ἐρωτα-

[15] The text speaks of '*the* six oecumenical councils'; for the use of the definite article and its possible implications see n. 17.

ποκρίσεις of (Pseudo-)Anastasius in the 88-questions version with prefaces and appendices. That is how Thomson characterises the Izbornik of 1073, and hence the Σωτήριος. He considers the intended meaning to be straightforward: a guide to Christian faith and a code of behaviour for the lay Christian. Several instances support his second point, among them Ἐρωταπόκρισις 15. There 'Anastasius' is asked how those who have to provide for wife and children and to earn their living can fulfil their religious duties. Clearly such a question would not apply to monks and members of the Church hierarchy. But of the straightforwardness of the meaning, in the sense of authorial intention, I have, in the course of my investigations into the Σωτήριος, become more and more doubtful, not only in view of its content, which it shares with the Izbornik, but also, and especially, because of features visible in the Σωτήριος, but not or no more to be seen in the Izbornik[16]. In the section 'The compilation ...' I will come back to this point.

Dating the Σωτήριος

When exactly the Σωτήριος was compiled, cannot be established with any precision. The inclusion of a quotation from the patriarch Nicephorus in the second Ἐρωταπόκρισις and of a piece *Περὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως* by Michael Syncellus among the opening entries gives us something like a *terminus post quem*. They are the most recent authors represented in the florilegium: Nicephorus died in 828, Michael in 846. More telling, perhaps, is that they both were declared enemies, and victims, of iconoclasm. The Nicephoros quotation is, characteristically, from his *Κατὰ εἰκονομάχων*. It is, therefore, safe to assume that the Σωτήριος was composed after the abolishment of iconoclasm and the reinstatement of iconophily in 843[17]. Circumstantial evidence for a *terminus ante*

[16] See THOMSON, op. cit., p. 46. One could, theoretically, think of the lay Christian as the *indirect* beneficiary of the book: it could have been composed for clerics, to enable them to instruct the faithful in theological matters and to provide them with answers to questions that the people would lay before them. One would, however, expect more explicit directions for such a use. There is no indication at all that others than the readers themselves are intended to profit from the book.

[17] The fact that Michael Syncellus' *Περὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως* mentions *six*, even *the six*, oecumenical councils (as does the next and closing entry of the

quem is given by the oldest manuscripts, Coislinianus 120 and Patmius 109, both dated to ca. 900. These two manuscripts are, as appears from my stemma (see Appendix 1), three or four manuscript generations removed from the archetype, and thus render the latter's dating to the middle of the second half, say the 70s or 80s,

first section) could make us date the Syncellus fragment to before 787, the year of the seventh council, Nicaea II (Nicaea II counts as the seventh oecumenical council, since it rejected the iconoclastic council of 754 at Hieria, which had been convened as the seventh). As Michael was, however, not yet sixteen years old at the time, we must reckon with a later date. There was some dispute about the oecumenicity of Nicaea II, going on until some time in the 9th century (See *The Encyclopedia of Religion, 4*, 1987, p. 127, and J.A. MUNITIZ, Synoptic Greek Accounts of the Seventh Council, in: *Revue des Études Byzantines 32* (1974), p. 147-186). It is quite possible that many people, among them Michael Syncellus and the author of the next entry, took six as the total number of oecumenical councils, long after 787.

One of the mss., Parisinus gr. 922, dating from the 11th century, shows a portrait of the 'Augusta Eudocia', as we read in the accompanying inscription. If the ms. in this respect reproduces the original, the honorand might be Eudocia Decapolitissa, wife of Michael III, Augusta 856-867, or Basil I's empress Eudocia Ingerina, Augusta 867-882/3. Each of these identifications would, of course, greatly help to date the Σωτήριος more precisely. Should we recognise Eudocia Baiana, third wife of Leo VI, and Augusta for less than a year, 900 - 901, portrait and inscription must have adorned a later ms., because, in all probability, the Σωτήριος was already in existence. All three identifications suffer from the same difficulty: all intermediate mss., down to Par. gr. 922, must then have carried a copy of the portrait-cum-inscription. It seems more probable that a contemporary, i.e. 11th-century, empress was honoured: Eudocia Macrembolitissa, wife, first, of Constantine Ducas (1059-1067), then of Romanus IV Diogenes (1068-1071). This identification would serve to date only Par. gr. 922. Bibikov, in his exposé of the matter (op. cit., p. 297-333, and in his article On the date of Byzantine prototype of the Izbornik 1073, in: *Thessaloniki 14* [1994], with references, also, to art-historical literature), suggests that the dedication in Par. gr. 922 is to Macrembolitissa, and that the portrait is an adaptation from a portrait of Eudocia Ingerina in the 9th-century original of the Σωτήριος. This suggestion is open to the same objection mentioned above: a copy or adaptation must then have been in all intermediate mss.

The conclusive force of the lists of religious and temporal rulers at the end of the Σωτήριος is doubtful, too. It is impossible to deduce a definitive dating from the *floruit*'s of the last-named popes, patriarchs and emperors. Some of the lists end with persons that had been dead for centuries, other lists, on the other hand, were updated by the scribes of individual mss., such as the list of emperors, which was supplemented to include the emperor of the scribes' days. So there is doubtful proof in the list of Constantinopolitan patriarchs that end with Photius, even if it fits in with the idea of an origin for the Σωτήριος in his time.

of the 9th century fully acceptable. This carries us back to patriarch Photius' times.

Existing collections

For at least part of the Σωτήριος the compilers used existing collections of texts. It is very probably true of at least part of the first section (see under 'The compilation; the process, *existing collections*'). The middle section, the 88-questions version of the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις of (Pseudo-)Anastasius, is even a *collection of collections*, four in all (ibidem). We cannot yet be certain that it is itself, like its component parts, a collection that already existed before it was included in the Σωτήριος. To settle this point further research is needed into the manuscripts containing (Pseudo-) Anastasian Ἐρωταποκρίσεις alone or together with texts other than those in the Σωτήριος: *ab*sence, there, of peculiarities we find in the Σωτήριος tradition, and *pre*sence of other features not peculiar to the Σωτήριος manuscripts would point at the pre-existence of the 88-questions version as an independent collection, the starting-point of a tradition of its own besides becoming included in the Σωτήριος[18]. The third and closing section contains two entries, themselves small florilegia, that were probably already in existence as independent collections[19].

The manuscripts

There are a considerable number of manuscripts, especially those with (Pseudo-)Anastasian Ἐρωταποκρίσεις alone or together with texts other than those in the Σωτήριος – for the sake of brevity I will call them 'the non-Σωτήριος manuscripts'. Bibikov counted more than a hundred, Munitiz, the editor of the original collection of 103 Anastasian Ἐρωταποκρίσεις (see n. 14), between 60 and

[18] There are strong indications that more than a few of these manuscripts go back to the Σωτήριος tradition (see my remarks on the Laurentianus Plut. IV 7 below, and n. 28 about the 11th-century compilation of 154 Ἐρωταποκρίσεις).

[19] I owe this information to M. Capaldo, who bases himself on Th. Schermann (op. cit.). He also supports, with W.R. Veder and myself, the idea of a possible independent origin of the first section, at least partly (see the section 'The compilation ...').

70[20]. Of the Σωτήριος manuscripts, those which have the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις in the 88-questions version together with (parts of) the preceding and final sections, 21 are known to us, thanks to Bibikov's efforts[21]. Those are the manuscripts with which we started our research. They all have – in principle[22] – the complete 88-questions version of the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις, but apart from those their content varies considerably. Some manuscripts, such as Coislinianus 120 and Vaticanus gr. 423, contain – again: in principle- the whole florilegium. Others, among them Laurentianus Plut. IV 6 and Ottobonianus gr. 414, preserve entries from the closing section, and Ambrosianus L 88 sup. has the first section, though not all of it, and following, instead of preceding, the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις. A complete list of the manuscripts is included in Appendix 1.

The non-Σωτήριος manuscripts have, for the moment, been left out of consideration, with the exception of Laurentianus Plut. IV 7 (my siglum: L2). L2 contains 'our' Ἐρωταποκρίσεις and a piece (of Hippolytus ?) entitled *Τί τὰ τέσσαρα θηρία ἅπερ ἑώρακε Δανιήλ*, which does not belong to the Σωτήριος material. A certain resemblance in redaction to two Σωτήριος manuscripts, especially in the ending of the last ἐρωταπόκρισις, and textual similarities argued for its inclusion; not undeservedly, because it appears to fit nicely into the Soterian stemma. Which means that we have to reckon with the possibility that at least a number of these manuscripts stem from within the Σωτήριος tradition, the more so because there are, besides L2, at least seven manuscripts with the same content: ἐρωταποκρίσεις (the '88') and the Daniël fragment[23].

[20] The difference is one of criterion. Bibikov (op. cit.) adds to the manuscripts with the complete 88-questions version those with any selection from it. Munitiz adds only those with Ἐρωταποκρίσεις 1-22 (or 23), the revised 'genuine' Anastasianae, as appears from the material that he kindly sent to me.

[21] The 22nd manuscript, Leydensis gr. 90, consists of six folia belonging to Laurentianus Plut. IV 7.

[22] 'In principle' is short for 'taking into account the usual corruption': loss of folia, omission of text as a result of redactors' interference as well as scribal mistakes.

[23] Bibikov (op. cit., p. 283/4) makes Laurentianus Plut. IV 7 (my L2) descriptus of Laurentianus Plut. IV 6 (L1), which is impossible, if only because L2 has passages that are missing in L1. My collations place L2 in a group of manuscripts elsewhere in the stemma. The admittedly striking correspondence of the end of

Collation and text reconstruction

The Σωτήριος project is in the middle of the codicological stage of manuscript investigation and collation, the first objective being the construction of a stable stemma, the second the reconstruction of the (earliest retrievable) text of a number of trial passages. Collations are carried out with the *Collate* computer programme from Oxford[24], with a few adaptations to make it work with a Greek keyboard lay-out. The manuscript texts (the witnesses) are transcribed and fed into the computer, and processed in such a way as to make comparison possible. *Collate* collects the textual differences, the variants. The programme is inter-active; it can be instructed to overlook insignificant variants, so that one can concentrate quickly on the significant, relationship-revealing variants. The resulting stemma is the starting-point for text reconstruction[25].

During the transcription process – a huge undertaking (see n. 45) –, collations are made of passages considered to be sufficiently representative, starting with passages to be found in all manuscripts. Ἐρωταποκρίσεις 13 - 17 meets that criterion, and collations based on it have furnished the most reliable data for a stemma. For the sake of balance entries have been added from the other two sections: the opening entry, the *Κατὰ τοῦ Εὐνομίου* fragment of Basil of Caesarea, and the *Διάλογος τῶν ἁγίων Βασιλείου καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου* from the final section. An outline of the results is given in Appendix 1, together with a text reconstruction, the 'earliest retrievable text' of Ἐρωταπόκρισις 16 in the Σωτήριος tradition.

the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις in L2, L1 and Ottobonianus 414 (Ot), brother manuscript of L1, must have another cause than L2 descending from L1 (or from the common exemplar of L1 and Ot). The other manuscripts with L2's set-up will have to be examined as to their relationship with L2 and the Σωτήριος tradition.

[24] *Collate*, The Computers and Variant Texts Project, Oxford University Computing Services (version used: 2.1, 1995).

[25] Bibikov (op. cit.) presents a stemma, which is necessarily tentative as he had to rely on catalogue descriptions for a number of manuscripts to which he had no access at the time of his researches. (See also n. 49 for a methodological appreciation of Bibikov's stemma.)

The compilation; the process

All important problems raised by the florilegium can be dealt with only if we have developed a clear idea of its compilation, by which I mean the *process* of its compilation. If, for instance, one wishes to speak authoritatively about the purpose, the general intended meaning of the work, it is necessary to have made an investigation into the relationship, the nature and degree of cohesion between its parts: has an apparent relationship been – authorially – *intended*, or is it rather the *result* of the manner in which the parts were combined to make up the book? The increasingly intimate acquaintance which naturally grows out of the word-for-word transcription of the texts, has brought me more than once close to the compilers' working methods, and made me, as it were, look over their shoulders. I have come to the conclusion that they, more than has been recognised, availed themselves of already existing text collections, and, also, that they allowed themselves, in joining and inserting texts, to be guided by association more often than would have been the case if the Σωτήριος had been based on a completely straightforward intention. The Σωτήριος, in my view, was compiled rather than composed (see n. 10).

Existing collections

I have already mentioned that the 88-questions version of (Pseudo-)Anastasian Ἐρωταποκρίσεις may have existed as an independent work, dating from before the Σωτήριος. In my opinion this is not an improbable hypothesis, but requires further investigation into the non-Σωτήριος manuscripts[26]. The fact that one of those, Laurentianus Plut. IV 7 (L2), shows significant kinship with the Σωτήριος manuscripts, proves that, whatever else may have happened, copying from one or more manuscript within the Σωτήριος tradition must have happened, too. An independent, earlier, existence of the 88-questions version makes it plausible, if not probable, that its compilers were others than those of the Σωτήριος, and that the latter used it, as they found it, for their florilegium.

[26] For this hypothesis to be true these manuscripts must show redactional and textual peculiarities that are significantly different from those of the Σωτήριος tradition.

There is a great deal of evidence for the finding that the 88-questions version was made up, not of separate ἐρωταποκρίσεις, but of collections of ἐρωταποκρίσεις. One finds the evidence in practically all manuscripts, and wholly consistently in the older ones:
- The first 23 Ἐρωταποκρίσεις – the 'genuinely' Anastasian (see n. 14) – stand out typographically: not only are the questions, as everywhere else, written out in (semi-)uncial lettertype, but they are preceded by the word ἐρώτησις (or an abbreviation: ἐρω or ἐρωτ), which is absent in all other questions (for an exception see n. 29). Similarly, the answers have an extra marking: the word ἀπόκρισις (often abbreviated ἀπόκ or ἀπόκρ), which is also absent from Ἐρωταπόκρισις 24 onward.
- The numbering of the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις in many manuscripts, and, as the stemma indicates, in the archetype, is renewed three times, starting with Ἐρωταπόκρισις 24:
 - 24 - 53 are numbered α΄ - κη΄[27],
 - 54 - 61 α΄ - η΄,
 - 62 - 88 α΄ - κζ΄[28].
- The transitions thus indicated are specially accentuated in some manuscripts. In the Vaticanus gr. 423, ornamented bars have been drawn between Ἐρωταποκρίσεις 23 and 24, and between 53 and 54; in all manuscripts there is a quotation between Ἐρωταπο-

[27] Not λ΄, because 32 and 34 were not seen as self-contained ἐρωταποκρίσεις, but as the continuation of 31 and 33 respectively.

[28] The 11th-century compiler of the 154-questions version (the 88-questions version and a selection from the 103 authentic Anastasianae, see n. 3), has, judging from Gretser's edition, made *one* ἐρωταπόκρισις (nr. 154, the last one) out of what the scribe of the Σωτήριος archetype regarded as *three* items:
- Ἐρωταπόκρισις 88 (for him nr. κζ΄ of the fourth and final collection of ἐρωταποκρίσεις in the Σωτήριος),
- another ἐρωταπόκρισις (or a fragment of Basil that he took for an ἐρωταπόκρισις), numbered, perhaps by him, κη΄, and
- a fragment of Maximus Confessor about οὐσία and φύσις, numbered, perhaps by him, κθ΄.

The Maximus fragment we now recognise as the opening entry of the third section of the Σωτήριος, a strong indication that the 88-questions version used by the compiler of the 154-questions collection derived from the Σωτήριος tradition. Whether κη΄ is indeed, as our archetype scribe thought, an autonomous ἐρωταπόκρισις -so that we should, in fact, speak of a 89-questions-version-, or the continuation of the answer to κζ΄, will have to be decided through a careful *close reading*.

κρίσεις 61 and 62, not from one of the Testaments or an individual author, but from the minutes of a church council[29].

All these peculiarities must stem from the archetype. My conclusion is that the compilers of the 88-questions version have put together four collections: one collection of 23 (or 22, see n. 31) 'genuine', revised and rewritten, ἐρωταποκρίσεις of Abbas Anastasius, and three other collections of ἐρωταποκρίσεις. Furthermore, that all four collections were in existence before the 88-questions version and, *a fortiori*, the Σωτήριος were compiled. If they had been drawn up exclusively for the 88-questions version, there would not have been such marked diffference in lay-out and no fourfold numbering, or they would have been ironed out[30].

At least 34 of the non-Σωτήριος manuscripts contain only the 'genuine' Anastasian collection with which the 88-questions version opens[31]. It may, of course, have been taken out of the 88-questions version, but, as this was compiled from four existing collections, it is equally possible that we are dealing here with the direct offspring of the independent collection of 23 (or 22) Anastasianae,

[29] Canon 110 of the Carthaginian council of 419 (J.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, III*, Florence, 1759; Βίβλος Κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἀφρίκῃ Ἐκκλησίας, col. 699-843; see esp. col. 812, Κανὼν ριʹ). Incidentally, the words ἐρώτησις and ἀπόκρισις re-emerge for once in Ἐρωταπόκρισις 61; their sudden appearance evidently surprised some scribes and gave rise to variants ('εἴρηται' and others).

[30] Bibikov (op. cit.) interprets the lay-out as an arrangement on the part of the composers of the Σωτήριος along the following lines: section 1 (the nine or ten dogmatic entries), section 2 (Ἐρωταποκρίσεις 1-23), section 3 (Ἐρωταποκρίσεις 24-53), section 4 (Ἐρωταποκρίσεις 54-61), and section 5 (the remaining Ἐρωταποκρίσεις ánd the ca. 20 concluding entries), this, I presume, because after the last Ἐρωταπόκρισις, κζ΄ (or κη΄, see n. 28), the numbering continues: (κη΄,) κθ΄, λ΄, λα΄, λβ΄ My view, as the reader will have understood from my exposé, is a different one: for the numbering κη΄-κθ΄ see n. 28; the continuation λ΄, λα΄, λβ΄ ... is easily explained as an automatism of, I think, the scribe of the archetype (he does not keep it up till the end, which is significant). In Thomson's analysis (op. cit.) Ἐρωταποκρίσεις 1-22 are about moral questions, 23-53 about the Old Testament, and the remaining Ἐρωταποκρίσεις about the New Testament: 54-61 the Epistles, 62 sqq the Gospels. This is wholly compatible with my conclusions if one allows that the differences in content already held for the original independent Ἐρωταποκρίσεις collections used to compile the 88-questions version.

[31] Munitiz' calculation (see n. 20). Ἐρωταποκρίσις 23 is absent, dropped, perhaps, because of its different character: exegetic rather than 'pastoral', like the other 22.

mentioned above. That the remaining three collections are not, as far as I know, to be found except as part of the 88-questions version, may well be attributed to the fact that they lack the authority of a well-known and influential author such as the 'Anastasian' collection claims. Incidentally, what now presents itself as the title of the whole of the 88 Ἐρωταποκρίσεις, must in fact be the title of the independent collection of 23 (or 22), itself a revision of the title of the original, authentic, collection of 103 Ἐρωταποκρίσεις of Abbas Anastasius[32].

If further investigation should reveal that the 88-questions version did in fact precede the Σωτήριος, it becomes all the more remarkable that the compilers of the Σωτήριος did not harmonize the lay-out and the numbering of the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις[33]. This fact, if it turns out to be one, greatly affects our assessment of the meaning of the work: can we still speak of a high degree of personal, authorial fixity of purpose, when compilers insert whole text collections as they have found them?

Applying the same method, i.e. looking for evidence in the numbering of the entries, to the first section, likewise reveals a borrowing of at least some of its constituent items from an earlier collection of, in this case, dogmatic texts. Some mss. show an, at first sight, incomprehensible numbering of some of the items: ις΄ for the third, ιζ΄ for the fifth, ιη΄ for the eighth and ιθ΄ for the ninth item. The other items are not numbered. These mss. belong to different branches of the stemma, so that what they have in common, such as this numbering, must stem from the archetype. The best explanation I can think of, is that the entries in question belonged to an existing text collection, where they were thus -correctly- numbered, and from which they were lifted, numbers and all, to

[32] Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀναστασίου ἀποκρίσεις πρὸς τὰς προσενεχθείσας αὐτῷ ἐπερωτήσεις παρά τινων ὀρθοδόξων περὶ διαφόρων κεφαλαίων (thus in i.a. Coislinianus 120) and: Ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις περὶ διαφόρων κεφαλαίων γινόμεναι ἐκ διαφόρων προσώπων πρὸς τὸν Ἀββᾶ Ἀναστάσιον, ὧν τὰς λύσεις ἐποιήσατο, οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῆς πείρας (thus Mosquensis Synod. 265 according to M.Richard in Les Véritables 'Questions et Réponses' ...), respectively.

[33] A number of manuscripts do have a consecutive numbering of entries and parts of entries from start to finish, which generally is adapted to the redaction (read: shortening by omitting entries and/or quotations) of each manuscript. In some manuscripts such consecutive numbering co-exists with the numbering of the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις as described here.

form a new collection, together with other texts. As with the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις in the Σωτήριος, their earlier numbering persisted in quite a few mss. And just as in the case of the 88-questions version of the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις it can not yet be decided whether what we now know as the first section of the Σωτήριος was put together for the Σωτήριος itself, or before and independently of it.

Association

That association played a part in the process of compilation, is clear from a number of instances.

Towards the end of Ἐρωταπόκρισις 23 we find a list of names of rivers and mountains (*Ὀνόματα τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν, Ὀνόματα τῶν μεγάλων ὀρέων*). In some manuscripts it is a marginal note, in others it appears in the main text ; in still other manuscripts it has been omitted[34]. Its distribution in various branches of the stemma proves that it was present in the archetype, as a marginal note. It is perfectly obvious what the -only- reason was for inserting the list: the appearance of the names of the Paradise rivers in the answer to Ἐρωταπόκρισις 23 about the nature of Paradise. It is, admittedly, not a casual note: one does not jot down from memory the names of forty rivers and twelve mountains. They must have been copied from an existing list, brought over for the purpose. But it carries no weight: it adds nothing to the content of the text. The mountains in particular have no connection with the text, which does not mention mountains; in a few cases discerning redactors or scribes have left them out, confining themselves to the rivers.

It must be admitted that it is in the nature of marginal notes, other than scholia, to be added by association. So, even if the compilers took some pains in adding this *marginale*, it could be said to be no strong evidence for association as a structural element in the compilation. The next example is more convincing. The same Ἐρωταπόκρισις, 23, has, at the end, a fragment of a work by Dionysius of Alexandria, *Κατὰ τοῦ Ὠριγένους*. Here, too, the

[34] It so happens that it is also the 23rd of the authentic Ἐρωταποκρίσεις of Abbas Anastasius. His answer is short and without quotations outside the Bible. In the 88-questions version, and, therefore, I assume, in the pre-existing collection of 23, the answer has been considerably re-written, and extended with the quotations from Epiphanius and Dionysius mentioned here.

link is obvious. The Epiphanius quotation that precedes it, closes with the statement that if Paradise is not part of the sensible world ('αἰσθητός'), it must be an allegory 'κατὰ τὸν θεήλατον Ὠριγένην'. Clearly, the mention of Origen's name was sufficient for the compilers to reach for Dionysius' *Κατὰ τοῦ Ὠριγένους*. The fragment chosen is about Paradise, but only obliquely touches on Origen's allegorical Bible interpretation and adds nothing substantial to the arguments already given in the Epiphanius quotation for the earthly nature of Paradise[35].

It does not follow, of course, from finding these and other cases of association that we deny the compilers all consistency of purpose and all authorial creativity[36]. But we do see that these qualities are less strongly in evidence as the association is quantitative rather than substantial. By 'quantitative' I mean that the effect on the reader is sought in repetition and enlargement with 'more of the same', in *frapper toujours*, rather than in new approaches.

I should tread warily here and point out that these considerations are primarily based on my observations from the passages that I have studied more intensively, i.e. the passages I have used for the establishment of the stemma (see Appendix 1). I myself have stated that the Σωτήριος is a *collection of collections*. What holds good in one quarter, does not necessarily apply elsewhere. Which means that where the Σωτήριος as a whole is concerned, my opinions can only be tentative. But, having read through the work once or twice, I can see a picture emerging. Thus, one can doubt the additional value of the entry *Ἐκ τῶν ἐπῶν*, by Gregory of Nazianzus, in the

[35] There is, however, no reason to see, with Bibikov (op. cit. p. 250), in the Dionysius fragment a separate entry or 'article', inserted between Ἐρωταποκρίσεις 23 and 24. Possibly Bibikov was led to believe this because of the layout in the Vaticanus gr. 423, where the list of river- and mountain names appears as part of the main text (and not, as in the archetype, in the margin), immediately after the Epiphanius quotation, so that it might look as if Ἐρωταπόκρισις 23 ended with the Epiphanius quotation. But in all other manuscripts where the list has been inserted into the main text, it follows after the Dionysius fragment; in no manuscript has the title of the Dionysius fragment in any respect been exceptionally marked or formulated; and, finally, in the Vaticanus gr. 423 itself the ornamented bar that in that manuscript separates the successive collections of ἐρωταποκρίσεις has been drawn after the Dionysius text.

[36] Cf. R. Picchio (op. cit., see n. 10): 'The structural patterns of *sborniki* reflect a level of authorial creativity', which, naturally, also applies to their forerunners, the Byzantine συλλογαί.

final section. It is a summing up of Bible books which does not substantially add to the list that precedes it. And the same goes for the Epiphanius quotation about the tropes παραβολή and αἴνιγμα, which follows Choeroboscus' *Περὶ τῶν τρόπων*: it does not do much more than give a few more biblical examples after those given by Choeroboscus.

A form of association that I would call almost 'formal', is the following, which figures prominently in the final section. Looking at the titles that the entries have been given by the compilers, one is scarcely prepared for the form of many of the pieces themselves. *Περὶ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Κυρίου* from the Constitutiones Apostolicae turns out to be a chronology of Christ's birth, suffering and death. Two pieces *Ἐκ τῶν χρονικῶν* of Eusebius and one *Ἐκ τοῦ* (sc. *λόγου*) *εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν* of Hesychius are, in fact, a repetition of that chronology. What strikes the reader, is that gradually and increasingly the texts take the form of lists. The months of the different nations, an entry ascribed to John of Damascus, are enumerated without comment, except the Roman months, which are accompanied by dietary prescriptions ('March: eat and drink sweet', ... 'December: do not eat cabbage'). The lists of Bible books, the two already mentioned and a third reveal little besides the names of the books and their status: canonical or apocryphal. And whereas Epiphanius' *Περὶ τῶν ις΄ προφητῶν* at least provides some biographical details of these prophets, the remaining catalogues of apostles, patriarchs, kings and emperors limit themselves to their terms of office.

Encyclopedic character of the Σωτήριος

It is quite possible that the impression of a 'historical continuum', produced by these catalogues, was intended by the compilers of the Σωτήριος – or of the final section, if this, too, was originally an independent collection. But it is as if gradually the form, the list, becomes dominant. So much so that at this -primarily codicological- stage of the project, until I have made a complete investigation of content and cohesion of all the entries, I have decided not to commit myself to the idea of an overall pattern, a firm 'strategic' plan for the whole Σωτήριος, with a clear subordination of the parts to a general theme. It is clear that the compilers thought 'σωτήριος βίβλος' a fitting qualification of the work, and it can indeed be maintained that the first section and the first part of the

second section, the collection of 23 Anastasian Ἐρωταποκρίσεις, provide true spiritual guidance. But it seems to me that starting at the second Ἐρωταποκρίσεις collection, a weakening of purpose set in, until a step-by-step procedure took over, in which, as the compiling went on, decisions were taken about adding and inserting texts for which the criteria were not always the same and could sway from content based to formal.

S.Sakkos called the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις a 'religious encyclopedia' ('θρησκευτικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία')[37]. It goes too far to apply it to the whole Σωτήριος, but it seems to me an apt characterisation of the greater part of the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις section and the whole of the final section. It brings out quite well the informative aspect and and the associative insertion of things worth knowing that, whatever else may have been intended, we also see there.

Conclusion

Conclusions at this stage are necessarily tentative, and will remain so for a while. Even great specialists in Byzantine literature, from Krumbacher to Beck and later, stress the uncertainties about the genres of florilegium and ἐρωταποκρίσεις, and expert codicologists, from Richard to Munitiz, point out our lack of sufficient knowledge of backgound, origin and other aspects of our florilegium and our ἐρωταποκρίσεις. What caused the Σωτήριος to remain the only work of its kind for two centuries[38]? How much is there to be said for the comment made by V. Katsaros, who, after listening to an account of the Σωτήριος project, suggested a connection with the Panoplies[39]? And how about a possible connection with the collections of biblical and patristic texts that were prepared for the patriarchs to serve as supporting testimonia for synodal proposals and discussions, as was the case at Nicaea II (787), in a reaction to the reputedly false or falsified documents brought forward at the iconoclast council of Hieria (754)[40]? And what are we to

[37] Σ.Ν. ΣΑΚΚΟΣ, *Περὶ τῶν Ἀναστασίων Σιναϊτῶν*, Thessaloniki 1964, p. 145.

[38] Thus Richard; see n. 13.

[39] At a meeting in the Arts Department of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, September 1997.

[40] Cf. W. TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine Revival 780-842*, Stanford, 1988, p. 82 sqq.

learn from the investigation of the *fontes*, e.g. the origin, cohesion, criteria for selection and possible revision of the quotations of Maximus Confessor?

It is clear that for a satisfactory overall picture of the Σωτήριος an answer must be found to such questions, or at least the beginning of an answer to the most difficult ones.

More than once we are warned, by Basil of Caesarea, Titus of Bostra and others, not to περιεργάζεσθαι, that is: not to split hairs. I like to think that, as long as we avoid doing just that, they will look down on our efforts to unravel the secrets of the Σωτήριος with a benevolent and sympathetic eye.

Appendix 1. The manuscripts, the stemma, reconstruction of the (earliest retrievable) text of Ἐρωταπόκρισις 16 in the Σωτήριος tradition

The manuscripts

The manuscripts that have been chosen for the project are those recommended by Capaldo and Bibikov[41]. We possess microfilms or -fiches of all but one, the Meteorus Metamorph. 28, which until now has remained inaccessible[42]. That is regrettable, of course, but need not be sharply felt, because it has, according to the catalogue we consulted, many gaps[43].

Our manuscripts are

10th c		Coislinianus 120	3th c.	(A2)	Ambrosianus gr. 1041
		Ambrosianus gr. 489/ L 88 sup.			H 257 inf.
		Hierosolymitanus P.T. 34		(Aa)	Athos Lavra Γ 115
	(B1)	Vaticanus gr. 423		(Ox	Oxoniensis Barocciani 206
	(Pt)	Patmius 109	4th	(Ab)	Athos Lavra Γ 37
1th c.	(P1)	Parisinus gr. 1085		(E)*	Escorialensis R III 2
	(P2)	Parisinus gr. 922		(Ma)	Marcianus gr. 489/ coll. 432
	(L1)*	Laurentianus Plut. IV 6		(P3)	Parisinus gr. 1259 A
	(Ot)*	Ottobonianus gr. 414	15th c.	(N)	Neapolitanus gr. 27
2th c.	(G2)*	Coislinianus 258 Laurentianus Plut. IV 7 + Leydensis gr. 90	16th c.	(B2)*	Vaticanus gr. 620

The manuscripts marked with * were found to be descripti: Coislinianus 258 of Parisinus gr. 1085, Escorialensis R III 2 of Parisinus gr. 922, Vaticanus gr. 620 of Laurentianus Plut. IV 6, which, with Ottobonianus gr. 414, derives from Hierosolymitanus P.T. 34. They were eliminated from this stage of the investigation[44].

[41] Capaldo: see n. 5. Bibikov, op. cit. p. 40: chapter 1 (p. 43 sqq.), gives the descriptions of the Σωτήριος manuscripts, based partly on his personal observations, partly on catalogues.

[42] In spite of the kind offices of the Idryma Patristikon Meleton at Thessaloniki permission to have the manuscript photographed has still not been granted.

[43] N.A. Βεης, *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων, Vol. 1*, Athens, 1967, p. 33-35

[44] Elementary to codicology and stemmatology is that descripti do not teach us any more than their exemplars, and can be eliminated from stemmatological research. Incidentally, the Laurentianus Plut. IV 7 (my L2), which Bibikov (op. cit., i.a. p. 285 and 290) places among the Hierosolymitanus descripti, cannnot belong there, *qua* content because it contains text that is lacking in its alleged

The collations; the stemma

In a work as large as the Σωτήριος[45] it is inevitable that one should start with sample passages. I decided to collate passages from each section: the opening entry, from Basil's *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου,* then Ἐρωταποκρίσεις 13-17, and finally the *Διάλογος τῶν ἁγίων Βασιλείου καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου* from the final section. The Ἐρωταποκρίσεις passage is present in all manuscripts. It is, therefore, the broadest possible basis for a stemma. The other two passages occur each in a different, but overlapping, set of ca. 10 manuscripts. Of course, collations here do not have the authority of the collations involving all manuscripts, but are, if used with the necessary caution, useful enough.

In keeping with the rule *'recentiores non deteriores'* no account was taken of age: both earlier and later manuscripts were approached with the same critical attitude. In two respects, however, time played a role: Bibikov's chronology was adopted for the list above, and in view of the fact that inevitably the completeness of the manuscripts diminishes in the course of the tradition, collations as a rule were run against older and fuller manuscripts as base texts or, in *Collate* terminology, 'masters'[46].

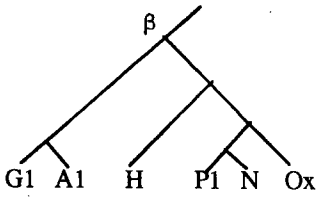
The very first experimental collations showed up two important facts. There were no signs of contamination: the impression of a closed tradition was confirmed each time. And: the number and nature of the variants in two of the oldest and most complete manuscripts, G1 and B1, proved these to be descendants of two different copies of the archetype, with the obvious advantage that successive collations, first against the one, and then against the other, very efficiently classed manuscripts as belonging to one camp or the other. Especially collations with G1 as 'master' revealed the close relationship of Aa and Pt with B1 (Aa + (Pt + B1) = δ). Seen from the point of view of B1 the situation remained hazier: A1, H, N, Ox and P1 doubtlessly belonged to the G1 camp, but their exact relationship was not clear. A2, Ab, L2, Ma, P2, and P3 at this stage eluded allocation (Ma still does).

exemplar, textually because it co-varies with manuscripts outside the group of Hierosolymitanus-cum-descendants (see also n. 23.) Likewise, the Neapolitanus gr. IIa 27 (my N), which according to Bibikov is a descriptus of the Parisinus gr. 1085 (P1), does not derive from that manuscript: N contains a great many passages lacking from P1, as a result of redactional interference, not loss of folia. I have found the relationship P1: N to be horizontal, not vertical: they stem from a -possibly immediate- common predecessor.

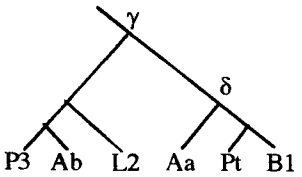
[45] 423 folia in the Vaticanus gr. 423, 229 in the Coislinianus 120; the number of words is more than 105.000.

[46] For a short exposé of Collate, see above 'Collation and text reconstruction'.

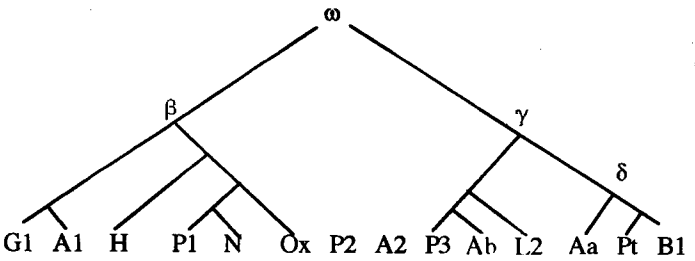
It called for much more text to be transcribed and fed into the computer to get more detailed results: truly significant variants appear to be rare, a result, perhaps, of the overall good quality of the scribes, but certainly of our sharp criteria in selecting relationship-revealing variants[47]. Gradually, however, the picture became clearer. G1 + A1, H, (P1 + N) + Ox came into view, under hyparchetype β:



(P3 + Ab) + L2, joined δ under hyparchetype γ:

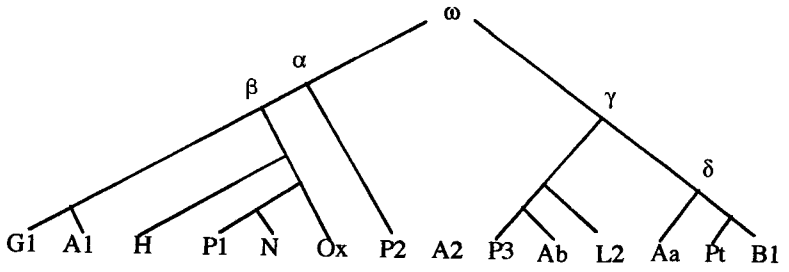


Allocating A2 and P2 was more difficult: both co-varied with β ánd γ; their place must be in the middle of the stemma:



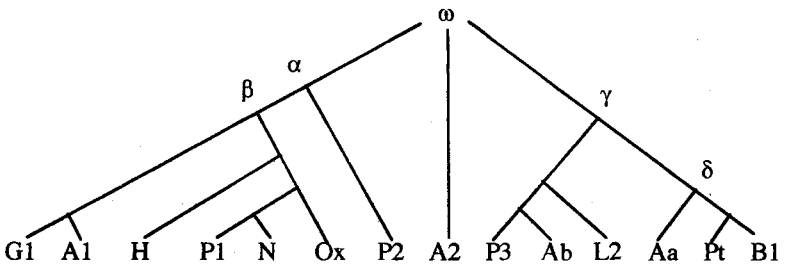
[47] The criterion being, of course, the impossibility of restoring the reading dating from before the exemplar. That one cannot be too careful, has become apparent more than once in our case, a good example being this: corruption of οἱ ἀγοράζοντες [ἔσονται] ὡς μὴ μετέχοντες to οἱ ἀγοράζοντες [ἔσονται] ὡς μὴ ἀγοράζοντες seems to provide a securely significant variant, until one realises that a scribe who knows his Bible and remembers 1 Cor 7:30, effortlessly restores μετέχοντες (and some have done so). The admission of insufficiently significant variants as evidence leads to ambiguities and even errors in the stemma.

Evaluation of variants in P2 and A2 connects these mss. with the stemma ('variants', of course, is: 'significant variants'):
- P2: Variants in P2 agree with those in β, with γ giving the reading of ω: this connects P2 with the line ω — β, and gives us hyparchetype α[48]:

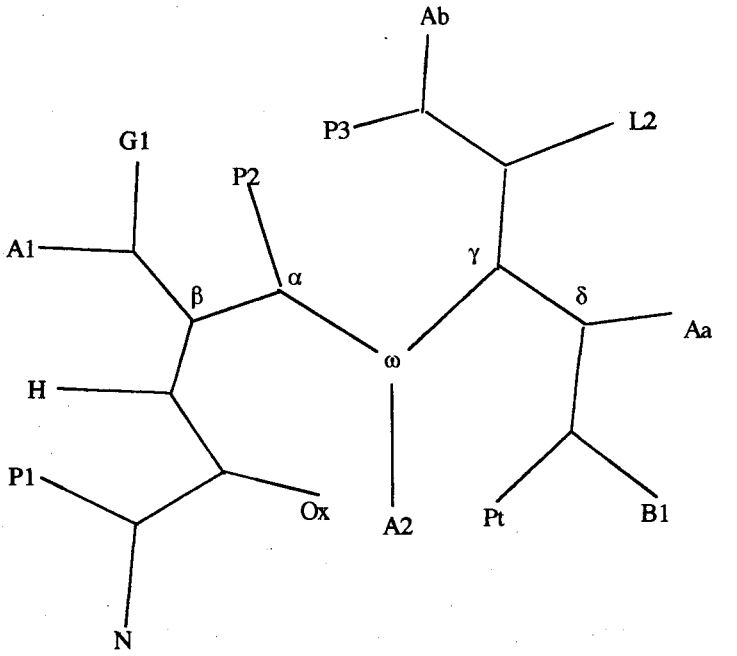


- A2: Two further considerations suggest to see in A2 the -sole- representative of a third main branch. It has many *singulae lectiones*, with α and γ agreeing with each other. And: so far no co-variants have been found in A2 and α, *casu quo* γ, with the *opposite* side giving the reading of ω. Some doubt must remain, because all manuscripts in all positions have *singulae lectiones* (some manuscripts quite a few), and because further collations may come up with just such co-variants as described here. With this restriction in mind, it seems for the moment reasonably safe to complete the stemma as follows:

[48] Two of the most illustrative are:
- ἐνεργῆ in P2 and β against εὐεργῆ in A2 and γ: it is a qualification of iron beaten and softened by the blacksmith, and εὐεργῆ surely is the earlier reading, which, perhaps because of the unusual passive sense 'easy to work', was not understood, and 'corrected' to ἐνεργῆ, presumably in view of the very frequent occurrence of words like ἐνέργεια and ἐνεργάζομαι.
- ἄτακτα in P2 and β against ἄττα in A2 and γ (isolated ἄτοπα in P3 and Aa): the context is '(murderers and burglers and) τὰ ἄλλα ἄτακτα / ἄττα παρανομοῦντας'; the basic question 'Utrum in alterum ...' leads to an answer in favour of ἄττα (ἄττα = τινα was not recognised, and was 'corrected' to something that made some sense to the un-comprehending scribe).



or, in bird's-eye view,:



The position of Marcianus gr. 498 could not yet be established. The manuscript has large gaps, evidently the work of a redactor intent on a shortened 'edition'. In time, it will take its place.

The stemma presented here is the best explanation of the phenomena we see in the manuscripts so far[49].

[49] The differences between my stemma and Bibikov's (op. cit. p. 290, see also p. 294) are caused, partly, by the limitations Bibikov experienced in getting access to (microfilms/-fiches of) a number of manuscripts (see n. 25), and partly by a difference in appreciation of variants. Bibikov is apparently less strict, admitting

The 'earliest retrievable text' of Ἐρωταπόκρισις 16 in the Σωτήριος tradition

The scholar establishing the 'earliest retrievable text' of a florilegium must take care not to do what his colleague who is editing a work of an author is allowed or even obliged to do: go beyond the evidence of the witnesses, the manuscripts, and by means of conjectures establish order in apparently imperfectly transmitted text (provided, of course, that he accounts for his actions). Such *emendatio* is expected from him because he has to do justice not only to the text, but to the author. In the case of a florilegium, on the other hand, the point is to present the state of the text at the time of the compilation as conscientiously as possible, if only because otherwise the reconstructed text could not give reliable evidence about the transmission of the text until, and possibly apart from, the florilegium.

That it is not always easy to keep to this rule, appears from such examples as the following. The Olympiodorus quotation in Ἐρωταπόκρισις 16 (see Ἐρω. *16.71sqq.* below) refers to Job 34:29. The evidence of the manuscripts and their positions in the stemma point at '... καὶ κατὰ ἔθνος καὶ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ...' as the reading of the archetype. Olympiodorus himself, however, in his Commentary on Job, and the Septuaginta have '... καὶ κατὰ ἔθνους καὶ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου ...' (there seem to be some textual problems in the Septuaginta passage as a whole, but as far as I can see this reading is not challenged). It is extremely tempting to restore the Sepuaginta reading, because some scribes do write κατὰ ἔθνους (none, however, κατὰ ἀνθρώπου!). It would, nevertheless, be wrong to do so, one must adhere to the evidence and not exceed it. The same goes for '... τῷ σχήματι φαινόμενον ἀγαθὸν ...' (ibidem), which is supported by our manuscripts' evidence, and so has to be kept, although the reading '... τὸ σχήματι φαινόμενον ἀγαθὸν ...' appears to be that of Olympiodorus himself (and, of course, is the better reading).

It also follows that in my reconstruction sentences or phrases have been maintained that are grammatically or semantically problematic, but answer to the manuscripts' evidence. An example is a sentence following

as evidence variants such as word transpositions, alternation of cases and prepositions, omitting and adding negations and other variants that, by the criteria I have learned to apply, fall below the level of significance. It results in his seeing resemblances between manuscripts where I do not find them, declaring manuscripts descripti that in my stemma take a place of their own (N, L2 and Ab), and suspecting transfer of text (not to say contamination) between manuscripts and groups of manuscripts that on account of my restrictive selection of variants remain clearly separated (P2, for instance, in Bibikov's stemma, is connected with ω directly as well as indirectly, via a connecting point on the line ω — β).

a quotation from Gregorius of Nyssa (see Ἐρω. *16.79sqq.* below): '... (as the blacksmith treats obstinate iron), οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν κατὰ κακίαν ὑπερβαλλόντως (...) ζῆσαι ἀφίησιν'. It is obvious that something has gone wrong here – difficult to say what exactly –, but the manuscripts are in complete agreement (one manuscript has ὑπερβαλλόντος, but the place of the accent proves that the scribe simply wrote ο for ω in the last syllable, a very common mistake). I had to accept it as the reading of the archetype, and leave it at that.

I do, however, follow the editorial conventions regarding orthography and interpunction. The spelling is Attic, in agreement with the ambition of the Byzantines themselves; breathings and accents are placed according to the classical rules. I use final sigma -ς. My interpunction is modest. Where manuscripts are divided as to small grammatical facts, such as cases with verbs or prepositions and the *-ν ἐφελκυστικόν*, I choose classical correctness.

With a view to notes, comments and *prolegomena* in the edition, referring to the Greek text, pericopes have been defined and numbered. References here, however, are exclusively to lines.

The *apparatus criticus* is, as usual, negative. It has, for the occasion, been limited to the significant variants of the main groups of manuscripts, i.e. the 'immediate evidence', and a selection of the variants that, within the main groups, played a role in distinguishing sub-groups and assigning individual manuscripts to them. They were chosen for their intrinsic stemmatological interest. How detailed the apparatus criticus will be and how it will be presented in the edition, will be decided in time.

Loci Biblici: Old-Testamentary references are to the Septuaginta, which means that I refer to 1, 2, 3 and 4 Kings (Reg) instead of 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings.

The patristic quotations are accounted for in the *Fontes* apparatus. References are to the most recent editions mentioned in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* of the Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout, 1974-1987, *Supplementum* 1998). Where the *Clavis* stops at Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, I naturally do the same.

G1, A1, H, P1, N, Ox, P2, A2, P3, L2,
Ab, Aa, Pt, B1
capp. ex Hos, Jes, Jer, 4 Reg et Olymp. om. H
G1, A1, H, P1, N, Ox = β
G1, A1, H, P1, N, Ox, P2 = α
P3, L2,
Ab, Aa, Pt, B1 = γ
Aa, Pt, B1 = δ

16. 1. Ἐρώτησις ις΄· Τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγοντος ὅτι *αἱ ἐξουσίαι* τοῦ κόσμου *ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν·* ἆρα λοιπὸν πᾶς ἄρχων και βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ θεοῦ προχειρίζεται;

2. Ἀπόκρισις· Τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγοντος· *δώσω ὑμῖν ἄρχοντας κατὰ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν*, εὔδηλον ὅτι οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ βασιλέων ὡς ἄξιοι τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς προχειρίζονται ὑπὸ θεοῦ· οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἀνάξιοι ὄντες πρὸς τὸν ἄξιον λαὸν τῆς αὐτῶν ἀναξιότητος κατὰ θεοῦ συγχώρησιν ἢ βούλησιν προχειρίζονται. *3.* καὶ ἄκουσον περὶ τούτου καὶ διηγήσεων τινῶν· ὅτε γὰρ γέγονε βασιλεὺς Φωκᾶς ὁ τύραννος καὶ ἥρξατο τὰς αἱματεκχυσίας ἐκείνας διὰ Βονόσου τοῦ δημίου ἐργάζεσθαι, μοναχός τις ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀνὴρ ἅγιος καὶ πολλὴν παρρησίαν πρὸς θεὸν ἔχων διεδικάζετο πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἁπλότητι λέγων· κύριε διὰ τί τοιοῦτον βασιλέα ἐποίησας; *4.* εἶτα ὡς ἐπὶ ἱκανὰς ἡμέρας τοῦτο ἔλεγεν, ἦλθεν αὐτῷ φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγουσα· ὅτι οὐχ ἡῦρον χείρω. *5.* ἄλλη δέ τις πόλις ὑπῆρχε κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα παράνομος, πολλὰ μιαρὰ καὶ ἄτοπα διαπραττομένη· ἐν ᾗ δημότης τις ἐξωλέστατος ἐξαίφνης ψευδοκατάνυξίν τινα κτησάμενος ἀπελθὼν ἐκάρη καὶ τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα ἠμφιάσατο· μέντοιγε τῶν πονηρῶν πράξεων οὐδαμῶς ἐπαύσατο. *6.* συνέβη γοῦν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πόλεως τελευτῆσαι. καὶ φαίνεταί τινι ἀνδρὶ ἁγίῳ ἄγγελος κυρίου λέγων· ἄπελθε καὶ παρασκεύασον τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα τὸν ἀπὸ δημοτῶν χειροτονήσωσιν ἐπίσκοπον. *7.* ἀπελθὼν οὖν πεποίηκε τὰ κελευσθέντα αὐτῷ. χειροτονηθεὶς δὲ ὁ προλεχθεὶς ἀπὸ δημοτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ δημότης, ἤρξατο κατὰ διάνοιαν φαντάζεσθαι καὶ μεγαλοφρονεῖν. *8.* καὶ ἐπιστὰς αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου λέγει· τί ὑψηλοφρονεῖς, ἄθλιε· ὄντως οὐχ ὡς ἄξιος τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐγένου ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ'ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὕτη τοιούτου ἐπισκόπου ἐστὶν ἀξία. *9.* διὸ ἡνίκα ἴδῃς ἀνάξιόν τινα καὶ πονηρὸν βασιλέα ἢ ἄρχοντα ἢ ἐπίσκοπον, μὴ θαυμάσῃς μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν διαβάλῃς, ἀλλὰ μάθε καὶ πίστευε ὅτι πρὸς τὰς ἀνομίας

1/2 Rom 13:1 4/5 (cf. Jer 3:15: '. .ποιμένας κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου' [!])

2 λοιπὸν: κοινὸν B1 7 ἄξιον: ἀνάξιον P1, Pt, B1 20 γοῦν: δὲ δ 23 ἀπελθὼν ... πεποίηκε: ἀπελθὼν ... ἐποίησε β; ἀπῆλθεν ... καὶ ἐποίησε δ 25 μεγαλοφρονεῖν: μέγα φρονεῖν P2, P3, L2, Aa, B1 26 κυρίου om. Pt, B1

ἡμῶν εἰς τοιούτους τυράννους παραδιδόμεθα· καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως τῶν κακῶν ἀφιστάμεθα.

10. Ὡσηέ· Ἐβασίλευσαν, καὶ οὐ δι'ἐμοῦ· ἦρξαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐγνώρισάν μοι λέγει κύριος.

11. Ἡσαΐου· Καὶ ἐπιστήσω νεανίσκους ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐμπαῖκται κυριεύσουσιν αὐτῶν λέγει κύριος.

12. Ἱερεμίου· Τάδε λέγει κύριος τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ· ἠγάπησαν κινεῖν πόδας αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐφείσαντο· καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὐκ εὐδόκησεν ἐν αὐτοῖς. νῦν μνησθήσεται τῶν ἀδικιῶν αὐτῶν. 13. καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρός με· μὴ προσεύχου περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου εἰς ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐὰν νηστεύσωσιν, οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐὰν προσενέγκωσιν ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυσίας, οὐκ εὐδοκῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ ἐγὼ συντελέσω αὐτούς. καὶ παραδώσω αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀνάγκας πάσαις ταῖς βασιλείαις τῆς γῆς διὰ Μανασσῆ υἱὸν Ἐζεκίου βασιλέως Ἰούδα περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

14. Βασιλειῶν δ΄· Καὶ ἐλάλησε κύριος ἐν χειρὶ δούλων αὐτοῦ τῶν προφητῶν λέγων· ἀνθ'ὧν ὅσα ἐποίησε Μανασσῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰούδα τὰ βδελύγματα ταῦτα τὰ πονηρά, τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ φέρω κακὰ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ Ἰούδα, ὥστε παντὸς ἀκούσοντος ἠχήσει ἀμφότερα τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ. 15. καὶ δώσω αὐτοὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς διαρπαγὴν καὶ εἰς προνομὴν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτῶν ἀνθ'ὧν ὅσα ἐποίησε τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου. καί γε αἷμα ἀθῷον ἐξέχεε Μανασσῆς πολὺ σφόδρα, ἕως οὗ ἐπλήρωσε τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

16. Ἰσιδώρου ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν· 'Ἰστέον ὅτι δι'ἑνὸς ἁμαρτίαν πολλάκις μαστίζεται χώρα καὶ πόλις,' κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστήν, ὅτι *ἁμαρτάνων εἷς, φησίν, ἀπολέσει ἀγαθωσύνην πολλήν. '17.* ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ Δαυὶδ γενόμενον ἔγνωμεν· ὅταν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ εὐθηνίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ ἔξαρχος ὑπερηφανεύηται, εἰς ἀθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ

33/34 Hos 8:4 **35/36** Jes 3:4 **37/43** Jer 14:10-12 **43/46** Jer 15:4 **47/51** 4 Reg 21:10-12 **51/55** 4 Reg 21:14-16. **58** Eccl 9:18

56/64 Isidorus: P.Possinus, *Epistularum Libri V* (1825), in: Migne, *PG 78*; Ep. I, 39, col. 205-208.

33/55 capp. ex Hos, Jes, Jer, Reg 4 om. H **34** μοι: με β, A2, Aa

κατάκρισιν τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐλαττοῦται, οὐκ ἀδίκως παιδευόμενον, ἀλλ'ἑκάστου τὰ ἐπίχειρα τῆς οἰκείας πράξεως ἀπολαμβάνοντος καὶ τῆς θείας μακροθυμίας ἀποτυγχάνοντος διὰ τὰς περὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα ψήφους.'

18. Ἐκ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν διατάξεων· Οὔτε γὰρ βασιλεὺς δυσσεβὴς βασιλεὺς ἔτι ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ τύραννος, οὔτε ἐπίσκοπος ἀγνοίᾳ ἢ κακονοίᾳ πεπιεσμένος ἔτι ἐπίσκοπός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ψευδώνυμος, οὐ παρὰ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων προβληθείς, ὡς Ἀνανίας καὶ Σαμαΐας ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ Σεδεκίας καὶ Ἀχίας οἱ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ψευδοπροφῆται.'

19. Ὀλυμπιοδώρου ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Ἰώβ· Ὁ γὰρ κύριος πάντας ἐφορᾷ, φησίν, *καὶ κατὰ ἔθνος καὶ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὁμοῦ βασιλεύων ἄνθρωπον ὑποκριτὴν ἀπὸ δυσκολίας λαοῦ* . τοῦτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς σαφῶς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ὡσηὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραὴλ δηλοῖ λέγων· *καὶ ἔδωκά σοι βασιλέα ἐν ὀργῇ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου. 20.* πολλάκις γὰρ † τῷ † σχήματι φαινόμενον ἀγαθὸν συγχωρεῖ εἰς βασιλέα ἀναγορευθῆναι ἐφ'ᾧ κακωθῆναι βούλεται δι'αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑπηκόους διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δυσκολίαν καὶ κακοτροπίαν.'

21. Τοῦ Νύσσης ἐκ τῆς περὶ τῶν πρὸ ὥρας ἁρπαζομένων· "Ωσπερ ὁ τεχνίτης τὸν ἀντίτυπον σίδηρον καὶ μὴ ῥᾳδίως διὰ πυρὸς ἐκμαλαττόμενον καὶ πρός τι σκεῦος τῶν ἀναγκαίων τοῦ βίου ἐκτυπούμενον σφύρᾳ ἢ ἄκμονι χρήσεται τῷ τοιούτῳ ὡς ταῖς ἐπὶ τούτων πληγαῖς τὸν εὐεργῆ τε καὶ ἁπαλὸν πρός τι τῶν χρησίμων ἀποτυποῦσθαι,' *22.* οὕτω καὶ ὁ θεὸς † τῶν κατὰ κακίαν ὑπερβαλλόντως † κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν ζῆσαι ἀφίησιν, σκοπῷ τῷ βελτίονι καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Φαραῶ καὶ τὸν Ναβουχοδονόσορ εἴασε γενέσθαι ὡς ἂν τῇ ἐκείνων πληγῇ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ παιδευθῇ.

71/73 Job 34:23, 29-30 74/75 Hos 13:1

65/70 *Constitutiones Apostolicae:* M.Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques, III, Sources Chrétiennes 336* (1987); VIII, 2,4, p. 136. 71/78 Olympiodorus: U. & D.Hagedorn, *Olympiodorus Diaken von Alexandria, Kommentar zu Hiob*, Berlin/New York, 1984; ad Job 34:23 atque 29 - 30, p. 293 - 295. 79/87 Gregorius Nyssenus: H. Hörner, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera Dogmatica Minora, III, Pars II*, Leyden, 1987; De Infantibus qui praemature obripiuntur, p. 95 (textus adaptatus magis quam adoptatus).

65 διατάξεων: διαταγμάτων β 71/78 cap. ex Olymp. om. H 83 εὐεργῆ εὐεργέτην Aa, Ab, ἐνεργῆ α (ἐνεργεῖσθαι P1, Ox, -ῆσθαι N)

23 Τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· 'Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξουσία, φησίν, *εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ*. τί λέγεις; πᾶς οὖν ἄρχων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτόνηται; οὐ τοῦτό φησιν, οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν καθ'ἕκαστον ἀρχόντων ὁ λόγος μοι νῦν, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος· τὸ γὰρ ἀρχὰς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄρχειν τοὺς δὲ ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀνέδην ἅπαντα φέρεσθαι, ὥσπερ κυμάτων τῇδε κἀκεῖσε τῶν δήμων περιαγομένων, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας ἔργον εἶναί φημι. *24.* διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπεν "οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἄ ρ χ ω ν εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ", *αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν*. οὕτω καὶ ὅταν λέγῃ τις σοφὸς ὅτι *παρὰ κυρίου ἁρμόζεται γυνὴ ἀνδρί*, τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι τὸν γάμον ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν, οὐχ ὅτι ἕκαστον συνιόντα γυναικὶ αὐτὸς συνάπτει. *25.* καὶ γὰρ ὁρῶμεν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ κακῷ καὶ νόμῳ γάμου συνιόντας ἀλλήλοις· καὶ οὐκ ἂν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο λογισαίμεθα, ἀλλ'ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπεν· *ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*.'

26. Θεοδωρήτου ἐκ τῶν περὶ προνοίας· 'Εἰ δὲ βλέπων τινὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων δώροις ἀπεμπολοῦντας τὸ δίκαιον προσπταίεις τῇ προνοίᾳ, ἐγώ σοι τῆς διανοίας διασκεδάζω τὸν τρόπον· καί φημι ὡς τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐχ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλ'ἡ τῶν ἀρχομένων πονηρία τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν ἐπεσπάσατο. *27.* ὄνησιν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν παρὰ τῶν καλῶς ἡγησαμένων ἐλκύσαι θελήσαντες, ἀλλὰ τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ τοῦ τρόπου τὴν ἐκείνων διδασκαλίαν ἐξυβρίσαντες τῆς θείας ἐπιμελείας σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεστέρησαν. εἶτα τῆς θείας γυμνωθέντες οἰκονομίας τῶν τοιούτων ἡγεμόνων ἀπήλαυσαν·' -πάτταλοι γὰρ παττάλοις ἐκκρούονται.- *δώσω γάρ*, φησίν, *ἄρχοντας κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν*, ' ἵνα τῇ πείρᾳ τῶν χειρόνων εἰς μνήμην

88/89 Rom 13:1 **95/96** ibid. **96/97** Prov 19:14 **101/103** Gen 2:24 **113/114** vide (b)

88/103 Ioannes Chrysostomus: J.-P. Migne, *Homiliae XXXII in Epistolam ad Romanos,* in: Migne *PG 60*, col. 583 - 681; *Or. XXIII*, col. 615. **104/125** Theodoretus: J.L.Schulzer, *Theodoreti Episcopi Cyrensis Orationes X De Providentia* (1769 sqq.), in: Migne *PG 83*, col. 555 - 774; *Or. VIII*, col. 684D - 685B (textus excerptus et adaptatus).

98 συνιόντα: συμβιῶντα P3, συμβιόντα L2 **99** συνιόντας: συμβιῶντας P3, συμβιόντας L2 **110** ἐξυβρίσαντες: ὑβρίσαντες δ *ibid.* πάτταλοι ... ἐκκρούονται om. P2, δ (haec verba satis constat iam in margine archetypi addita adfuisse)

ἔλθωσι τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ τῆς καλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς ἐκείνων ἀναμνησθῶσι παιδαγωγίας. *28.* εὑρίσκομεν δὲ τὸν θεὸν δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίας τὰς ἡνίας ἐῶντα πολλάκις, καὶ φέρεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἂν ἐθέλῃ συγχωροῦντα τὸ γένος. καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς διὰ Ζαχαρίου διδάσκων πρὸς τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἔλεγε· *καὶ εἶπον οὐ ποιμανῶ ὑμᾶς· τὸ ἀποθνήσκον ἀποθνησκέτω καὶ τὸ ἀπολλυόμενον ἀπολλυέσθω, καὶ τὰ κατάλοιπα κατεσθιέτω ἕκαστος τὰς σάρκας τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ.' 29.* καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ φησι· *καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν ὁ λαός μου τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ Ἰσραὴλ οὐ προσέσχε μοι. καὶ ἐξαπέστειλα αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν.*

30. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς θεραπευτικῆς· Καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις τρέφουσι τοὺς δημίους ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους καὶ τοιχωρύχους καὶ τοὺς τὰ ἄλλα ἄττα παρανομοῦντας δι'αὐτῶν κολάζειν, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦσαι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν μισοῦσαι τὴν τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν, ἀνεχόμεναι δὲ τῆς τούτων ὑπηρεσίας διὰ τὴν χρείαν, οὕτως ὁ τοῦ κόσμου πρύτανις οἷα δημίους τινὰς γίνεσθαι συγχωρεῖ τοὺς τυράννους ὥστε διὰ τούτων ποινὴν τοὺς ἀσεβοῦντας καὶ παρανομοῦντας εἰσπράττειν. *31.* ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τούτους παντελεῖ παραδίδωσι τιμωρίᾳ, ἐπειδήπερ οὐχ ὡς θεῷ διακονοῦντες ἀλλ' οἰκείᾳ πονηρίᾳ δουλεύοντες τὰ δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα δεδράκασιν. οὕτως ἡμαρτηκότα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ τῇ τῶν Ἀσυρίων ὠμότητι παρέδωκεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτοι τῆς τιμωρίας οὐ διέγνωσαν τὸν σκοπόν, τηνικαῦτα καὶ τούτων καταλύσας τὴν δυναστείαν ἑτέροις δουλεύειν ἠνάγκασεν, ὡς καὶ οἱ προφῆται διδάσκουσιν. *32.* παρ'ὧν ὁ Πλάτων οἶμαι τὰς ἀφορμὰς κεκλοφὼς ἔφη τοὺς ἀνιάτως διακειμένους εἰς ἑτέρων ὠφέλειαν παιδεύεσθαι.'

20/122 Zach :9 122/125 Ps 80:12-13

126/139 Idem: P. Canivet, *Théodoret de Cyr, Thérapeutique des Maladies Helléniques, I, Sources Chrétiennes 57* (1958); VI, 30 - 31, p. 265. 139/141 Plato: cf. Plato, *Leges* 862e: 'ὃν δ'ἂν ἀνιάτως [...] ἔχοντα αἴσθηται νομοθέτης, [...] (τοιοῦτοι) τοὺς [...] ἄλλους ἂν [...] ὠφελοῖεν ἀπαλλαττόμενοι τοῦ βίου'.

122/125 καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δαυίδ ... αὐτῶν post παρ'ὧν ... παιδεύεσθαι (139/141) posuerunt β, δ; om. P2 128 ἄττα: ἄτακτα α; ἄτοπα P3, Aa

Appendix 2. Tsar Symeon and the Sbornik

Although my primary concern is the Σωτήριος, it is inevitable that from time to time my attention is drawn towards the problems surrounding the Slavonic translation, Tsar Symeon's Sbornik -in Symeon's case we speak of the 'Sbornik'[50]-, in particular the question of the Tsar's part in the making of it. The most far-reaching idea, that he himself, or someone else for him, composed it, i.e. selected the Greek texts he wanted to be translated and included in the Sbornik, must be rejected, because in that case we would not have had the Σωτήριος. The originals would, once translated, have been put back on the shelves. Why copy them as well, before or afterwards? It must have been different. The Σωτήριος must have been set up as an independent Greek work. It is not wholly impossible that Symeon knew it: he may have come across it when he, as a young man, stayed in Constantinople to study[51]. If so, the florilegium must have been composed well before 893, when Symeon acceded to the Bulgarian throne. That is not improbable: the oldest of our manuscripts can be dated to the turning of the century and are at least three manuscript generations removed from the archetype (see the list of manuscripts and the stemma). The 70s or 80s of the 9th century could well be the period of the composition of the Σωτήριος. The Tsar's later reputation of 'half-greek' (read: scholar) and 'book-lover' leaves room for the assumption that he was thoroughly acquainted with Byzantine culture, and his status of princely guest must have opened the doors of many library-owners to him. How extensive and deep this acquaintance was we cannot know, but if it is true that he was personally involved in the order of a copy of the Σωτήριος for translation into Slavonic, it must have stayed long in his memory: 914 is the terminus post quem for the translation[52].

[50] To distinguish it from its far-off descendant, the Izbornik of 1073. The titulus itself speaks of Sbor (сѣборъ).

[51] See S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire,* London, 1930, p. 123 and the references, there, to Photius, *Ep. 95* and Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, p. 87.

[52] The list of Byzantine emperors, the final entry, ends, in the translation, with Zoe, who in 914 became regent for Constantine VII. The duration of her regency is not mentioned, which hints at a terminus ante quem 918 or 919 for the Sbornik. As the Σωτήριος had been in existence for a long time, the list must have been updated, either already in the -lost- Greek exemplar, or by the translator in the translation. A few Greek manuscripts containing the list end with Alexander (reigned and died in 913).

Incidentally, the combination of the date 914 and the title 'Tsar' for Symeon in the translation's colophon is extremely interesting: if the title is original, that is if it can be upheld that it was present in the Sbornik, and not an updating in a later manuscript between the Sbornik and the Izbornik of 1073, then it must be

We should, however, be careful of drawing conclusions too quickly from such sources as the eulogy in the colophon of the Izbornik -which goes back to the Sbornik-, where the Tsar is praised as a patron of culture and art in general, and as the originator of the present undertaking in particular. Besides the fact that such praise belongs to the conventions of the genre, there is something else which should make us suspicious: the author of the colophon presents himself as the translator, and calls Basil the author of the whole work. Which is incorrect: it is a florilegium 'from many Fathers'[53]. Thomson[54] rightly rejects the idea of the colophon having been intended for another translation instigated by Symeon, and he is doubtlessly right in relating the ascription to the first entry, from the *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου* by Basil of Caesarea, whose name figures prominently in the titulus[55]. This being the case, however, it follows that the author of the eulogy is not, as he pretends to be, the translator: it is unthinkable that the structure of the work should have escaped him. The author must have been someone unconnected with the translation of the florilegium, a poet, expressly commissioned to compose a eulogy of the Tsar. Intent on this task he paid little attention to the book itself and took the one author explicitly named in the titulus for the author of the whole work. So, if one assertion is false, what about the others? It is best to realise that the poet of the colophon is not a librarian or an archivist, let alone a historian. His words are not intended as factual information, but conform to the flattery that belongs to the eulogy. The most realistic approach to the matter is to picture the Tsar's personal concern as supervision of his general plan of collecting a library worthy of his ambitions, for himself, to equal, if not supersede, the Byzantine Emperor, and for his church, which he wanted

considered possible that Symeon received the title 'Καῖσαρ' (slavonised 'Tsar') as part of the 'deal' closed between him and patriarch Nicholas Mysticus when Symeon besieged Constantinople in 913: it is said that in order to pacify Symeon Nicholas staged a kind of coronation. In that case other explanations would no longer be needed, such as the explanation offered by Runciman (op. cit., p. 173-174), that the title derived from *western* 'Caesar', and was taken by Symeon only in 925 as a handy alternative for – and shortening of – the title 'Βασιλεὺς καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων', which he had by then bestowed on himself.

[53] Thus the titulus (**съборъ отъ многъ оц҃ъ**).

[54] op. cit. p. 52, n. 5.

[55] Many quotations from many works by Basil have been inserted throughout the whole of the Ἐρωταποκρίσεις section, and in the final section he figures in the Διάλογος τῶν ἁγίων Βασιλείου καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου; but this does not make him the author of the Σωτήριος.

to provide with a centre of learning[56]. So, unless more and pertinent evidence is found to the contrary, it remains unlikely that he had a special interest in this specific acquistion.

Summary

The *Σωτήριος (Βίβλος)* is a Constantinopolitan florilegium from the second half of the 9th century. It is remarkable for its range of genres (arguments, exhortation, questions-and-answers, a dialogue, and various informative texts), and of subjects (theological, pastoral, exegetic, philological, historical and encyclopedical texts). It is *anekdoton*. One section, Pseudo-Athanasian Ἐρωταποκρίσεις, is known from a larger Ἐρωταποκρίσεις collection (11th century; edition Gretser 1617, *PG* 89). A Slavonic translation survives in; i.a., the *Izbornik of 1073* (latest edition Sofia 1991). The *editio princeps* of the *Σωτήριος* is now being prepared from about 20 manuscripts. This includes investigation into the manner of the compilation, the authorial intentions, and the place of the *Σωτήριος* among other spiritual works. The article states that the compilers used, besides separate texts or fragments, existing text collections. Another finding is that association played a role in the compilation. A reconstruction of a passage has been added.

[56] See, i.a., RUNCIMAN, op. cit., p. 123 and 174, and, by the same author, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign, a Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium*, Cambridge 1929; ch. V, *passim*.

Mutabilität in der lateinischen Dichtung des Hochmittelalters

Die Kleidermetamorphosen des Hugo Primas und des Archipoeta*

von

C. WOLLIN

(*Buchholz in der Nordheide*)

Dass Schriftsteller nur selten mit ihren Schriften zufrieden sind und daher häufig ihre Werke verbessern, ergänzen, verändern, zuweilen sogar völlig neu schreiben, ist eine wohlbekannte Tatsache. Die Autorschaft an diesen Veränderungen wird in der Neuzeit durch autographe Skizzenbücher, Manuskripte, Korrekturen in schon gedruckten Fassungen sowie durch Hinweise auf Bearbeitungsphasen in Gesprächen, Briefen und Vorworten der Verfasser unzweifelhaft bezeugt. Ein solcher Echtheitsnachweis kann jedoch für viele antike und mittelalterliche Schriften nicht geführt werden, da es in den meisten Fällen an Autographen oder zuverlässigen Zeugnissen zur Werkentstehung fehlt. Nichtsdestoweniger muss aber auch für diese Zeiten – zumindest theoretisch – mit der Existenz von (verlorenen oder in der Überlieferung unkenntlich gewordenen) Autorfassungen gerechnet werden, selbst wenn diese heute gar nicht mehr oder nur noch schwer fassbar und nachweisbar sind[1].

* Es ist mir eine angenehme Pflicht, den folgenden Damen und Herren für ihre bereitwillige Unterstützung bei der Vorbereitung des Aufsatzes zu danken, Prof. Dr. Rita Beyers (Antwerpen), Privatdoz. Dr. Thomas A.-P. Klein (Bonn); Prof. Dr. Heinrich Krefeld (Krefeld); Prof. em. Dr. Dieter Schaller (Bonn); und Prof. Dr. Paul Gerhard Schmidt (Freiburg Br.). Besonderer Dank gilt Herrn Luc Jocqué (Brügge) für seine Geduld mit der späten Fertigstellung und meiner Kollegin Frau Brigitte Galling (Hamburg) für die Durchsicht des Manuskripts.

[1] Zur antiken Literatur vgl. Hilarius EMONDS, *Zweite Auflage im Altertum* (Klassisch-Philologische Studien 14; Leipzig 1941); zu antiken und humanisti-

Einer unvoreingenommenen Interpretation der überlieferten Texte standen lange Zeit unausgesprochene oder unbewusste romantische Vorurteile älterer Literaturinterpretation von der Inspiration und Unveränderlichkeit des „einen Dichterwortes" entgegen. Die Unsachlichkeit dieser Diskussion zeigt sich deutlich darin, dass für Geschichtswerke, Briefsammlungen oder gar Fachschriften die Existenz mehrfacher Bearbeitungen durch den Autor niemals ernsthaft in Zweifel gezogen und daher in modernen Ausgaben auch dementsprechend sorgfältig dokumentiert wurde, wohingegen unterschiedliche Fassungen von Gedichten kurzerhand zu einem unhistorischen Mischtext verarbeitet wurden, in dem die Herausgeber ihre eigenen ästhetischen und stilistischen Vorstellungen als restituierte und vermeintlich ursprüngliche, so, und nur so, vom Autor geschaffene Textgestalt ausgaben.

Dass ein eklektisches Verfahren der Textkonstitution der seit dem frühen Mittelalter immer häufiger anzutreffenden Überlieferung in verschiedenen Werkfassungen nicht gerecht werden kann und in der Textgestaltung nur allzu häufig zu reiner Willkür führt, hat 1928 Joseph Bédier mit unübertroffenem Scharfsinn in seiner grundlegenden Untersuchung zur Textkritik des *Lai de l'ombre* des französischen Dichters Jean Renart nachgewiesen[2]. Er selbst hatte 1890 in seiner ersten Ausgabe des *Lai de l'ombre* versucht, die Überlieferung in einem zweigeteilten Stemma wiederzugeben, musste aber bei der Textgestaltung gerade aus diesem Grund wieder auf das philologische *iudicium* zurückgreifen. Es war also nicht möglich, mithilfe eines dreigeteilten Stemmas den Text sicher herzustellen. In der Folgezeit fand Bédier in vorwiegend altfranzösischen Textausgaben unter 110 Stemmata nur fünf dreigeteilte, der Rest war zweigeteilt. Diese ersten Zweifel haben ihn bewogen, in

schen Texten vgl. Giorgio PASQUALI, *Rez. Paul Maas, Textkritik, Leipzig 1927*, in: *Gnomon* 5 (1929) 417-435. 498-521, bes. 502-521. Nicht mehr berücksichtigt werden konnte der wichtige Aufsatz von Arthur George RIGG, *The Long or the Short of it ? Amplification or Abbreviation ?* in: *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000) 46-73. Da Rigg in einer völlig unabhängigen Untersuchung an anderen mittellateinischen Dichtungen zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen gelangt, stellt seine Arbeit eine willkommene Ergänzung zu dem vorliegenden Aufsatz dar, deren Lektüre dem Leser nur empfohlen werden kann.

[2] Joseph BÉDIER (Hrsg.), *Le Lai de l'ombre* (Fribourg 1890) [die Erstausgabe nach Lachmanns Prinzipien; die zweite Ausgabe von 1913 als Wiedergabe der Hs. A]; ID., *La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'ombre: Réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes*, in: *Romania* 54 (1928) 161-196, 321-356 [auch als Separatdruck Paris 1970 erschienen].

seiner zweiten Ausgabe des *Lai de l'ombre* auf das philologische *iudicium* zu verzichten und einer einzelnen Handschrift (hier A) möglichst genau zu folgen. Die weitere Beschäftigung mit den Textfassungen des *Lai de l'ombre* führte Bédier dann zu der Überlegung, dass die zwei bzw. drei Stränge der Überlieferung nicht direkt auf einen Archetyp *O* zurückgehen, sondern dass die erste Fassung des Autors O^1 nur in der ersten Familie (AB und CG) erhalten ist, die zweite Familie (DF) auf eine Überarbeitung des Autors O^2 zurückgeht, von der dieser wiederum eine dritte Bearbeitung O^3 hergestellt hat (E).

Voraussetzung für die Annahme von Autorfassungen ist für Bédier die grammatische und inhaltliche Stimmigkeit der Varianten[3]:

> „Ce qu'elles ont mis en lumière, c'est le fait que les cinq leçons DEF considerées sont dues en tout cas à un homme fort intelligent, qui parlait la même langue que Jean Renart, écrivait du même style, rimait selon la même technique, et que les Muses avaient doué précisément des mêmes dons. D'où la question: ce double de Jean Renart ne serait-il pas Jean Renart lui-même? Il se peut que l'on réponde oui."

Bédier sieht für Texte, die klar erkennbar in unterschiedlichen (Autor-)Fassungen überliefert sind, nur die Möglichkeit, sich für eine oder mehrere dieser Fassungen zu entscheiden und diese unvermischt wiederzugeben. Eine eklektische Textherstellung aus den unterschiedlichen Fassungen lehnt er als Herausgeberwillkür ab. Lässt sich durch Kritik der Lesarten oder durch äußere Zeugnisse die Entstehungsgeschichte der Fassungen nicht überzeugend rekonstruieren, so kommt allen Fassungen prinzipiell die gleiche Bedeutung zu. Die Bevorzugung einer Handschrift bzw. Fassung als Leithandschrift für die Edition aufgrund von Vollständigkeit, sprachlicher Korrektheit, dialektaler Ausprägung etc. ist eine pragmatische Entscheidung. Bédiers Thesen haben eine völlige Neuorientierung der mediävistischen Editionstechnik und eine verstärkte Methodenreflexion eingeleitet, deren Konsequenzen – darunter leider auch viele vorschnelle und unüberlegte Übertreibungen[4] – hier nicht ausführlich dargestellt werden können;

[3] BÉDIER, *La tradition manuscrite* (Anm. 2) 350.

[4] Vgl. die verschiedenen Beiträge zur „New Philology" in *Speculum* 65 (1990) 1-108; dazu die kritischen Stellungnahmen von Karl STACKMANN, *Die Edition - Königsweg der Philologie?* in: *Methoden und Probleme der Edition mittelalterlicher deutscher Texte,* hrsg. Rolf BERGMANN / Kurt GÄRTNER (Editio Beiheft 4;

genannt seien stellvertretend für viele einige Namen aus der älteren Germanistik.

Hier hat das Ernstnehmen der handschriftlichen Fassungen in den letzten Jahrzehnten zu neuen Einsichten in das Wesen mittelalterlicher Lied- und Vortragsdichtung geführt. Gerade die in unserem Zusammenhang wichtige Frage, ob verschiedene Fassungen von einem Autor stammen können, und wie sich dies nachweisen lässt, hat die ältere Germanistik durch vergleichende Untersuchung von Mehrfachfassungen sehr gefördert. Eine umfassende Erörterung des Forschungsstands kann hier keinen Platz finden und würde wohl auch kaum wirklich neue Argumente zutage fördern[5]. Deshalb beschränke ich mich auf ein Resümee der Thesen, die drei der prominentesten Vertreter dieser Forschungsrichtung, Helmut Tervooren, Günther Schweikle und Hubert Heinen in ihren Untersuchungen aufgestellt haben.

Helmut Tervooren hat an mittellateinischen, altprovenzalischen und mittelhochdeutschen Texten nachgewiesen[6], dass es im Mittelalter das „eine Lied" nicht gibt; Umfang, Reihenfolge und Textgestalt der Bestandteile (Strophen, Strophengruppen, Abschnitte) sind variabel, für sie lässt sich in der Regel keine „authentische" Anordnung festmachen. Die Form ist also offen, Strophen oder Strophengruppen können als Versatzstücke an verschiedenen Stellen eines Gedichts, oder sogar in unterschiedlichen Gedichten Verwendung finden. Hinzufügungen, Auslassungen und Ersetzungen finden von Fassung zu Fassung statt. Als Beweggründe erweisen sich zum einen die Anpassung an eine veränderte allge-

Tübingen 1993) 1-18; ID., *Neue Philologie?* in: Joachim HEINZLE (Hrsg.), *Modernes Mittelalter. Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche* (Frankfurt am Main 1994) 398-427; Haijo Jan WESTRA, *Die Philologie nouvelle und die Herausgabe von lateinischen Texten des Mittelalters,* in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 30, 1 (1995) 81-91.

[5] Vgl. die ausführlichen Forschungsübersichten bei Hubert HEINEN, *Mutabilität im Minnesang* (GAG 515; Göppingen 1989) III-XII; Joachim BUMKE, *Die vier Fassungen der Nibelungenklage* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte 8 [242]; Berlin 1996) 3-88.

[6] Die grundlegende Untersuchung unter Einbeziehung mittelhochdeutscher, mittellateinischer und altprovenzalischer Texte findet sich bei Helmut TERVOOREN, *Einzelstrophe oder Strophenbindung? Untersuchungen zur Lyrik der Jenaer Handschrift* (Diss. phil. Bonn 1967); eine bequeme Übersicht eigener Ergebnisse und der neueren Forschung gibt ID., *Sangspruchdichtung* (Sammlung Metzler 293; Stuttgart / Weimar 1995) 78-80.

meine Vortragssituation, d. h. im Hinblick auf den Anlass des Vortrags, auf ein neues Publikum, auf aktuelle Ereignisse etc., zum anderen eine Anpassung an das Verhältnis zu den hochgestellten Adressaten und Gönnern, denen man das Gedicht widmete, die man im Lobpreis verehrte und von denen man nicht zuletzt Geschenke erwartete. Diese Änderungen betreffen vor allem Anfang und Schluss eines Gedichts, d. h. die Partien (*exordium* und *conclusio*), die am meisten dazu geeignet sind, eine Beziehung zwischen Publikum und Autor herzustellen. Zusammenfassend schreibt Tervooren[7]:

> „Die Strophen als kleinste Einheiten sind die Bausteine, mit denen der Autor (oder Sänger) sein 'Lied' baut. Diesen Voraussetzungen muss aber ein neues Kriterium hinzugefügt werden: Das Lied verlangt keine Zeiteinheit seiner Genese, sondern nur die des Vortrages bzw. die der Rezeption und Deutung des Hörers."

Auch Günther Schweikle[8] lehnt einen starren Werkbegriff ab; für ihn geht es nicht darum, den „einen" und „authentischen" Text zu rekonstruieren, sondern die verschiedenen Fassungen, so wie sie von mittelalterlichen Schreibern, Hörern und Lesern rezipiert wurden, zu verstehen. Auch in der Textkritik muss die Suche und Rekonstruktion des einen Archetyps – wie schon bei Bédier – durch die Annahme mehrerer, zunächst einmal gleichrangiger Archetypen ersetzt werden. Dabei werden überkommene literaturwissenschaftliche „Klischees" durch ein aus der handschriftlichen Überlieferung gewonnenes Textverständnis ersetzt. Unter diesen Voraussetzungen erscheint es bei weitem sinnvoller und plausibler, die verschiedenen Fassungen eines Gedichts zunächst einmal demselben Autor zuzuweisen, danach erst den aufführenden Sängern, seien es Berufssänger oder Kollegen des Autors. In diesem Licht verschwindet die Tätigkeit der von Scheikle so genannten „Pseudisten" völlig. Der willkürliche Eingriff ignoranter oder anmaßender Schreiber erweist sich als die unwahrscheinlichste Erklärung.

Hubert Heinen[9] bietet in seinem programmatischen Buch „Mutabilität im Minnesang" eine synoptische Edition verschiede-

[7] TERVOOREN, *Sangspruchdichtung* (Anm. 6) 80.

[8] Günther SCHWEIKLE, *Zur Edition mittelhochdeutscher Lyrik, Grundlagen und Perspektiven*, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 104 (1985) 2-18; wieder in: ID., *Minnesang in neuer Sicht* (Stuttgart / Weimar 1994) 114-134.

[9] HEINEN, *Mutabilität im Minnesang* (Anm. 5) V.

ner Textfassungen in der mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik, die es ermöglicht, an gut ausgewählten Beispielen das ganze Spektrum von Mehrfachfassungen zu untersuchen. Angesichts des Fehlens sicherer Zeugnisse zur Werkentstehung fragt Heinen sich im Vorwort, wie die Entstehung der verschiedenen Textfassungen zu erklären ist. Auf Tervooren und Schweikle aufbauend nennt er insgesamt fünf Erklärungsmöglichkeiten: (1) Bearbeitung durch den Autor, (2) Vortragsfassungen des Autors oder eines Nachsängers, (3) Vortragsfassungen, in denen alte und bekannte Texte „verfremdet" oder erneuert wurden, (4) kreative Rezeption durch Nachsänger oder Schreiber, (5) Reste einer korrumpierten Tradition. In der handschriftlichen Tradition kommen alle fünf Möglichkeiten vor und es ist im Einzelfall bisweilen schwer oder unmöglich, eine sichere Entscheidung zu treffen. Dennoch kommt der ersten Möglichkeit eine weit größere Bedeutung zu, als man ihr bisher zugestanden hat.

Man hat versucht diese proteusartige Veränderlichkeit der mittelalterlichen Texte in Begriffen fassbar zu machen, so spricht Paul Zumthor von „Mouvance", in der Altgermanistik versucht Hubert Heinen diesen Begriff mit „Mutabilität", Ralf-Henning Steinmetz mit „Varianz" wiederzugeben[10]. Ich habe mich für Heinens lateinischen Begriff *mutabilitas* (Mutabilität) entschieden, wobei ich Heinens beispielhafter Edition nicht nur den Titel des Aufsatzes, sondern auch eine Reihe wichtiger Einsichten verdanke. Unter literaturwissenschaftlichem Gesichtspunkt sind die verschiedenen Fassungen nicht nur gleichwertig, sondern sie bieten vielmehr die Möglichkeit, einen Einblick in die Arbeitsweise eines Autors zu gewinnen, der uns sonst verborgen geblieben wäre. Damit geht die Interpretation über die Beschreibung der Überlieferung hinaus und versucht sich den schöpferischen Prozessen bei der Umarbeitung durch den Autor zu nähern, wofür übrigens schon Wolfgang Kayser vor vielen Jahren auf wenigen Seiten die entsprechende Anleitung geboten hat[11]. In Frankreich hat sich diese textgenetische Interpretation seit Louis Hay und Jean Bellemin-Noël[12] zu einer

[10] Paul ZUMTHOR, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris 1972) 43-46; HEINEN, *Mutabilität im Minnesang* (Anm. 5); Ralf-Henning STEINMETZ, *Varianz und Interpretation. Die vier Fassungen des minneprogrammatischen Walther-Liedes 27 (Bin ich dir unmære)*, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 118 (1999) 69-86.

[11] Wolfgang KAYSER, *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk* (Bern ⁵1959) 29-31.

[12] Einen guten Einblick in die vielfältigen Möglichkeiten der textgenetischen Interpretation geben die Aufsatzsammlungen *Leçons d'écriture. Ce que disent les*

eigenen Disziplin, der *critique génétique*, entwickelt. Und genau hierin liegt auch der Reiz solcher Untersuchungen; es geht nicht darum, neue Editionstechniken um ihrer selbst willen zu propagieren, sondern durch sie ein besseres Verständnis der Texte selbst zu ermöglichen, um einen Einblick in ihren „Sitz im Leben", eine einmalige Aufführungssituation, um einen Einblick in die Werkstatt des Dichters, seine Arbeit und sein Feilen am Text zu erlangen. Das heißt, das mittelalterliche Gedicht war keine feste und unveränderliche Einheit, sondern entwickelte sich in den Händen des Autors zu immer neuen Fassungen, deren Reflex uns in den handschriftlichen Mehrfachfassungen entgegentritt.

Aus diesen Überlegungen ergeben sich für die Textedition folgende Konsequenzen: Zunächst muss geprüft werden, ob es sich bei den Lesarten um Fehler, also Schreibversehen in ihrer ganzen Breite (mechanische Ausfälle, spätere orthographische oder dialektale Anpassungen etc.), handelt, oder tatsächlich um eine selbständige, in sich sinnvolle Fassung. Da feste Kriterien für eine solche Unterscheidung m. W. bisher nicht namhaft gemacht worden sind, möchte ich mich auf die zwei folgenden Kriterien beschränken: (1) formale, d. h. grammatische und semantische Korrektheit der Fassungen, (2) inhaltliche Stimmigkeit und überzeugende Gedankenführung der Fassungsvarianten, die zudem durch eine überzeugende Gesamtinterpretation der Fassung gestützt werden können.

Die einzelnen Fassungen sind unvermischt zu edieren, entweder in synoptischer Wiedergabe oder in besonderen Fassungsapparaten. Die Interpretation hat zunächst einmal anzunehmen, dass es sich bei selbständigen Fassungen mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit um Autorvarianten handelt und nicht um Schreiberwillkür, jedenfalls solange nicht schwerwiegende Gründe gegen die Annahme einer Autorvariante vorgebracht werden können. Weiterhin sollte durch eine genaue Untersuchung das Verhältnis der Fassungen untereinander dargestellt und wenn möglich die zeitliche Reihenfolge der Fassungen bestimmt werden. Dass angesichts der fragmentarischen Überlieferungssituation und des Fehlens sonstiger biographischer Zeugnisse dabei in den meisten Fällen keine völlige Sicherheit

manuscrits, hrsg. Almuth GRÉSILLON / Michaël WERNER (Paris 1985); *La naissance du texte*, hrsg. Louis HAY (Paris 1989). Jean BELLEMIN-NOËL, *Le texte et l'avant texte* (Paris 1972).

erlangt werden kann, versteht sich von selbst, macht aber solche Überlegungen dennoch nicht überflüssig.

Das Phänomen der Mutabilität ist in der lateinischen Dichtung des Hochmittelalters genauso präsent wie in den nationalsprachlichen Literaturen, doch wurde es bisher nur selten Gegenstand ernsthafter Untersuchungen. Ein prominentes Beispiel möge genügen: Karl Strecker erkannte schon bei der Vorbereitung seiner Ausgabe der Satiren Walters von Châtillon mit aller Klarheit, dass der Verfasser seine Werke in verschiedenen Textfassungen hinterlassen hat. Aufgrund der schwierigen wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse in der Weimarer Republik war es Strecker jedoch unmöglich, in seiner Edition Doppelfassungen abzudrucken. Aber auch in seiner Textherstellung hat Strecker leider allzu oft die einzelnen Fassungen miteinander vermischt. Das hat schon Emil Herkenrath in seiner wertvollen Rezension von Streckers Ausgabe deutlich bemängelt. Herkenrath untersucht alle Satiren auf mögliche Doppelfassungen und Autorvarianten hin und kommt dabei zu wichtigen Ergebnissen, – doch hat die spätere Forschung Herkenraths Rezension zu ihrem eigenen Schaden unbeachtet gelassen. Erst Helmut Tervooren ist innerhalb eines größeren Zusammenhangs auf die Doppelfassungen bei Walter von Châtillon zurückgekommen und hat Herkenraths Forschungen weitergeführt[13]. Die moderne mittellateinische Forschung zeigt, abgesehen von wenigen Ausnahmen, für das Phänomen der Doppelfassungen bei Walter nur Unverständnis und nimmt Streckers unhistorische Mischtexte bis heute unreflektiert als „originalen" Text des Verfassers.

In dem vorliegenden Aufsatz habe ich mir das Ziel gesetzt, die Problematik von Mutabilität und Textedition an zwei Beispielen aus der Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts zu illustrieren, an zwei Gedichten, die bis heute noch nicht im Zusammenhang ihrer verschiedenen Textfassungen angemessen ediert und interpretiert worden sind.

[13] Karl STRECKER, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon* (Heidelberg 1929); Emil HERKENRATH, *Rez. zu Karl Strecker, Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon,* in: *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 26 (1931) 849-870; TERVOOREN, *Einzelstrophe oder Strophenbindung* (Anm. 6).

Das Reimser Manteldekret des Hugo Primas *In noua fert animus*

In noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas
corpora: di, coeptis (nam uos mutastis et illas)
adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi
ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.

Ouidius, *met.* 1, 1-4

Sobald die warmen und pelzgefütterten Mäntel ihren ersten Glanz verloren haben, sollen die reichen Prälaten sie an ihre Kleriker verschenken, statt sie von ihren Schneidern in andere Kleidungsstücke verändern zu lassen. Die Geizhälse, die sich nicht an diese Vorschrift halten, sollen der Exkommunikation anheim fallen. Diese Forderung wird in zwei mittellateinischen Gedichten gestellt, die von den Gelehrten schon seit langer Zeit den beiden Dichterfürsten des 12. Jahrhunderts zugeschrieben werden, dem Hugo Primas und dem Archipoeta. Durch eine kritische Neuausgabe dieser parodistischen Kleidermetamorphosen und eine philologische Kommentierung können der Literaturgeschichte zwei weitere wichtige Zeugnisse der selbständigen und selbstbewussten Ovid-Aneignung des 12. Jahrhunderts in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt zur Verfügung gestellt werden.

1.1. *Die Forschungslage*

Die bedeutende Sammlung mittellateinischer rhythmischer Gedichte in der Handschrift Harley 978 der British Library (*H*) überliefert unter vielen anderen die anonyme Satire *In noua fert animus*[14] in 15 Strophen über die Metamorphose der Kleider, welche zuerst Thomas Wright im Jahr 1839 veröffentlicht hat[15]. Im Jahr 1907 wies dann Wilhelm Meyer auf den Zusammenhang der anonymen Satire mit dem *Carmen Buranum* 220 hin (das ich im zweiten Teil des Aufsatzes behandeln werde). Meyer schreibt die

[14] Vgl. Hans WALTHER, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina I/1. Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen ²1969; = WIC) unter den Einträgen WIC 9027 *In noua fert animus* (Motto) und WIC 5264 *Ego dixi dei estis* (Str. 1, 1).

[15] Thomas WRIGHT, *The Political Songs of England* (London 1839; Reprint mit neuer Einleitung von Peter COSS, Cambridge 1996) 51-56 „Song upon the tailors" mit englischer Übersetzung, 355 Kommentar.

Kleidermetamorphose dem Hugo Primas zu und vermag dafür eine Reihe von Gründen anzuführen[16]:

> „Jetzt, wo die Eigenart dieses Dichters uns deutlich wird, wird es auch möglich, andere, nicht in der Oxforder Hft stehende Gedichte, als Schöpfungen des Primas zu erkennen. Das werthvollste unter diesen scheint mir das von Wright, Political Songs of England 1839 S. 51 veröffentlichte Gedicht 'In nova fert animus .. Ego dixi dii estis' zu sein. Dies Gedicht ist nicht 'upon the tailors' geschrieben, sondern gegen die Geizhälse, welche getragene Kleider nicht Andern schenken, sondern immer wieder umändern lassen. Dies Gedicht zeigt durchaus den Geist, die Sprachgewalt und die Formen des Primas. Freilich so viel die erhaltenen Gedichte des Primas von geschenkten Kleidern oder Pelzen sprechen, von diesen Kleider-Metamorphosen sprechen sie nicht. Aber doch ist ein solches Gedicht des Primas uns sonst angekündigt. Denn in dem Gedichte 'Nullus ita parcus est', welches in den Carmina Burana S. 74 no 194 Str. 5 beginnt, heißt es in Strophe 14 statt 'Hoc Galtherus subprior iubet in decretis, ne mantellos veteres refarinetis' in einer anderen Hft: Primas in Remensibus iusserat decretis, ne mantellos veteres vos renovaretis."

Kaum ein Jahr später (1908) edierte Alois Bömer aus einer damals noch in der Herdringer Schlossbibliothek befindlichen Handschrift (*L*) eine zweite, längere Fassung des Gedichts in 39 Strophen[17]. Meyers Hinweis auf den Abdruck bei Wright und sein Vorschlag, im Hugo Primas den Verfasser der Satire zu erkennen, kamen Bömer erst während der Korrektur der Druckfahnen zur Kenntnis. Daher war es ihm nur noch möglich, in einer längeren Fußnote auf Meyer zu verweisen und die Lesarten von Wrights Edition nachzutragen. Ausführlicher diskutiert Bömer hingegen das Verhältnis der Kleidermetamorphose zu *CB* 220, wobei er *CB* 220 für das frühere der beiden Gedichte hält.

Die erste und bislang einzige ausführliche Interpretation von *In noua fert animus* legte Karl Polheim vor. Er untersucht die Zugehörigkeit der Kleidermetamorphose zur Gattung der sogenannten Mantelgedichte, das Verhältnis der beiden Fassungen zueinander und die Beziehungen zu *CB* 220. Hinsichtlich der

[16] Wilhelm MEYER, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas (des Magister Hugo von Orleans)* (Berlin 1907; Reprint Darmstadt 1970) 87 [nach der originalen Paginierung gezählt].

[17] Alois BÖMER, *Eine Vagantenliedersammlung des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Schlossbibliothek zu Herdringen (Kr. Arnsberg)*, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 49 [NF 37] (1908) 161-238, hier 178-185.

Verfasserfrage verhält Polheim sich vorsichtig und nennt Meyers Zuschreibung an den Hugo Primas eine „bestrickende, wenn auch nicht zwingende Hypothese". In diesem Sinne schreibt er[18]: „Daß es ein Franzose gewesen sein muß, ist schon aus den zahlreichen französischen Versen deutlich. Auf diesem richtigen Weg geht W. Meyer weiter und teilt das Gedicht dem Magister Hugo von Orleans, dem Primas zu, dessen Geist, Sprachgewalt und Formen es erkennen lasse."

Soweit der Stand der Forschung, die sich allgemein der Zuschreibung Meyers anzuschließen scheint[19]. Die Satire *In noua fert animus* ist trotz aller neueren Bemühungen um das Werk des Hugo Primas m. W. weder kritisch kommentiert noch interpretiert worden, was sicherlich in der Hauptsache dem Fehlen einer kritischen und allgemein zugänglichen Neuausgabe anzurechnen ist. In dem vorliegenden Aufsatz wollte ich ursprünglich nur eine Neuedition der Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas vorlegen, doch musste ich bei den Vorarbeiten mit großer Überraschung feststellen, dass die Textgestalt des in diesen Zusammenhang gehörigen *CB* 220 / 220a in den bisherigen Editionen in einem solchen Maße unvollständig, verzerrend und irreführend ist, dass eine Neuedition auch dieses Gedichts unumgänglich war. Dass bei der Wiederherstellung der ursprünglichen Textgestalt von *CB* 220 / 220a die Verfasserfrage geradezu von der Überlieferung selbst beantwortet wurde, war für mich ein genauso unvermutetes wie erfreuliches Resultat.

[18] Karl POLHEIM, *Der Mantel*, in: FS Karl Strecker (Stuttgart 1941) 41-64, bes. 52-54, hier 52.

[19] So z. B. Max MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* III (München 1931) 976; Paul LEHMANN, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart ²1963) 154-158; Karl LANGOSCH, *Hymnen und Vagantenlieder* (Darmstadt 1954) 292; Dieter SCHALLER, *Hugo Primas von Orléans*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5 (1991) 174-176, hier 175 „Die ohne Verfassernennung ... überlieferte Satire 'De vestium transformatione' ... darf aus inhaltl. und sprachl. Gründen H. zuerkannt werden."; Peter DRONKE, *Hugh Primas and the Archpoet: some historical (and unhistorical) testimonies*, in: Fleur ADCOCK (Hrsg.), *Hugh Primas and the Archpoet* (Cambridge Medieval Classics 2; Cambridge 1994) XVII-XXII, bes. XVIII Anm. 3. - Nichts Neues bietet Joseph SZÖVÉRFFY, *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms of the Middle Ages* III (Concord NH 1994) 33.

1.2. *Der Aufbau der Kleidermetamorphose*

Beginnen möchte ich mit einer Übersicht über Inhalt und Gedankengang der Kleidermetamorphose *In noua fert animus*, wobei ich die längere Fassung der Herdringer Handschrift (*L*) zugrunde lege. Da die Kurzfassung des Harleianus 978 (*H*) nur in Auslassungen (es fehlen die Strophen L 5, L 15-16, L 19-39) bzw. kleineren Textvarianten ohne größere inhaltliche Konsequenzen von der längeren Fassung abweicht, kann auf eine eigene Anführung der kürzeren Fassung verzichtet werden.

Vorangestelltes Motto (Zitat aus den *Metamorphosen* Ovids): Gestaltverwandlungen will ich besingen.

1 *exordium* (Anrede an die Prälaten): Ihr seid die Götter, die die Fähigkeit haben die Gestalt der Kleider zu verändern.

2-18 *narratio* (1): Die Metamorphosen des Wollmantels.
2-8 Wie Proteus und Tiresias vermag sich der Wollstoff (*pannus*) zu verändern: je nach Jahreszeit wird er zum Mantel oder zur Kappe, dabei ändert er sowohl Gestalt als auch Geschlecht (2-5). Ist das zerschnittene Tuch dazu nicht mehr zu gebrauchen, kann man es immerhin noch zu Kapuzen und Handschuhen weiterverarbeiten (6-8).
9-12 Eine andere Möglichkeit der Metamorphose ist die Beschneidung, wobei der Schneider ein brauchbares Pelzfutter aus dem alten Mantel herauslöst. Doch entsteht dabei die Gefahr der Bigamie, wenn ein Pelz nacheinander mit zwei Mänteln (Tüchern) verbunden wird (9); die Bigamie ist aber vom Kirchenrecht verboten (10-11).
13-17 Eine weitere Möglichkeit der Metamorphose besteht in der Taufe, d. h. in einer gründlichen Wäsche (12). Ist der Pelz abgenutzt, so kann man ihn durch einen neuen ersetzen, doch entspricht auch das wieder dem Tatbestand der Bigamie (14-16). Eine einfachere Möglichkeit besteht darin, den Pelz zu wenden (17).
18 Abschluss: Bleibt der Mantel trotz aller Reparaturen zu dünn und damit unbrauchbar, so wird er an einen Diener verschenkt.

19-25 *narratio* (2): Die Metamorphosen des Seidenmantels.
20-23 Aus dem alten Mantel wird eine Decke oder eine Steppdecke hergestellt. Dadurch erweisen sich die Besitzer als wahre Schüler des Bryson, denen endlich die seit der Antike immer wieder versuchte Quadratur des Kreises gelingt (22-23).
24-25 Zuweilen arbeitet man den Leibrock (*cotta*) auch in einen Überrock (*sorcotum*) um oder ersetzt die eine Schwester (d. h. die Außenseite des Mantels) durch die andere (d. h. die Innenseite), indem man den Rock wendet.

26-32 *narratio* (3): Die Metamorphose des Pelzes.
26-27 Verliert der Pelz seine Haare, so verarbeitet man ihn zum Pelzfutter (*foratura*) und vermählt ihn mit dem Überrock (*sorcotum*).
28-32 Doch sprechen dagegen die kanonistischen Ehehindernisse: da Überrock und Pelzfutter aus - ehemals verheiratetem - Mantel und Pelz hervorgegangen sind, sind sie miteinander verwandt und dürfen nicht heiraten (28-30). Ein weiteres Ehehindernis ist der unvermeidbare Elternmord, denn nur durch Mord kann aus dem Mantel ein Überrock entstehen (31-32).

33-39 *conclusio*: Das Dekret des Dichters exkommuniziert alle Bigamisten (33-34) und Ehebrecher (35-37)[20]. Die hohen Kleriker und die Reichen sollen gebrauchte Kleider nicht verwandeln, sondern an würdige Arme verschenken (38-39).

1.3. *Die Zuschreibung an den Hugo Primas*

Wie schon Meyer erkannte, sprechen zum einen sprachlich-stilistische Gründe, zum anderen der Hinweis in *CB* 220 auf das Reimser Manteldekret des Primas für die Autorschaft des Hugo Primas. Die stilistische Verwandtschaft mit seinen authentischen Werken verdient wegen ihrer weiterreichenden Ergebnisse etwas ausführlicher dargestellt zu werden, als es bisher geschehen ist. Mit Meyers allgemein gehaltenem Verweis auf „den Geist, die Sprachgewalt und die Formen des Primas" wird man sich nicht mehr begnügen können.

[20] Zum Anathema als Bestandtteil der kirchlichen Exkommunikation vgl. Ch. MICHEL, s.v. *anathème*, in: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 1, 2 (1924) 1926-1940; K. HOFMANN, s.v. *Anathema*, in: *RAC* 1 (1950) 427-430; *LThK*³ 1 (1993) 604-605. Die sprachliche und stilistische Gestaltung des Anathema sowohl in kirchenrechtlichen als auch in literarischen Schriften ist m. W. bislang kaum untersucht worden, vgl. Marc DROGIN, *Anathema! Medieval Scribes and the History of Book Curses* (Totowa / Montclair NJ 1983); Lester K. LITTLE, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca NY 1993). Zu Geoffrey Chaucer (*The House of Fame* 1, 94-108) vgl. James A. WORK, *Echoes of the Anathema in Chaucer*, in: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 47 (1932) 419-430. Einige Beispiele der literarisch-parodistischen Exkommunikation nennt LEHMANN, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Anm. 19) 154-158; sie fehlt jedoch in dem entsprechenden Kapitel „Parodie kirchlicher Einrichtungen" bei Helga SCHÜPPERT, *Kirchenkritik in der lateinischen Lyrik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Medium Aevum 23; München 1972) 185-195.

(1) Auffällig ist, dass dem Gedicht die ersten drei Zeilen der *Metamorphosen* Ovids als Motto vorangestellt sind. Dieses Zitat, das in der *aetas Ouidiana* kaum einem Kleriker unbekannt gewesen sein dürfte, liefert dem Gedicht zwei Motive, das der Gestaltänderung (*In noua ... mutatas ... formas corpora*) und das der Götter, in deren Macht es steht, die Metamorphose zu bewirken (*di ... nam uos mutastis*). Das Publikum wird nach diesem Beginn ein Gedicht über Metamorphosen erwarten; unklar bleibt allerdings noch, wer was verwandeln wird. Die überraschende Antwort wird in der ersten Strophe gegeben: die angesprochenen reichen Prälaten selbst sind die Götter, die die Metamorphose ihrer Kleider bewirken. Das vorangestellte, formal nicht in das Gedicht integrierte Zitat erfüllt eine bestimmte inhaltliche Funktion, es weckt eine Hörererwartung, die vom Verfasser sogleich humorvoll und überraschend abgewandelt wird: statt der erwarteten mythologischen Geschichten aus der Sphäre des antiken Epos folgen in parodistischer Stilisierung die prosaischen Eingriffe der Schneiderkunst, die aus abgetragenen Kleidern neue entstehen lässt.

Einen ganz analogen Fall treffen wir in einem der authentischen Oxforder Gedichte des Hugo Primas[21] an. Dort wird in *carm.* 16 ein Zitat aus Sallusts *Coniuratio Catilinae* (35, 3) einem rhythmischen Gedicht als Motto vorangeschickt. Das Motto *Iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus* weicht zwar formal von den folgenden rhythmischen Zwölfsilbern (6' 6')[22] ab, ist aber hier schon syntaktisch integriert, denn der Satz wird fortgesetzt ... *iam diu concepi dolorem nimium.* Wiederum liefert das Motto die inhaltlichen Stichworte für das Folgende: die widerrechtliche und schändliche Behandlung des Klerus von Beauvais durch den neugewählten Bischof (*Iniuriis contumeliisque*) sowie die zornige und strafende Haltung des Dichters (*concitatus ... concepi dolorem nimium*).

[21] Nach Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Rawlinson G.109 (s. 12) p. 3-30 ediert von MEYER, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas* (Anm. 16) und Christopher James MCDONOUGH, *The Oxford Poems of Hugh Primas and the Arundel Lyrics* (Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 15; Toronto 1984).

[22] Zur Bezeichnung rhythmischer Vers- und Strophenformen vgl. Dieter SCHALLER, *Bauformeln für akzentrhythmische Verse und Strophen,* in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979) 9-21; ID., *Nochmals zu den „Bauformeln für akzentrhythmische Verse und Strophen",* in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 34, 1 (1999) 171-174.

Eine formal abweichende Einleitung weist auch das *carm.* 15 auf: 9 endgereimte Hexameter (*caudati*) sind 9 rhythmischen Strophen vorangestellt. In diesem Fall erlaubt jedoch der größere Umfang der Einleitung eine weit ausführlichere Vorbereitung des Themas; auf die Verwünschung des gewalttätigen Gläubigers folgt in den rhythmischen Strophen die Erzählung vom „Treppensturz" des Primas.

Ähnliche Fälle von formal abweichenden Einleitungen finden wir schon etwas früher in den Gedichten des Hildebert von Lavardin, des Petrus Pictor und später wieder bei Walter von Châtillon[23], dessen Satiren sich zuweilen in ihren langen Einleitungen und Exkursen in Prosa dem Prosimetrum annähern. Wie das Motto eine extreme Art des Zitates darstellt, so ist es auch die reinste Art des von der mittelalterlichen Brief- und Dichtungslehre für den Textanfang geforderten *prouerbium generale*[24].

(2) Die Kleidermetamorphose ist in der sogenannten Stabat-mater-Strophe (² 8 8 7'; aab ccb) abgefasst[25]. Im Vergleich zu *carm.* 15 besteht hier jede Strophe regelmäßig aus sechs Zeilen; die Zahl der Achtsilber in der Strophe steht also fest und wird nicht wie dort beliebig vergrößert. Zwar lässt sich in der Kleidermetamorphose in

[23] Hildebert von Lavardin, *carm.* 39, hrsg. Alexander Brian SCOTT (Leipzig 1969); Petrus Pictor, *carm.* 10. 12. 14. 16, hrsg. Lieven VAN ACKER (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis 25; Turnhout 1972); Walter von Châtillon, *carm.* W 3 und *carm.* W 15, hrsg. STRECKER, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte* (Anm. 13).

[24] Zum *prouerbium generale* vgl. die aufschlussreiche Definition des Matthäus von Vendôme, *Ars uersificatoria* 1, 16-29, bes. 1, 16, hrsg. Franco MUNARI, *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera* III (Storia e letteratura 171; Rom 1988) ... *premittendum est generale prouerbium, id est communis sententia, in qua consequens materia uideatur prelibari, ut, quod in precedenti prouerbio implicitum est et inuolutum, in executione materie possit euidentius explicari. Est autem prouerbium generalis sententia, cui consuetudo fidem attribuit, opinio communis assensum accommodat, incorrupte ueritatis integritas adquiescit.* Vgl. die ausführliche Darstellung bei Ernest GALLO, *The Poetria Nova and Its Sources in Early Rhetorical Doctrine* (The Hague 1971) 139-150 zu Galfrid von Vinsauf, *Poetria noua* 126-202. - Auch die *artes dictandi* kennen diese Vorschrift, vgl. z. B. Peter von Blois, *Libellus de arte dictandi rhetorice* c. 17-23, hrsg. Martin CAMARGO, *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition. Five English Artes Dictandi and Their Tradition* (Binghamton NY 1995) 55-63.

[25] Vgl. SCHALLER, *Bauformeln für akzentrhythmische Verse und Strophen* (Anm. 22) passim.

den meisten Fällen eine inhaltliche Zäsur am Ende der dritten Zeile feststellen, doch gestattet sich der Dichter hiervon immer wieder Freiheiten, indem er den syntaktischen Einschnitt ans Ende der vierten Zeile verlegt (Str. 3. 8. 20. 26. 28) und einmal sogar zwei Strophen durch Enjambement miteinander verbindet (Str. 29-30).

Hinsichtlich der Versgestaltung beim Hugo Primas, im besonderen hinsichtlich der Teilung des fallenden Achtsilbers durch eine Zäsur in 4 + 4 stellt Wilhelm Meyer folgende Regelmäßigkeiten fest: „Der Primas aber gehört zu denjenigen, welche die Regel [d. h. die Zerlegung in 4 + 4] ganz streng beachten; hier [*carm.* 18] wie im 15. und 23. Gedicht und in dem Gedichte 'Ego dixi' (Wright, Political Songs p. 51) ist jeder Achtsilber in 2 sinkende Viersilber zerlegt. Aber sinkende Viersilber können nur auf der 1. und auf der 3. Silbe Wortaccent haben: quam preclaros. habes cives. meliorem; also gibt es in diesen Achtsilbern keinen Taktwechsel."[26] Die Zahlen der Oxforder Gedichte belegen das: in *carm.* 15 (76 × 8), *carm.* 18 (117 × 8) und *carm.* 23 (180 × 8) sind alle fallenden Achtsilber ohne Ausnahme in 4 + 4 zerlegt; Tw (Tonwechsel bzw. Taktwechsel) kommt in *carm.* 18 gar nicht, in *carm.* 23 nur 1-mal vor (Z. 89 *ád laícos*). In den steigenden Siebensilbern (*carm.* 15: 18 x 7') hingegen wird der Tw 3-mal zugelassen (Z. 14. 35. 40), davon 2-mal als mot métrique, d. h. als feste Verbindung eines einsilbigen mit einem zweisilbigen Wort, die zusammen eine feste Wortgruppe (á, aà) bilden[27] (Z. 14 *hánc habènt*; Z. 35 *néc possèm*), 1-mal steht ein schweres Wort in der Senkung (Z. 40 *ét est uísus cáderè*).

Gegen diese Regeln verstößt jedoch der Verfasser der Kleidermetamorphose ungleich häufiger (Fassung *L* insgesamt 3 + 39 × 6 = 237 Zeilen; davon 156 × 8 und 78 × 7'; lateinische oder überwiegend lateinische Zeilen 138 × 8; 74 × 7'): So begegnet 1-mal ein unregelmäßig geteilter Achtsilber (5, 4 *Cáppa fit mantélli*

[26] MEYER, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas* (Anm. 16) 104; vgl. dazu auch ID., *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik* I (Berlin 1905; Reprint Hildesheim 1970) 317-319; Dag NORBERG, *Les vers latins iambiques et trochaïques au Moyen Age et leurs répliques rythmiques* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Filologiskt arkiv 35; Stockholm 1988) 110-114.

[27] Zum mot métrique vgl. Dag NORBERG, *L'accentuation des mots dans le vers latin du Moyen Age* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Filologiskt arkiv 32; Stockholm 1985) 47-53.

déus), in den 138 lateinischen Achtsilbern kommt Tw 8-mal vor (11, 4; 12, 4 [vermutlich sollte die ganze Zeile steigend gelesen werden: *Permíttunt héc decréta? Nón.* - vgl. Archipoeta, *carm.* 1, 1, 4; 1, 6, 6]; 15, 4; 19, 1; 19, 2; 19, 4; 35, 5; 38, 4), 1-mal mot métrique und schweres einsilbiges Wort in der Senkung (11, 2); Tw in den 74 Siebensilbern 8-mal (4, 3; 4, 6; 6, 3; 16, 3; 18, 3; 18, 6; 26, 6; 29, 3), 12-mal mot métrique (7, 3; 9, 3; 10, 3; 12, 6; 13, 3; 17, 6; 19, 3; 23, 3; 33, 6; 37, 6; 38, 6; 39, 6), 2-mal schweres einsilbiges Wort in der Senkung (11, 2; 29, 6); griechische und hebräische Eigennamen wechseln in der Betonung (z. B. 17, 2 *Esáu* - 17, 6 *Ésaù*; 21, 6 *Brísonìs* - 23, 5 *Brisóne*; 26, 1 [27, 2] *Heróde* - 26, 3 *Hérodès*). In dieser recht sorglosen Versgestaltung könnte das gewichtigste Argument gegen eine Verfasserschaft des Hugo Primas gesehen werden. Doch hat schon Otto Schumann am Beispiel der Satiren Walters von Châtillon darauf hingewiesen, dass die Versgestaltung in verschiedenen Gedichten desselben Verfassers stark voneinander abweichen kann[28], entweder weil manche der von neuzeitlichen Philologen entdeckten „Gesetze" dem Verfasser gar nicht bewusst waren, oder weil er im Laufe der Zeit über solche Dinge anders dachte.

Der Hiat innerhalb der Zeile (H) kommt in den insgesamt 234 rhythmischen Zeilen der Kleidermetamorphose 2-mal vor (1, 1 ist Zitat; 22, 3)[29], 27, 4 *que forëure appellatur* ist das e im Auslaut stumm; zwischen den Zeilen steht der Hiat (h) 18-mal. Dem stehen in den Oxforder Gedichten gegenüber: in *carm.* 15 (94 rhythmische Zeilen) 1-mal H und 6-8-mal h; in *carm.* 18 (117 Zeilen) 2-mal H und 13-mal h; in *carm.* 23 (180 Zeilen) 3-mal H und 35-mal h. Im Gebrauch des Hiat sind die Abweichungen gegenüber den Oxforder Gedichten also nur gering. Der graphisch unreine Reim in Str. L 12, 3/6 *fornication ... coniugium* erklärt sich wohl durch die französische Aussprache; ansonsten ist der Reim in der Regel zweisilbig rein, wie auch sonst beim Hugo Primas üblich (charakteristische Unregelmäßigkeiten finden sich in Str. L 19, 3/6; 20, 1-2; 21, 1-2; 33, 1-2; 35, 4-5).

[28] Otto SCHUMANN, *Rez. Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon, hrsg. Karl Strecker (Heidelberg 1929)*, in: *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* (1932) 92-98, hier 93-94.

[29] Ein Hiat liegt nicht vor, wenn das folgende Wort mit i + Vokal, d. h. mit halbvokalischem j beginnt (L 17, 2; 29, 5; 35, 1).

(3) Wichtig für die Frage nach dem Autor ist die Abfassung des Gedichts in zwei Sprachen, die hier sogar syntaktisch miteinander vermischt werden, die sogenannte Barbarolexis[30]. Zwar ist die Barbarolexis in der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts ein schon lange geübtes Verfahren, doch ist sie uns in der Form der syntaktischen Sprachmischung in Vortragsgedichten zuerst in dem datierbaren *carm.* 16 (nach Meyer in den Jahren 1144-1145) des Hugo Primas überliefert. Zusammen mit seinem Zeitgenossen Hilarius von Orléans[31], dessen Werke wir leider nicht sicher datieren können, und anonymen liturgischen Dramen wie dem *Sponsus* oder dem Danielspiel von Beauvais gehört der Hugo Primas wahrscheinlich zu den ersten, die zweisprachige Vortragsdichtungen in Frankreich populär gemacht haben. Später wird die Barbarolexis von dem anonymen Verfasser des ersten Teils der vatikanischen Liedersammlung, von Walter von Châtillon und anderen für rhythmische Vortragsgedichte benutzt[32]. Der Hugo Primas bringt französische Einschübe sogar in seinen metrischen Epigrammen an, wobei ihm oftmals virtuose Reimkunststücke gelingen[33]. Damit rückt die recht frühe, noch vor *CB* 220 entstandene Kleidermetamorphose auch aus formalen Gründen in den Umkreis des Hugo Primas.

(4) In Strophe 7 wird berichtet, wie aus den übriggebliebenen kleineren Stoffstücken immerhin noch gute Handschuhe hergestellt werden können:

[30] Aus der umfangreichen Literatur möchte ich nur die folgenden Titel hervorheben: Emil HENRICI, *Sprachmischung in älterer Dichtung Deutschlands* (Berlin 1913); Paul ZUMTHOR, *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XI^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Paris 1963) 82-111; Wolf-Dieter LANGE, *Stilmanier und Parodie - Zum Wandel der mehrsprachigen Dichtung des Mittelalters,* in: FS Karl Langosch (Darmstadt 1973) 398-416; Christopher James MCDONOUGH, *Hugh Primas's Bilingual Poem 16,* in: *Mediaeval Studies* 56 (1994) 247-278, dort 248 Anm. 3 eine ausführliche Bibliographie.

[31] Walther BULST † / Marie Luise BULST-THIELE (Hrsg.), *Hilarii Aurelianensis Versus et ludi, epistolae* (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 16; Leiden 1989).

[32] In den *Carmina Vaticana* (Ms. Vat. lat. 4389) die Nr. 2 *Deseuré solent estre ch'oï dire iadis* (WIC 4276), hrsg. Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Vagantenlieder aus der Vaticana,* in: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 50 (1930) 76-97; vgl. dazu Carsten WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis 128; Turnhout 1998) 63-64, 120-121 und 137-139 mit weiterer Literatur. - Walter von Châtillon, *carm.* W 13, hrsg. STRECKER, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte* (Anm. 13).

[33] Vgl. Carsten WOLLIN, *Die Primas-Epigramme der Compilatio singularis exemplorum,* in: *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* im Erscheinen.

ex hiis fiunt manuthece,
manutheca quidem Grece
„manuum positio". (Str. L 7, 4-6)

Das in diesem Zusammenhang vom Verfasser offenbar aus Freude am Sprachspiel neugebildete, sonst nicht belegte Wort *manutheca* ist eine Analogiebildung zu dem im 10. Jahrhundert entstandenen mittellateinischen Kunstwort *chirotheca*, das vor allem den Handschuh geistlicher und weltlicher Würdenträger bezeichnet[34]. Dazu passt es gut, dass der Hugo Primas das in der Dichtung seltene Wort *chirotheca* auch an anderer Stelle benutzt:

Bursa uocat mecham, ueluti uocat ad cirotecam
crus auis excisum uel uisa caruncula nisum. (*carm.* 7, 38-39)

Die Verwendung der biblischen Beispielfiguren Jacob und Esau in Str. L 17, wobei der behaarte Esau für das Pelzfutter des Mantels, der glatthäutige Jacob für das haarlose Tuch steht, entspricht genau einer Stelle im berühmten *carm.* 2, 20-23. Dort gibt der dünne Tuchmantel dem Primas den Ratschlag, ein Pelzfutter zu kaufen, um damit den Mantel zu füttern, denn er selbst sei unbehaart wie Jacob:

Pilis expers, usu fractus,
ex Esau Iacob factus,
quant tuit li poilh en sunt chaü,
inuersatur uice uersa,
rursus idem ex conuersa,
ex Iacob fit Esau. (Str. L 17)

Scis, quid ages, Primas? Eme pelles, obstrue rimas!
Tunc bene depellam iuncta michi pelle procellam.
Conpatior certe, moueor pietate super te,
et facerem iussum, set Iacob, non Esau sum. (*carm.* 2, 20-23)

Dass dieser Vergleich des Pelzes mit Jacob und Esau nach dem Vorbild des weitverbreiteten Mantelgedichts des Hugo Primas in der Folgezeit allgemein bekannt war, kann nicht als Argument für die Abfassung der Kleidermetamorphose durch einen späteren Nachahmer geltend gemacht werden, denn diese ist vermutlich zeitgleich mit dem *carm.* 2 im zweiten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts entstanden. Es erscheint mir hingegen viel wahrscheinlicher, dass

[34] Vgl. Berent SCHWINEKÖPER, *Der Handschuh im Recht, Ämterwesen, Brauch und Volksglauben* (Berlin 1938; Reprint Sigmaringen 1981) 13-14.

derselbe Verfasser beide Gedichte geschrieben und seinen witzigen Vergleich in mehreren seiner Werke benutzt hat.

(5) Die in Str. L 3, 4-6 zitierte Formulierung aus der Sequenz *Laudes cruces attollamus* bietet leider keinen Hinweis auf den Verfasser. Diese Sequenz, die man lange Zeit zu Unrecht Adam von St. Victor zugeschrieben hatte, ist wahrscheinlich das Werk eines Kanonikers Hugo in Orléans; doch ist es keineswegs sicher, dass damit auch tatsächlich der berühmte Magister Hugo Primas gemeint ist, wie es Nicolas Weisbein behauptet hat[35]. Gerade diese Sequenz ist in späterer Zeit gerne zitiert worden, unter anderen von Walter von Châtillon.

Für eine Zuweisung der Kleidermetamorphose an den Hugo Primas spricht folglich eine Reihe von stilistischen Gemeinsamkeiten, wie das einleitende Motto (1), die Sprachmischung (3) und der übereinstimmende Gebrauch von seltenen Wörtern und Beispielfiguren (4). Die Untersuchung der Verstechnik (2) hat neben manchen Übereinstimmungen aber auch formale Unterschiede, besonders in der Zulassung des Tonwechsels zu Tage gebracht. Doch darf man diesen Unterschieden angesichts des geringen Vergleichsmaterials wohl nicht eine allzu große Bedeutung beimessen. Insgesamt reichen die Argumente zwar aus, um das Gedicht im Umkreis des Hugo Primas zu lokalisieren, doch gelangt man über die Feststellung der stilistischen Verwandtschaft dabei nicht hinaus.

Der letztlich entscheidende Beweis steht, wie schon Meyer erkannte, in *CB* 220, wo mit folgenden Worten ausdrücklich auf das Reimser Manteldekret des Primas verwiesen wird:

Primas in Remensibus iusserat decretis,
ne mantellos ueteres uos renouaretis ... (*CB* 220, F 14, 1-2)

Dass die in *CB* 220 angesprochenen *decreta* tatsächlich mit unserer Kleidermetamorphose identisch sind, geht aus der Untersuchung der hypertextuellen Bezüge zwischen beiden Gedichten ohne jeden Zweifel hervor, da sich zeigen lässt, wie der Verfasser von *CB* 220 seine Vorlage in einer Reihe von aussagekräftigen Details imitiert und zu übertreffen versucht (s. u. 2.4.). Ein Aufenthalt des Hugo Primas in Reims, den *CB* 220 voraussetzt, wird uns unabhängig

[35] Nicolas WEISBEIN, *Le Laudes crucis attollamus de maître Hugues d'Orléans dit le Primat*, in: *Revue du Moyen Age Latin* 3 (1947) 5-26.

durch das *carm.* 18 bestätigt. In diesem Gedicht entsendet der Hugo Primas nicht nur im Namen der Stadt Reims - hier sind wohl im engeren kirchlichen Sinn das Domkapitel und die Schule zu verstehen - der Stadt Amiens Grüße, sondern er sieht sich selbst als Mitglied der Schule des Alberich in Reims:

Ergo iure nostra scola
singularis est et sola. (*carm.* 18, 70-71)

Meyer vermutet, der Hugo Primas habe in Reims die Ausbildung in den *artes* vetreten, „etwa als Lehrer der Dichtkunst, Magister des Dictamen metricum et rithmicum"[36]. Eine genaue Datierung des *carm.* 18 ist nicht möglich, aber die Erwähnung des Scholasters Alberich bietet immerhin einen sicheren terminus ante quem, da dieser 1137 zum Erzbischof von Bourges erwählt wurde, wo er 1141 starb. Wie lange der Hugo Primas sich in Reims aufhielt, ist unbekannt, doch treffen wir ihn nach Auskunft des *carm.* 16 noch um 1144-45 in Nordfrankreich, diesmal in Beauvais an. Vielleicht hat der Hugo Primas seine Lehrtätigkeit mit Unterbrechungen über einen längeren Zeitraum in Reims ausgeübt, wo ihn der Verfasser von *CB* 220 vielleicht sogar als Lehrer gehört und kennen gelernt haben könnte, worauf auch die genaue Angabe *Primas in Remensibus* schließen lassen könnte.

1.4. *Der Vergleich der Textfassungen L und H*

Der auffälligste Unterschied zwischen beiden Fassungen besteht im Umfang. *H* umfasst nur das Motto, das *exordium* (Str. H 1) und die *narratio* 1 (Str. H 2-15). Schon in der *narratio* sind drei Strophen (L 5 und L 15-16) ausgelassen; die folgenden drei Abschnitte der Fassung *L* (Str. L 19-39; d. h. *narratio* 2 und 3 sowie die *conclusio*) fehlen in *H* ganz.

Da Bömer erst nachträglich Wrights Edition der kurzen Fassung *H* benutzen konnte, blieb ihm kein Platz mehr, um ausführlicher auf das Verhältnis und die zeitliche Abfolge der Fassungen *L* und *H* einzugehen. Später beschreibt Polheim zwar die Unterschiede zwischen beiden Fassungen, scheut aber davor zurück, sich in der Frage der Priorität zu entscheiden[37]. Sein Vergleich beschränkt sich hauptsächlich auf Überlegungen ästhetischer Art: Die lange

[36] MEYER, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas* (Anm. 16) 109.
[37] POLHEIM, *Der Mantel* (Anm. 18) 53.

Fassung *L* ist für ihn „vollständiger, auch im einzelnen besser, aber von ermüdender Breite", ihr Gedankengang ist „weit ausgesponnen und abgehetzt", abgefasst von einem *poeta doctus*: „So erst erlangt das Gedicht nach langem Weg, wie ihn nur ein Gelehrter mit klassischer Bildung bereiten konnte, seine Erfüllung. Es ist weder ein geradliniger Weg, noch sind am Ziel etwa alle Stationen zu künstlerischer Abrundung zusammengefaßt." Die kürzere Fassung *H* hingegen besitzt in Polheims Augen den Vorzug der Kürze und Folgerichtigkeit.

Die Frage nach der Priorität wird sich in der Tat auch nicht schlüssig beantworten lassen. Zwar scheint nach modernen Maßstäben, wie sie hinter Polheims Überlegungen stehen, die kürzere Fassung *H* insgesamt ausgewogener, in ihrem Aufbau symetrischer und inhaltlich folgerichtiger zu sein, doch darf man nicht außer Acht lassen, dass diese Merkmale, gerade unter Berücksichtigung der Zusatzstrophen, in gleicher Weise für den ersten Teil der längeren Fassung *L* zutreffen. Dass *L* länger ist und das Thema in immer wieder neuen Wendungen fortspinnt, kann ebenfalls nicht als Argument für eine spätere Ausweitung verstanden werden, da der inhaltliche Aufbau des zweiten und dritten Teils der *narratio* genauso folgerichtig durchgeführt ist wie der des ersten (s. o. 1.2.). Gerade in solchen Fragen ist es trügerisch, die ästhetischen Maßstäbe des modernen Interpreten dem mittelalterlichen Dichter zu unterstellen: Die Fassung *L* mit ihren immer neuen Variationen und Anspielungen auf antike Mythologie, aristotelische Logik und Kirchenrecht könnte nach der Einschätzung des Verfassers und des gelehrten Publikums in ihrer Zeit durchaus als die gelungenere gegolten haben. Auch die wenigen Fassungsvarianten erlauben keinen Rückschluss auf die Priorität.

Sicher scheint allerdings zu sein, dass es sich bei der langen Fassung *L* um das in *CB* 220 erwähnte Reimser Manteldekret des Primas handelt, da nur in dieser die Schlussstrophen überliefert sind, in denen den knausrigen Prälaten die Exkommunikation angedroht wird. Das heißt, diese Fassung ist älter als *CB* 220 und, wenn auch vielleicht nicht ursprünglich, so doch zumindest noch zu Lebzeiten des Hugo Primas unter dessen Namen verbreitet gewesen. Auch spricht in den Zusatzstrophen in *L* nichts gegen die Autorschaft des Hugo Primas. Selbst wenn *L* eine spätere Erweiterung von *H* sein sollte, so kann sie eigentlich nur vom Hugo Primas selbst herrühren. Demgegenüber könnte eine Verkürzung von 39 Strophen in *L* auf 15 Strophen in *H* nicht nur

auf den Autor, sondern ebenso gut auch auf einen späteren Bearbeiter oder Kopisten zurückgehen. Die letztere Möglichkeit ist umso wahrscheinlicher, als *H* keine Eigenheiten gegenüber der Fassung *L* aufweist, die sich nur als Eingriffe des Autors selbst interpretieren ließen. Daher möchte ich *L* bis auf weiteres für die vermutlich erste, vom Autor selbst in Reims vor dem Erzbischof, dem Domkapitel und den Schülern vielleicht zur Weihnachtszeit[38] vorgetragene Fassung der Kleidermetamorphose halten.

1.5. *Die Handschriften*

Die Edition gibt die Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas in beiden handschriftlich erhaltenen Textfassungen synoptisch wieder; links in der langen Fassung *L* (39 Str.) mit Kommentar, rechts in der kurzen Fassung *H* (15 Str.).

Die Handschrift *L* befand sich im 19. Jahrhundert im Besitz der Grafen von Fürstenberg in der Schlossbibliothek zu Herdringen (Kreis Arnsberg), wo sie die Signatur Ms. 51 trug. Von dort gelangte sie 1919 in die Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek in Paderborn; später wurde sie im Rahmen der deutschen Reparationsleistungen an die 1914 im 1. Weltkrieg von deutschen Truppen vernichtete Universitätsbibliothek Löwen (Louvain) übergeben, wo sie die neue Signatur Ms. G.65. erhielt. Da die Handschrift dort im 2. Weltkrieg am 17. Mai 1940 zusammen mit der Bibliothek durch einem deutschen Bombenangriff zerstört wurde[39], ist sie für uns nur noch in der Beschreibung und dem teilweisen Abdruck durch Alois Bömer fassbar. Eine Rekonstruktion und kritische Edition der Gedichtsammlung auf der Grundlage von Bömers Aufsatz bereitet Johann Friedrich Hoffmann an der Universität zu Köln vor[40].

L wurde im 14. Jahrhundert geschrieben und stammt aus dem Benediktinerkloster St. Jacob in Lüttich. Neben exegetischen und grammatischen Werken enthielt die Handschrift eine mittellatei-

[38] Auf die möglichen Beziehungen der Satire zu den weihnachtlichen Bakelfesten weist Hans SPANKE hin, *Zu den Gedichten Walters von Châtillon,* in: *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen* 4 (1931) 197-220, hier 218 [263]; wieder in ID., *Studien zur lateinischen und romanischen Lyrik des Mittelalters,* hrsg. Ulrich MÖLK (Hildesheim 1983) [242-265].

[39] Vgl. Wolfgang SCHIVELBUSCH, *Die Bibliothek von Löwen* (München/Wien 1988).

[40] Vgl. *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 34, 1 (1999) 174.

nische Liedersammlung (fol. 102r-122r, Bömer Nr. 21-45 [1-20]), die sich durch zahlreiche unica auszeichnet. Benutzt habe ich den Textabdruck von Bömer und den Nachdruck bei Helmut van Thiel[41], die uns die zerstörte Handschrift ersetzen müssen. Die Kleidermetamorphose steht unter der Überschrift *De vestium transformatione* in der Gedichtsammlung an erster Stelle (fol. 102r-104r, Bömer Nr. 21 [1]), danach folgt *carm.* 10 des Archipoeta, später Werke des Petrus Pictor (*carm.* 3), Walters von Châtillon (*carm.* W 1, Apocalypse des Golias, *carm.* W 16, *carm.* W 7, *carm.* W 6) und anonymer Verfasser. Darunter findet sich als Nr. 37 [14] noch ein weiteres Gedicht des Hugo Primas, überschrieben als *Conquestio Primatis expulsi de domo leprosorum* (*carm.* 23, nur Z. 1-45).

Die Handschrift *H*, British Library, Ms. Harley 978[42], wurde nur kurze Zeit nach der Schlacht von Lewes im Jahr 1264 vielleicht im Kloster Reading (Berkshire) geschrieben. Da die von André Wilmart geplante ausführliche Beschreibung der Handschrift, insbesondere der Sammlung mittellateinischer Gedichte nicht ausgeführt bzw. publiziert wurde, scheint es mir angebracht zu sein, wenigstens die größeren Stücke der Gedichtsammlung vollständig aufzuführen. Für den Rest der Handschrift beschränke ich mich auf die kurze Inhaltsübersicht, die Arthur George Rigg bietet[43]. Ausgebeutet wurde die bedeutende Gedichtsammlung in den Publikationen von Thomas Wright[44], später für die kritischen Ausgaben des Hugo Primas (*carm.* 23), Walters von Châtillon (*carm.* W 1, *carm.* W 4-6, *carm.* W 7) und des Archipoeta (*carm.*

[41] Helmut VAN THIEL, *Mittellateinische Texte. Ein Handschriften-Lesebuch* (Göttingen 1972) XI-XIII unter Zurücknahme der Korrekturen Bömers.

[42] Beschrieben in: *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum* I (London 1808) 488-489; Charles Lethbridge KINGSFORD, *The Song of Lewes* (Oxford 1890) VII-XVIII; Karl STRECKER, *Walter von Châtillon und seine Schule*, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 64 [= NF 52] (1927) 97-125 und 161-189, hier 103; Arthur George RIGG, *Golias and other Pseudonyms*, in: *Studi Medievali* III 18 (1977) 65-109, hier 91-92.

[43] Vgl. André WILMART, *Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon dans un manuscrit de Charleville*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 49 (1937) 121-169 und 322-365, hier 128 Anm. 2; Arthur George RIGG, *A history of Anglo-Latin literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge 1992) 238.

[44] Hier sind besonders zu nennen Thomas WRIGHT, *The Political Songs* (Anm. 15) und ID., *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* (London 1841; Reprint Hildesheim 1968).

10). Aber nicht nur für die mittellateinische, sondern auch für die romanische Philologie ist die Handschrift von unschätzbarem Wert, da sie nämlich neben dem *Esope* die einzige vollständige Sammlung aller zwölf *Lais* der Marie de France enthält[45]. Ein Faksimile unseres Gedichts auf fol. 78vb-79va bietet van Thiel[46]. Die Handschrift ist nach Rigg in späterer Zeit aus sechs größeren, ursprünglich unabhängigen Teilen zusammengebunden worden:

(1) fol. 2-13 ein Antiphonar [darin der berühmte Kanon *Sumer is icumen in*]
(2) fol. 14-21 ein Kalender
(3) fol. 22-39 medizinische Exzerpte
(4) fol. 40-*75 Marie de France, *Esope*
(5) fol. 75-117 eine mittellateinische Gedichtsammlung
(6) fol. 118-162 Marie de France, *Lais*

Schon ein kurzer Blick auf die Gedichtsammlung fol. 75r-117v zeigt eine bunte Mischung von Autoren und Themen, die der Sammler oder Schreiber anfangs noch durch die Zuweisung an den *Golias episcopus* zusammenzuhalten versucht[47].

fol. 68v-74v Nachtrag des 14. Jh.
Inc. *Noctis sub silencio tempore brumali*
WIC 11894 („*Visio Fulberti*"); hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 95-106.

fol. 75ra-78ra „*Apocalipsis Golye episcopi*"
Inc. *A tauro torrida lampada cynthii*
WIC 91 (Walter von Châtillon?); hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 1-20; Karl STRECKER (Rom 1928).

fol. 78ra-78vb „*Incipit confessio eiusdem*"
Inc. *Estuans intrinsecus ira uehementi*
WIC 627; WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 71-75; Archipoeta, *carm.* 10.

fol. 78vb-79va „*Golias*"
Inc. *In noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas*

[45] Vgl. Karl WARNKE (Hrsg.), *Die Fabeln der Marie de France* (Bibliotheca Normannica 6; Halle a. d. Saale 1898; Reprint Genf 1974) 3; ID. (Hrsg.), *Die Lais der Marie de France* (Bibliotheca Normannica 3; Halle a. d. Saale ³1925; Reprint Genf 1974) LX.

[46] VAN THIEL (Anm. 41) 47 Nr. 22.

[47] Zum *Golias episcopus* vgl. die grundlegende Studie von RIGG, *Golias and other Pseudonyms* (Anm. 42).

WIC 9027 (WIC 5264); Hugo Primas, Kleidermetamorphose; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Political Songs* (Anm. 15) 51-56.

fol. 79va-80vb *„Golias"*
Inc. *Diues eram et dilectus*
WIC 4619; WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 64-69, Hugo Primas, *carm.* 23.

fol. 80vb-82rb *„Golias"*
Inc. *Nostri moris esse solet*
WIC 12309 (WIC 19018 *Tanto uiro locuturi*); hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 57-63; Walter von Châtillon, *carm.* W 1.

fol. 82rb *„Golias"*
Inc. *Raptor mei pillei morte moriatur*
WIC 16413; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 75-76.

fol. 82va *„Golias"*
Inc. *Non inuitatus uenio prandere paratus*
WIC 12084 (Primas); hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 86; André WILMART, *Les épigrammes liées d'Hugues Primat et d'Hildebert,* in: *Revue Bénédictine* 47 (1935) 175-180.

fol. 82va *„Responsio"*
Inc. *Non ego curo uagos qui rura mapalia pagos*
WIC fehlt, WPS 17541; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 86; André WILMART, *Les épigrammes liées d'Hugues Primat et d'Hildebert,* in: *Revue Bénédictine* 47 (1935) 175-180.

fol. 82va-84rb *„De Mauro et Zoilo"*
Inc. *Nvper ductu serio plagam ad australem*
WIC 12486; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 243-250.

fol. 84va-85va *„Contra auaros"*
Inc. *Qvam sit lata scelerum et quam longa tela*
WIC 15164 („Schule Walters von Châtillon"); hrsg. WRIGHT, *Political Songs* (Anm. 15) 27-36.

fol. 85va-86vb *„Versus"*
Sammlung von Epigrammen und kleineren Gedichten.

fol. 87ra-87va *„Inuectio contra auariciam"*
Inc. *Utar contra uicia carmine rebelli*
WIC 19917; WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 36-39; *CB* 42.

fol. 87va-88va *„Item ad idem"*
Inc. *Cum declinent homines a tenore ueri*

WIC 3581 (Walter von Châtillon?); hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 163-166; Karl STRECKER, *Ein Gedicht Walters von Châtillon?* in: *Atti dell'Accademia degli Arcadi* n. s. 5-6 (1930) 47-55.

fol. 88va-89rb „*Item ad idem*"
Inc. *Qvi potest capere quod loquor capiat*
WIC 15608; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 167-170.

fol. 89rb Inc. *Roma capit marcas loculos exhaurit et artas*
WIC 16831 (WIC 16861 Roma rapit).

fol. 89va-90va „*Visio cuiusdam de morte sancti Thome martiris*"
Inc. *Cvm cepissent crescere dampna noctis prima*
WIC 3570 Cum (WIC 4842 Dum); hrsg. Paul Gerhard SCHMIDT, *Die Ermordung Thomas Beckets im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Dichtungen,* in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 9 (1973) 159-172, hier 165-168.

fol. 90va-91vb „*Incipit confessio regis Heinrici secundi ...*"
Inc. *In conspectu matris ecclesie*
WIC 8869; Radulphus Prunimensis; hrsg. Paul Gerhard SCHMIDT ib. 168-172.

fol. 92ra-93va „*Contra ambicios<os> et auaros*"
Inc. *Missus sum in uineam circa horam nonam*
WIC 11120; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 152-159; Walter von Châtillon, Cento aus *carm.* W 4-6.

›l. 93va-94ra Inc. *Elyconis riuulo modice respersus*
WIC 7693; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 159-162; Walter von Châtillon, *carm.* W 7.

fol. 94ra-b Inc. *Syrenum uoces et cyrces pocula nostra*
WIC 18261; leoninische Hexameter.

fol. 94rb Inc. *Cum sexagesimum fructum capiant uiduati*
WIC 3760.

fol. 94va-96vb „*De Philide et Flora*"
Inc. *Anni parte florida celo puriore*
WIC 1081; WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 258-267; *CB* 92.

fol. 96vb-98va „*De presbitero et logico*"
Inc. *Hora nona sabbati tempore florenti*
WIC 8410; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 251-257.

fol. 98va Inc. *O spina noxia latet in lilio*
WIC 12994; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 236-237.

fol. 98va-b „*De grauita<te> loquendi*"; rechts: „*Versus*"
Inc. *Inter multiloquos et grandia uerba ferentes*
WIC 9466.

fol. 98vb Inc. *Si quis cordis et oculi*
WIC 17915 Si quis (WIC 16158 Quisquis); Philipp der Kanzler, *carm.* Dronke 7; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 93-95.

fol. 99ra-99va *„De incarnacione Domini"*
Inc. *Circa partum uirginis contra ius nature*
WIC fehlt; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 212-216.

fol. 99va-100va *„De summa trinitate et incarnacione Domini"*
Inc. *Mvltis a confratribus pridie rogatus*
WIC 11495 (WIC 20578); Iordanus Fantasma; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 31-36; Nikolaus M. HÄRING, *Ein Lehrgedicht des Gilbertschülers Iordanus Fantasma,* in: FS Hildebrand Bascour (Leuven 1980) 91-109.

fol. 100va-102va *„Incipit methamorphosis Golye episcopi"*
Inc. *Sole post arietem taurum subintrante*
WIC 18404; WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 21-30; hrsg. R. B. C. HUYGENS, in: *Studi Medievali* III 3 (1962) 764-772; verbessert in R. B. C. HUYGENS, *Serta Mediaevalia* II (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis 171 A; Turnhout 2000) 801-816 Nr. XV.

fol. 102va-103ra Inc. *Mvndi libet uicia cunctis exarare*
WIC 11427 (WIC 10311); hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Political Songs* (Anm. 15) 46-51.

fol. 103rb-104vb Inc. *Oez seignurs e entendez que Deu nus beneie*

fol. 104vb-106ra *„De tribus angelis qui retraxerunt a nupciis"*
Inc. *Sit deo gloria laus benedictio*
WIC 18302; WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems* (Anm. 44) 77-85; hrsg. Arthur George RIGG, *Gawain on Marriage* (Studies and Texts 79; Toronto 1986).

fol. 106ra-107ra Inc. *Estrangement se fet mun quer dolent*

fol. 107ra-114rb Inc. *Calamus uelociter scribe sic scribentis*
WIC 2314; hrsg. WRIGHT, *The Political Songs* (Anm. 15) 71-121; Charles Lethbridge KINGSFORD, *The Song of Lewes* (Oxford 1890).

fol. 114va-116rb *„De coniugio patris ac matris Becket"*
Inc. *<N>unc autem, ut paulo alcius sermonem historie repetamus ...*
Legendarische Geschichte der Heirat von Beckets Eltern, auch eingefügt in einige Handschriften von Edward Grims *Vita sancti Thomae,* hrsg. James Craigie ROBERTSON, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* II (Rolls Series 67, 2; London 1876) 453-458; vgl. Anne DUGGAN, *Thomas Becket: A*

Textual History of his Letters (Oxford 1980) 178 Anm. 7

fol. 116rb „*Ci comence coment Gilebert Beket le pere seint Thomas espusa sa femme la mere seint Thomas le martir*"
Inc. <*G*>*ileber Beket burgeis de Lundres se croisa en la tere seinte* ... [Der Text bricht nach wenigen Zeilen ab.]

fol. 116va-117v Inc. *Bel uncle cher io le sai pur ueir*

Der Text folgt der Handschrift *H* so genau wie möglich. Gegenüber Bömers modernisierendem Abdruck der Handschrift *L* wurden u/v und i/j nach mittelalterlichem Vorbild in u und i normalisiert; gegenüber der Handschrift *H* wurden langes und rundes s nur als s wiedergegeben. Ansonsten ist jeweils die mittelalterliche Orthographie beibehalten worden; lediglich die Zeichensetzung sowie die Groß- und Kleinschreibung wurden dem heutigen usus angepasst. Altfranzösische Wörter sind durch Kursivierung gekennzeichnet. Die beiden Textfassungen werden synoptisch abgedruckt; der Kommentar ist jedoch nur der langen Fassung *L* beigegeben worden. Nur wenn ein Wort in einer Fassung eindeutig korrumpiert ist, habe ich es mithilfe der anderen Fassung verbessert. Die im Kommentar abgekürzt zitierten mittellateinischen Werke und ihre Autoren sind im Anhang 2 alphabetisch aufgeführt.

Hugo Primas (uersio L)

De uestium transformatione.

In noua fer<t> animus mutatas dicere formas
corpora: di, ceptis (nam uos mutastis et illas)
aspirate meis!

L 1 Ego dixi: dii estis
(que dicenda sunt in festis,
quare pretermitterem?),
dii reuera, qui potestis
in figuram noue uestis
transformare ueterem!

L 2 Pannus recens uel nouellus
fit uel cappa uel mantellus,
sed secundum tempora.
Primum cappa, post pusillum
transformatur hec in illum:
sic mutantur corpora.

L 3 Antiquata decollatur,
decollata mantellatur,
sic in modum Protheos
transformantur uestimenta,
nec recenter est inuenta
lex methamorphoseos.

L 4 Cum figura sexum mutant,
rupta prius clam resutant
primates ecclesie.
Nec donantur (res est certa),
nisi prius sint experta
fortunam Tyresie.

L 5 Cappam quidem feminini,
sed mantellum masculini
constat esse generis.
Cappa fit mantelli deus,
ergo potest esse reus
utriusque ueneris.

3. 5 recenter *Wollin (ex H)*] recentis *L Bömer*

4. 2 resutant *Wollin*] refutant *L*, reclutant *Bömer H*

Hugo Primas (uersio H)

Golyas

In noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas
corpora: dii, ceptis (nam uos mutastis et illas)
aspirate meis!

H 1 Ego dixi: dii estis
(que dicenda sunt in festis,
quare pretermitterem?),
dii reuera, qui potestis,
in figuram noue uestis
transmutare ueterem!

H 2 Pannus recens et nouellus
fit uel capa uel mantellus,
set secundum tempora.
Primum capa, post pusillum
transmutatur hec in illum:
sic mutatis corpora.

H 3 Antiquata decollatur,
decollata mantellatur,
sic in modum Protheos
demutantur uestimenta,
nec recenter est inuenta
lex methamorphoseos.

H 4 Cum figura sexum mutant,
prius ruptam clam resutant
primates ecclesie.
Nec donatur (res est certa),
nisi prius sit experta
fortunam Tyresie.

prol. 3 aspirate *ex* aspiijate *corr. H*

4. 2 resutant *Wollin*] reclutant *H*

L 6 Bruma tandem reuertente
tost ont sor le mantial ente
plerique caputium.
Alioquin disquadratur,
de quadrato rotondatur,
transit in almutium.

L 7 Si qui restant de morsellis
cesi panni siue pellis,
non uacant officio:
ex hiis fiunt manuthece,
manutheca quidem Grece
„manuum positio".

L 8 Sic ex ueste uestem formant
anglois, thiois, franchois, normant,
omnes generaliter,
ut uix unus excludatur.
Ita cappa declinatur,
sed mantellus aliter.

L 9 At hic primo recens anno
noua pelle, nouo panno,
in archa reconditur.
Rarescente tandem pilo,
iuncturarum rupto filo
pellis circumciditur.

L 10 Sic mantellus fit Apella,
chi gist li dras et la pel la
post primum diuortium;
a priore separata
cum secundo reparata
transit in sorcotium.

L 11 Quod delictum dices maius?
Illud palam est contra ius,
nam si nupsit alteri,
coniugium uiolauit,
dum se nouo copulauit,
reclamante ueteri.

9. 6 pellis *Wollin (ex H)*] pelle *L Bömer*
10. 6 sorcotium *L Bömer*] socortium *Meyer*

H 5 Bruma tandem reuertente
tost unt sur la chape ente
plerique capucium.
fol. 79rb Alioquin dequadratur,
de quadrato rotundatur,
transit in almucium.

H 6 Si quid restat de morsellis
cesi panni siue pellis,
non uacat officio:
ex hiis fiunt manuthece,
manutheca quidem Grece
„manuum posicio".

H 7 Sic ex ueste uestem formant
engleis, tyeis, franceis, normant,
omnes generaliter,
ut uix nullus excludatur.
Ita capa declinatur,
set mantellus aliter.

H 8 Adhuc primo recens anno
noua pelle, nouo panno,
in archa reconditur.
Recedente tandem pilo,
iuncturarum rupto filo
pellis circumciditur.

H 9 Sic mantellus fit Apella,
ci git li drap e la pel la
post primum diuorcium;
a priore separata
cum secundo reparata
transit in consorcium.

H 10 Quod delictum dices maius?
Istud palam est contra ius,
nam si nupsit alteri,
coniugium est uiolatum,
dum fit nouo copulatum
reclamante ueteri.

9. 6 consorcium *H*] sorcotium *L (recte?)*
10. 4 est *H*] *fortasse delendum Wollin*

L 12 *N' est de concille ne de senne*
d' espouser deus dras une penne,
qu' ihl i at fornication.
Permittunt hec decreta? Non;
sed testatur omnis canon
non esse coniugium.

L 13 Pannus primus circumcisus,
uiduatus et diuisus
a sua pellicula,
iam expertus Iudaismum,
emundatur per baptismum
a quacumque macula.

L 14 Circumcisus mundatusque
est adeptus utriusque
legis testimonium.
Quem baptismus emundauit,
cum secunda federauit
pelle matrimonium.

L 15 Bigamus est, quod amauit,
more suo bigamauit,
si se reuestent nostre amis.
Prudentis est et astuti
decollatis cappis uti
et mantellis bigamis.

L 16 *S' ihl est de saie, dunt l' endrois s' emble,*
l' enuers pur ce fait, ce moi semble,
conuerti simpliciter.
Kar asseis est simple conuerse,
ki ce dedens defors enuerse
por user dupliciter.

L 17 Pilis expers, usu fractus,
ex Esau Iacob factus,
quant tuit li poilh en sunt chaü,
inuersatur uice uersa,
rursus idem ex conuersa,
ex Iacob fit Esau.

L 18 Pars pilosa foris paret,
sed introrsus pilis caret
uetustas abscondita.
Datur tandem, *c' est chose aperte,*
seruienti *por sa desserte*
mantellus ypocrita.

fol. 79va

H 11 *N' est de concille ne de sene*
deus dras espuser a une pene,
e si nus le iuggium.
Permittunt hoc decreta? Non;
set reclamat omnis canon
non esse coniugium.

H 12 Pannus primum circumcisus,
viduatus et diuisus
a sua pellicula,
iam expertus Iudaismum,
emundatur per baptismum
a quacumque macula.

H 13 Circumcisus mundatusque
est adeptus utriusque
legis testimonium.
Quem baptismus emundauit,
cum secunda secundauit
pelle matrimonium.

H 14 Pilis expers, usu fractus,
ex Esau Iacob factus,
quant li peil en est chaü,
inuersatur uice uersa,
rursus idem ex conuersa,
ex Iacob fit Esau.

H 15 Pars pilosa foris paret,
set introrsus pilis caret
vetustas abscondita.
Datur tamen, *k' il n' i eit perte,*
seruienti *pur deserte*
mantellus ypochrita.

Explicit.

L 19 De laneis hec dixisse,
sed utinam et fecisse,
ad presens sufficiat.
De sericis nunc dicendum,
non est *or mais* reticendum,
quas ex hiis efficiant.

L 20 Vt mantellus fit quinquennis,
nec uidetur iam sollempnis,
diem peremptorium
huic assignant, ut mactetur,
et mactatus transformetur
in coopertorium.

L 21 Quidam ita sunt antiqui:
bel aufeubler ont relenqui
in conspectu populi,
k' ilh translatent en coute pointe,
car de laine le coute funt pointe
risonis disci<puli>.

L 22 Scibilis est, scita nundum
quadratura hec secundum
uerba Aristotilis.
Modo tamen non est ita,
est a multis enim scita,
que tunc erat scibilis.

L 23 Formam quadrant mantellarem,
transformantes circularem
in modum quadranguli.
Gratulantur hec persone
inuenisse cum Brisone
quadraturam circuli.

19. 6 efficiant *Wollin*] efficiunt *L Bömer*

21. 6 risonis disci<puli> *Bömer*

22. 3 Aristotilis *Wollin*] Aristoteles *L Bömer*

23. 1 Formam *Wollin*] Formant *L Bömer* 4 Gratulantur *Wollin*] Gratulentur *L Bömer*

21. 6 risonis] bris. in elench. *glossa s.l. L*

22. 2 quadratura] s. circuli *glossa s.l. L* 3 Aristotilis] in libro predicamentorum *gloss. s.l. L* 5 scita] s. quadratura circuli *glossa s.l. L*

L 24 Item, quod est per se notum,
cottam uertunt in sorcotum
mutilatum primitus,
cum mantellos ex frequenti
et impulsu uehementi
perforauit cubitus.

L 25 Arte mira translatoris
transportatur in sororis
locum soror altera;
locus enim altercatur,
dum sinistra dexteratur,
sinistratur dextera.

L 26 Nunc dicendum de Herode,
que dicenda sunt de *code*:
Herodes „pellicium"
sonat, idem fit Pylatus,
circa pannos, circa latus
sortitus caluitium.

L 27 Fit Pilatus, sed Pylato
ab Herode mox sublato
generatur filia,
que *forëure* appellatur,
que sorcoto copulatur,
kar aguilh' et filh i a.

L 28 Intercedit parentela,
n' est pas loiaus hom ki tel a,
nam in gradu proximo
sunt affines contra iura,
celebratur hec iunctura
ritu nefandissimo.

L 29 Est sorcoti cotta mater,
forrature numquam pater
negatur pellicius.
Hec est uxor, hic maritus.
Ergo iuris imperitus
et uir legum nescius,

24. 4 mantellos *Wollin*] mantellas *L*, mantellus *Bömer*

27. 4 forëure *Wollin*] forture *L Bömer*

28. 2 n'est *Bömer* (nē = n'est)] ne *L*

L 30 Qui sorcotum forature
maritauit geniture.
Contra clamat regula:
inter tales numquam talis,
quia non est maritalis,
intercedat copula.

L 31 Hiis sorcotis clericorum
interdico prorsus chorum
propter hoc incommodum:
Non nascuntur, nisi patre
ceso siue cesa matre,
quod est contra synodum.

L 32 Pater primum detruncatur,
ut ex patre mox nascatur
filia maniciis.
Mater pannis decurtata
natam parit mutilata
utrobique brachiis.

L 33 De mantellis mandatum do,
ad incestas qui secundo
transierunt nuptias:
Reuertantur ad uxores,
aut mandati transgressores
non intrent ecclesias!

L 34 *Ie iuge par droit et par uoir,*
k' eglise ne doit reciuoir,
qui uiuis uxoribus
criminale comiserunt,
dum secundis adheserunt
relictis prioribus.

L 35 Vestes in se iam mechantur,
iam ad illas deriuantur
nostre carnis uitia:
Homo mechus, uestis mecha.
Quod hominis mens est ceca,
facit auaritia.

31. 4 nascuntur *Wollin*] nascantur *L Bömer*

33. 5 mandati *Wollin*] mandata *L Bömer*

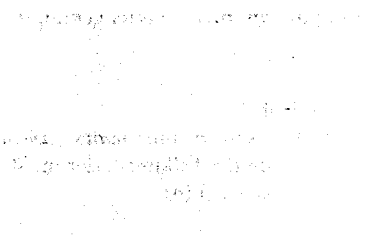
35. 5 quod *Wollin*] quia *L Bömer*

L 36 Vir dampnate quidem mentis,
qui de suis indumentis
format adulterium!
Si nec crimen perhorrescat,
saltem frequens erubescat
plebis improperium!

L 37 Semper noua constat esse,
ergo numquam est necesse
renouari uetera.
Cum hoc fiat per incestum,
nichil magis inhonestum
quam uestis adultera.

L 38 Hoc mandatum do personis:
uestimentis uti bonis
relictis ueteribus.
Ei dentur, qui pauper sit,
quia scriptum est: „Dispersit,
et dedit pauperibus."

L 39 Do decretum ad extrema,
quod sit diues anathema,
qui has uestes induit.
Quasi satus sit per Sathan,
sit illius pars cum Dathan,
quem tellus absorbuit.



36. 4 **perhorrescat** *Wollin*] perhorrescit *L Bömer*

Kommentar zu Hugo Primas (uersio L)

Das Motto enspricht wörtlich OV. *met.* 1, 1-3; diese berühmte Stelle wurde häufiger als Gedichtanfang gebraucht, vgl. LEHMANN, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Anm. 19) 155-157; WIC 9025-9032; PETR. BLES. *carm.* 1, 3, 1, 1-2.

1. 1 *Ps.* 81, 6 (zitiert in *Ioh.* 10, 34) *Ego dixi: Dii estis et filii Excelsi omnes.*
2 *in festis*: vermutlich zu Weihnachten bei einem der Bakelfeste, vgl. SPANKE (Anm. 38) 218 [263].
4 *dii*: einsilbig (s. u. Str. 7, 4 und 19, 6 *hiis*; zweisilbig in Str. 1, 1); zu dieser mittelalterlichen Schreibweise vgl. Ch. THUROT, *Extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge* (Paris 1869; Reprint Frankfurt a. M. 1964) 139-140.

2. 4 *post pusillum*: sc. *tempus*, bibl. häufig, z. B. *Marc.* 14, 70 etc.
5 *hec in illum*: sc. *cappa in mantellum.*
6 *sic mutantur corpora*: vgl. OV. *met.* 1, 1-2; s. o. Motto.

3. 1 *Antiquata*: „veraltet" (sc. *cappa*).
3 *sic in modum Protheos*: zur Wandelbarkeit des Proteus vgl. OTTO, *Die Sprichwörter* Nr. 1478 und den Kom. zu PETR. BLES. *carm.* 1, 8, 3b, 5-10. - Imitiert wird die Formulierung vom ARCHIPOETA *CB* 220, 12, 1 *Sic in modum Gorgonis formam transformauit.*
4/6 Vgl. die Sequenz *Laudes crucis attollamus* 5, 1-3 (vgl. Anm. 35) *Non sunt noua sacramenta, / nec recenter est inuenta / crucis hec religio.* GALTER. CASTEL. *carm.* O 9, 2, 1-4 *Baculare sacramentum, / si notetur serio, / nec recenter est inuentum, / nec sine mysterio.* ID. *carm.* W 12, 1, 1-3 *Baculare sacramentum / nec recenter est inuentum, / nec sine misterio.*

4. 2 *resutant*: abgeleitet von *sutare* (statt klass. *suere*) „flicken".
6 *fortunam Tyresie*: der Seher Tiresias wurde durch einen Schlag auf zwei sich paarende Schlangen zunächst in eine Frau verwandelt, durch einen erneuten Schlag wieder in einen Mann; genauso müssen auch die Kleidungsstücke eine Geschlechtsumwandlung erfahren, vom *mantellus* zur *cappa* und wieder zurück, vgl. OV. *met.* 3, 316-338; ARCHIPOETA *CB* 220, F 12, 3-4 *masculauit feminam, marem feminauit, / et uince<n>s Tiresiam sexum tertiauit.*

5. 6 *utriusque ueneris*: s. o. Kom. zu Str. 4, 6. OV. *met.* 3, 322-323 ... *Placuit quae sit sententia docti / quaerere Tiresiae: uenus huic erat utraque nota.* ALAN. INS. *Planct. Nat.* 8, 57-58 (über die Homosexualität) *Sic homo, Venere tiresiatus anomala, directam predicationem per compositionem inordinate conuertit.*

6. 2/3 „... haben die meisten schnell eine Kapuze an ihren Mantel geknüpft."
4/5 S. u. Kom. zu Str. 21, 6.
5 *rotondatur*: = *rotundatur.*

7. 3 *non uacant officio*: „bleiben nicht ohne Aufgabe".
4/6 Der Hugo Primas bildet hier spielerisch den Neologismus *manu - theca* (ähnlich *chirotheca* in *carm.* 7, 38; dort der Handschuh des Falkners), der m. W. nicht in den Wörterbüchern zu belegen ist; s. o. Kapitel 1.3 (4).

8. 2 „Engländer, Deutsche, Franzosen, Normannen".

9. 1 *hic*: sc. *mantellus.*
6 „... wird der Pelz beschnitten (d. h. abgetrennt)."

10. 1 *Apella*: nach HOR. *sat.* 1, 5, 100-101 (*Credat Iudaeus Apella, / non ego*) ist Apella der Jude schlechthin, so z. B. BALD. BVRG. *carm.* 127, 1; GALTER. CASTEL. *Iud.* 2, 20 (PL 209, 447); ID. *Alex.* 4, 179. Der Hugo Primas spielt hier mit der etymologischen Erklärung der Horazscholien (PS. ACRON zu *sat.* 1, 5, 100) *circumcisus Apella, qui praeputium non habet*; d. h. aus dem Mantel wird das Pelzfutter herausgetrennt, somit ist auch er „beschnitten". Vgl. EBERH. BETH. *grecism.* 8, 294 ... *probat hoc Iudeus Apella* ... Glosse: *apella* ... *quasi sine pelle, quia sunt prepuciati.* Als Adjektiv benutzt *apella* (= *sine membro uirile*) ANON. *Altercatio Ganimedis et Helene* 47, 1 und 48, 1.

2 „hier (*chi* = *ci*) liegt das Tuch und dort der Pelz". - *pel la*: Diese Sonderform des Reims wird als *uersus intercisus* bezeichnet, vgl. MEYER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* I (Anm. 26) 79 und NORBERG, *L'accentuation des mots* (Anm. 27) 54-60; vgl. auch die (teilweise französischen) Reime in Str. 11, 2; 12, 4; 27, 6; 28, 2; 33, 1; 38, 4.

4/5 *separata* ... *reparata*: sc. *pellis.*

6 *sorcotium*: von afrz. *sorcot* „Überkleid"; vgl. Str. 24, 2 etc. *sorcotum,* die Abweichung ist wohl durch Reimzwang bedingt.

12. 1/3 „Es widerspricht den Konzilsbeschlüssen und der Vernunft, wenn ein Futter (*penne*) zwei Tücher heiratet, denn dabei kommt es zum Ehebruch." Auffällig ist hier die Bezeichnung des Pelzfutters als *penne,* das eigentlich ein Stoffutter ist; möglicherweise steht das Wort hier aus Reimgründen, zudem wäre denkbar, dass die Bedeutung erweitert ist (allgemein „Futter") oder der Mantel zugleich ein Stoff- bzw. ein Daunenfutter und einen Pelzbesatz erhielt. - ... *e si nus le iuggium (H)*: „... und so beurteilen wir es".

5 *canon*: „Kirchengesetz".

13. 4 *Iudaismum*: „das Judentum", hier wohl im engeren Sinn „die Beschneidung".

5 *baptismum*: im doppelten Sinn die Taufe und die Wäsche des Mantels.

14. 2/3 *utriusque legis testimonium*: „das Zeugnis des Alten und des Neuen Testaments", d. h. Beschneidung und Taufe.

15. 3 „... wenn sich unsere Freunde bekleiden."

16. „Wenn er (der Mantel) aus grobem Stoff ist, dessen äußere Seite schon abgenutzt ist, lässt er (der Besitzer), wie mir scheint, einfach das Innere nach außen wenden. Das ist nämlich eine ziemlich einfache Veränderung, wenn man das Innere nach außen wendet, um den Stoff zweimal zu benutzen."

17. Vgl. ISID. *orig.* 7, 6, 33 *Esau trinomius est* ... *Dicitur enim Esau, id est rufus* ... *Edom autem ob ruborem corporis dictus est, quod Latine sanguineus dicitur. Seir uero, quod fuerit hispidus et pilosus; quando enim natus est, totus sicut pellis pilosus erat.* HVGO PRIMAS *carm.* 2, 22-23 *Conpatior certe, moueor pietate super te, / et facerem iussum, set Iacob, non Esau sum.* Zu anderen parodistischen Verwendungen der Beispielgestalten Jacob und Esau vgl. den Kom. zu PETR. BLES. *carm.* 1, 2, 2b, 6-7; ANON. *Bene ueneritis! Caretis socio* (WIC 2136) 61-62 *Capam subtilius notat et inspicit; / Esau dulcius quam Iacob respicit.* - *Esau*: dreisilbig.

3 „... wenn ihm alle Haare ausgegangen sind".

18. 4/5 „Schließlich wird der fadenscheinige Mantel, das ist eine klare Sache, dem Diener als Lohn für seine Dienste gegeben." - Die Fassung *H* bietet *k'il n'i eit perte*: „damit dabei nichts verloren geht".

19. 5 *or mais*: „jetzt / nunmehr".

20. 3 *diem peremptorium*: „den Todestag"; vgl. PETR. BLES. *carm.* 1, 5, 1, 11 und Kommentar.

21. 2 „ihr schönes Aussehen haben sie verloren".
3 *in conspectu populi*: eine biblische Formulierung, vgl. z. B. *Leu.* 20, 17; *I Reg.* 18, 13; *II Reg.* 3, 36 etc.
4/6 „... dass sie <sie> in Steppkissen (Steppdecken) verändern, denn mit Wolle füttern die Schüler Brysons das Kissen (Decke)."
6 *Brisonis*: der antike Philosoph Bryson hatte die Quadratur des Kreises versucht; dies führt Aristoteles in den *Categoriae* 7b und *De Sophisticis elenchis* 171b-172a (s. u. Str. 22, 3) als Beispiel an vgl. Ian MUELLER, *Aristotle and the Quadrature of the Circle,* in: *Infinity and Continuity in Ancient and Medieval Thought,* hrsg. Normann KRETZMANN (Ithaca/London 1982), 146-164; Klaus DÖRING, *s. v. Bryson,* in: *Der neue Pauly* 2 (1997) 807-808. Die Quadratur des Kreises erwähnen auch ALAN. INS. *Exceptiuam actionem* 6, 5-8 *In directum curuatura / circuli conuertitur, / speram claudit quadratura, / et sub ipsa clauditur.* GALTER. CASTEL. *carm.* O 12, 7; ID. *carm.* W 3, 14, 6 (= *Alex.* 3, 147); ID. *carm.* W 7a, 8, 3. STEPH. TORNAC. *carm.* 40, 3-4 [159-160] *et per theoremata resonat obscura, / qualiter e circulo fiat quadratura.*

22. Aristoteles unterscheidet in den *Categoriae* 7b zwischen dem „Wissbaren" (τὸ ἐπιστητὸν, *scibile*) und dem „Wissen" (ἡ ἐπιστήμη, *scientia*): das Wissbare existiert unabhängig vom Wissen, wie z. B. die Quadratur des Kreises wissbar ist, aber kein Wissen, da sie bislang niemand durchführen konnte. Die Stelle lautet in der Übersetzung des BOETH. *categ. 7b* (hrsg. Lorenzo MINIO-PALUELLO, *Aristoteles Latinus, I 1-5, Categoriae vel Praedicamenta* [Bruges / Paris 1961] 21) *Amplius scibile sublatum simul aufert scientiam, scientia uero non simul aufert scibile; nam, si scibile non sit, non est scientia, si scientia uero non sit, nihil prohibet esse scibile; ut circuli quadratura si est scibile, scientia quidem eius nondum est, illud uero scibile est.* Demnach bedeutet die Strophe: „Nach der Aussage des Aristoteles ist die Quadratur des Kreises zwar wissbar (*scibilis*), aber noch kein Wissen (d. h. 'gewusst' *scita*); doch heute hat sich die Lage verändert, viele wissen, was damals nur wissbar war."
1 *nundum*: = *nondum.*
3 *uerba Aristotilis*: gemeint sind die *Categoriae* 7b. - *Aristotilis*: ist die im Mittelalter häufig benutzte Schreibweise, hier wird sie zudem vom Reim verlangt, vgl. ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 5, 7, 1; GALTER. CASTEL. *carm.* W 1, F 16, 6 und durchgängig in den alten Hss. der *Alexandreis.*
5 *scita*: Glosse in *L*: *s. quadratura circuli.*

23. 1/2 *Formam mantellarem ... circularem*: = *Formam mantelli,* wohl aus Reimgründen.
4 *hec persone*: der hohe Klerus, s. u. Str. 38, 1 *Hoc mandatum do personis.*

24. 2 *sorcotum*: s. o. Kom. zu Str. 10, 6.
6 *cubitus*: zweideutiger Witz mit den Bedeutungen „Liegen" und „Beischlaf", vgl. James Noel ADAMS, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 177.

25. 1 *Arte mira*: vgl. ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 1, 8, 1 (und Kom.) *Arte mira ...*

26. 2 *de code*: „vom Rock" (*cote, cotta*).

3/4 *Herodes*: vgl. Matth. 2 etc.; die etymologische Erklärung bieten ISID. *orig.* 7, 10, 6 *Herodes pellicius, gloriosus.* HRABAN. *De uniuerso* (PL 111, 83 D) *Herodes interpretatur 'pellicius'.*

4/6 *Pylatus*: Wortspiel mit dem Namen *Pontius Pilatus* (*Matth.* 27) und dem Partizip *pilatus* „enthaart" (von *pilare*), „... derselbe (Herodes) wird Pilatus (enthaart), am Stoff und an der Seite kahl geworden".

27. 4 *forëure*: „Pelzbesatz" (*foratura*), s. u. Str. 29, 2; das auslautende e ist stumm, daher entsteht kein Hiat.

6 „... denn Nadel und Faden sind zur Hand."

28. 2 „... es ist kein rechtschaffener Mann, wer einen solchen (d. h. einen *sorcotum*) besitzt".

29. 3 *pellicius*: (sc. *pater*) „pelzig".

31. 2 *chorum*: „einen Platz im Chor", s. u. Str. 33, 6.

6 *contra synodum*: „gegen die Beschlüsse einer Synode".

32. 3 *maniciis*: *manicia* ist Nebenform zu *manica* „Ärmel, Handschuh", vgl. *Novum Glossarium* s.v. *manica.*

33. 1 *mandatum do*: ähnliche Reime benutzen MARBOD. *carm.* 26, 7 (PL 171, 1685 B-C) *pro cofino mundo de uiminibus pretium do.* ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 3, 21 *Vnde uerecundo uultu tibi uerba precum do.* GALTER. CASTEL. *Vita s. Brandani* 183 die Endreime *secundo / profundo / de fundo / precium do.* S. o. Kom. zu Str. 10, 2.

34. 1/2 „Ich bestimme nach Recht und Wahrheit, dass die Kirche diejenigen nicht aufnehmen darf, die ..."

35. 2/3 Vgl. GALTER. CASTEL. *carm.* W 4, 5, 3-4 *nam ab illis omnibus, - quid irem per singula? - / defluit in subditos uitiorum macula.* ID. *carm. Wilmart* 1, 5, 4-6 (über Adam und die Menschheit) *Patrem proles imitatur: / culpa patris diriuatur / in sequentes filios.* PETR. BLES. *carm.* 2, 1, 2a, 7-9 und Kom. Vgl. SCHÜPPERT, *Kirchenkritik in der lateinischen Lyrik* (Anm. 20) 47-48.

36. 6 *Ps.* 21, 7 *Ego autem sum uermis et non homo; opprobrium hominum et abiectio plebis.*

37. 1/3 *noua ... uetera*: sc. *uestimenta.*

38. 1 Vgl. ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 2, 53 *... et si ceto das mandatum, ... - personis*: s. o. Kom. zu Str. 23, 4.

5/6 *Ps.* 111, 9 (*II Cor.* 9, 9) *Dispersit, dedit pauperibus.*

39. 2 *anathema*: hier metonymisch der „Verfluchte"; vgl. *Deut.* 7, 26 (*Ios.* 6, 17; 7, 13) *... ne fias anathema. CB* 10, 38 *... qui nunc erat anathema.* ARCHIPOETA *CB* 220, 15, 4 *Omnes anathema sint, donec mutent mores!*

4/6 *Dathan*: Eine in der mittellateinischen wie auch in der altfranzösischen Literatur verbreitete Verwünschungsformel nach *Deut.* 11, 6 (*Num.* 16) *et Dathan atque Abiron, filiis Eliab, qui fuit filius Ruben: quos aperto ore suo terra absorbuit ...* Vgl. z. B. GALTER. CASTEL. *carm.* W 9, 12, 3-4; ID. *Vita s. Thome* 88, 2; im Altfranzösischen z. B. BENEDEIT *Voyage de saint Brendan,* hrsg. Edwin George Ross WATERS (Oxford 1928; Reprint Genf 1974) 199-200 *Les dous de vus avrat Satan / Od Abiron e od Dathan.* ANON. *Le Roman de Thèbes,* hrsg. Guy RAYNAUD DE LAGE, Bd. 1 (Paris 1968) 5075-5076 über Amphiaraus *terre le sorbist sanz ahan, / com fist Abyron et Dathan.* Weitere Beispiele in der in Anm. 20 genannten Literatur.

2. CB 220 - Die Kleidermetamorphose des Archipoeta

2.1. *Die Forschungslage*

Wie schon Wilhelm Meyer und Alois Bömer erkannten, steht das Gedicht *CB* 220 / 220a in enger inhaltlicher Beziehung zu der im ersten Teil des Aufsatzes edierten Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas. Angesichts der Unzulänglichkeit aller bisherigen Ausgaben müssen Überlieferung und Textgestalt des *Carmen Buranum* erneut dargestellt werden: Das Gedicht liegt in zwei stark voneinander abweichenden handschriftlichen Fassungen vor, die in den *Carmina Burana* (*Cb*)[48] und einer Florentiner Handschrift (*F*)[49] erhalten sind. Überaus misslich ist es nun, dass in der kritischen Ausgabe des dritten Bandes der *Carmina Burana* durch Bernhard Bischoff[50] die zwei Fassungen nicht nur nicht deutlich voneinander getrennt, sondern sogar zu einem Mischtext verschmolzen werden; die vier unveröffentlichten Einleitungsstrophen aus *F* finden nicht einmal im Apparat einen Platz[51]. Welche Kriterien Bischoff seiner Textgestaltung zu Grunde gelegt hat, wird nicht deutlich; doch kann man feststellen, dass er an den meisten Stellen der Fassung *F* den Vorzug gibt. Aus pragmatischen Gründen mache ich auch die von Wilhelm Meyer so unglücklich eingeführte Teilung des Gedichts rückgängig und bezeichne beide Teile im weiteren nur noch als *CB* 220; die Fassungen werden anhand der Siglen *Cb* oder *F* unterschieden und mit neuen fortlaufenden Strophennummern zitiert. Die Fassung *F* wird hier im

[48] WIC 17020 *Sepe de miseria mee paupertatis.* Die neuere Literatur verzeichnet Joseph SZÖVÉRFFY, *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms of the Middle Ages* II (Concord NH 1993) 364.

[49] WIC 8269 *Hoc in dialetica tandem constat esse.*

[50] Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Carmina Burana, I. Band: Text 3. Die Trink- und Spielerlieder - Die geistlichen Dramen* (Heidelberg 1970) 77-80; diesem Text folgen die zweisprachigen Ausgaben von Günter BERNT / Carl FISCHER, *Carmina Burana* (Zürich / München 1974) 642-647 und Kommentar 960-961; Günter BERNT, *Carmina Burana* (Stuttgart 1992) 272-279 und Kommentar 340-341. - Die Ausgaben von Johann Andreas SCHMELLER, *Carmina Burana* (Stuttgart 1847; Reprint Amsterdam 1966) 74 Nr. CXCIV und Benedikt Konrad VOLLMANN, *Carmina Burana* (Frankfurt am Main 1987) 686-693 und Kommentar 1249-1250 bieten nur die Fassung der Handschrift *Cb*.

[51] BISCHOFF, *Carmina Burana* I 3 (Anm. 50) 79 bemerkt dazu nur „... vorher 4 Strophen, beg.: Hoc in dialectica, end.: sic ad celos itur, davor die Beichte (CB 191), unter deren Hss. Fl trotz Flüchtigkeiten zu den besten zählt."

Zusammenhang ihrer Einleitungsstrophen und ihrer Fassungsvarianten überhaupt zum ersten Mal veröffentlicht. Des Weiteren wird die zuletzt von Bischoff[52] erwogene Autorschaft des Archipoeta im Vordergrund stehen müssen.

Die im Ganzen zuerst 1847 durch Johann Andreas Schmellers Ausgabe bekannt gewordene und seitdem zu Weltruhm gelangte Handschrift der *Carmina Burana (Cb)* überliefert im dritten Teil, den sogenannten „Trink- und Spielerliedern" (*CB* 187-226), zwischen *CB* 219 *Cum „In orbem uniuersum"*, dem weitverbreiteten Lied in Vagantenstrophen vom *ordo uagantum,* und *CB* 221 *„Cum animaduerterem" dicit Cato,* einem Stück in Reimprosa, als *CB* 220 *Sepe de miseria* ein Gedicht von 15 Vagantenstrophen, das mit einer großen Initiale und der Überschrift *Item* beginnt. Offensichtlich hatten Sammler und Schreiber keinen Zweifel an der Zusammengehörigkeit der 15 Strophen. Entgegen der Behauptung Bischoffs, die fünfte Strophe (*Nullus ita parcus est,* Beginn von *CB* 220a) sei „vielleicht bewußt abgehoben durch die auffällige mittelgroße Init. N", kann ich in der Faksimileausgabe[53] keinen bemerkenswerten Unterschied in der Größe der Initialen erkennen, schon gar keinen, der auf einen Neuansatz oder eine Teilung des Gedichts hinweisen würde. Durch den Vergleich mit den 1843 von Jacob Grimm veröffentlichten Gedichten des Archipoeta[54] erkannte man schon früh, dass die vier Einleitungsstrophen von *CB* 220 in einem anderen Kontext, in anderer Reihenfolge und mit geringfügigen Textabweichungen auch im *carm.* 4 des Archipoeta stehen. Das führte dann Wilhelm Meyer dazu, diese vier Einleitungsstrophen von dem Hauptteil des Gedichts (Str. 5-15, = *CB* 220a) zu trennen, und die Zusammenfügung einem Späteren, dem Dichter von *CB* 220a oder einem Sammler bzw. Kopisten, anzulasten[55]. Die Möglichkeit, dass der Autor dieselben Strophen oder Strophen-

[52] So eine mündliche Äußerung Bischoffs gegenüber Günter BERNT (*s.v. Archipoeta,* in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon* 1, ²1978, 423-430, hier 426); später schreibt BERNT, *Carmina Burana* (Anm. 50) 340: „Die Satire, die im Buranus mit Versen des Archipoeta verbunden ist, wäre dieses Dichters durchaus würdig".

[53] BISCHOFF, *Carmina Burana* I 3 (Anm. 50) 79; ID. (Hrsg.), *Carmina Burana. Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Clm 4660 und Clm 4660a* (Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften 9; Brooklyn NY / München 1967).

[54] Jacob GRIMM, *Gedichte des Mittelalters auf König Friedrich I den Staufer und aus seiner so wie der nächstfolgenden Zeit,* in: ID., *Kleinere Schriften* III (Berlin 1866) 1-102 [in Klammern die Seitenzahlen der Erstausgabe von 1843].

[55] MEYER, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas* (Anm. 16) 87.

gruppen in verschiedenen Werken benutzt haben könnte, hat Meyer in diesem Fall offenbar nicht einmal in Erwägung gezogen, obwohl er doch selbst in anderem Zusammenhang über die gemeinsamen Strophen in *carm.* 4 und *carm.* 10 des Archipoeta gehandelt hat[56], ohne dabei auch nur den geringsten Zweifel an einem Eingriff des Autors zu äußern.

In der Handschrift *F*, deren Lesarten für *CB* 220a erst seit Bischoffs Neuausgabe vollständig gedruckt zugänglich sind, wird eine weder durch Überschriften, Paragraphenzeichen oder größere Initialen gegliederte Abfolge von 126 Vagantenstrophen überliefert. Die Untersuchungen Karl Streckers haben allerdings Ordnung in diese scheinbar amorphe Masse bringen können[57]: Ein erster Teil (Str. 1-79) bietet nur Gedichte Walters von Châtillon (*carm.* W 5, *carm.* W 7a, *carm.* W 4, *carm.* W 7 / 6); ein zweiter Teil (Str. 80-126) enthält zunächst einen trotz mancher Flüchtigkeiten sehr guten Text der „Vagantenbeichte" des Archipoeta (*carm.* 10), dann *CB* 220 (15 Strophen mit dem Textanfang *Hoc in dialetica*), abschließend 7 Strophen aus dem häufig überlieferten Gedicht *Ad terrorem omnium* (WIC 465, 15780). Die 15 Strophen von *CB* 220 sind zwar nicht graphisch, aber doch inhaltlich deutlich nach vorn und hinten abgegrenzt. Hätte Meyer mit seiner Teilungshypothese von *CB* 220 Recht, dann wären auch hier in *F* vier, inhaltlich zusammengehörige und in sich abgeschlossene Strophen, die sich deutlich als *exordium* zu erkennen geben, genauso willkürlich mit dem selbständigen Hauptteil *CB* 220a verbunden worden wie die vier Strophen des Archipoeta in *Cb*. Unerklärt blieben bei dieser Annahme auch die zahlreichen Textvarianten von *CB* 220a, die sich nicht einfach als Schreibversehen deuten lassen und die für Bischoff die eklektische Textkonstitution äußerst schwierig und problematisch gemacht haben.

Macht man sich aber einmal von Meyers Teilungshypothese frei und betrachtet unvoreingenommen die tatsächlich überlieferten Texte, dann erscheint es weit plausibler, dass wir es nur mit *einem* Gedicht von 15 Strophen zu tun haben, das in zwei Gebrauchsfassungen, vermutlich sogar Autorfassungen[58] überliefert ist. Diese

[56] MEYER, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas* (Anm. 16) 170-172.

[57] STRECKER, *Walter von Châtillon und seine Schule* (Anm. 42) 107; ID., *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte* (Anm. 13) VI und 59-61.

[58] Zur Unterscheidung von Gebrauchs- und Autorvarianten vgl. BUMKE, *Die vier Fassungen der Nibelungenklage* (Anm. 5) 65-66.

Fassungen unterscheiden sich durch verschiedene Einleitungsstrophen (*exordium*) und durch Varianten innerhalb des gemeinsamen Texts.

Da die vier Einleitungsstrophen in *Cb* durch die Parallelüberlieferung als Werk des Archipoeta gesichert sind, möchte ich nun der Frage nachgehen, ob wir es hier mit Autorfassungen zu tun haben, ob also beide Fassungen von *CB* 220 dem Archipoeta zuwiesen werden dürfen. Diese Ansicht hat schon 1853 Wilhelm Giesebrecht mit Nachdruck vertreten und dabei alle wichtigen und bis heute gültigen Argumente genannt:

> „Aber eine andre Spur leitet nach unserer Meinung mit grösserer Sicherheit auf eine uns schon näher bekannte Persönlichkeit hin, nämlich auf den Dichter der Beichte. Denn nicht allein der ganze Ton des Gedichts führt auf diesen, sondern die vier ersten Verse des Liedes selbst sind geradezu einem diesem Sänger unbestritten angehörigen Gedichte entnommen, dem vierten nehmlich der Göttinger Handschrift. Dass solche Wiederholungen aber in der Weise jenes Archipoeta lagen, zeigt sich darin, dass er aus demselben vierten Liede mehrere andere Verse in seine Beichte wieder aufgenommen hat. Trug er kein Bedenken, sich in zwei Liedern zu wiederholen, die er beide demselben Manne, dem Erzbischof Reinald, weihte, wie viel weniger wird er es beanstandet haben, wenn er vor einem andern Kreise, der sein früheres Gedicht kaum kennen mochte, das in Rede stehende Lied sang. Schwerlich sind ihm diese Verse von einem armseligen Nachbeter, der sich mit fremden Federn schmückte, entwendet worden; dann müsste das Gedicht im weiteren Verlaufe merklich erlahmen, während es doch durchweg den Stempel desselben und zwar seines Geistes zu tragen scheint. So wird es mindestens sehr wahrscheinlich, dass das Lied dem Dichter der Beichte angehört, und dann wäre die nothwendige Folge, dass dieser, wie auch schon Grimm vermuthete, den Namen Walther geführt habe."[59]

Allerdings hielt Giesebrecht den in Str. Cb 14, 1 als Urheber des Manteldekrets genannten *Galtherus subprior* im Anschluss an Jacob Grimm nicht nur für den Verfasser von *CB* 220 (s. u. 2.4), sondern auch vieler anderer Gedichte, in deren Text oder deren Zusammenhang der Name Walter auftaucht. Die unglückliche Verwirrung um diesen Galtherus, der später zugleich als Primas, als Archipoeta, als Walter von Châtillon und als Verfasser eines Groß-

[59] Wilhelm GIESEBRECHT, *Die Vaganten oder Goliarden und ihre Lieder*, in *Allgemeine Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur* (1853) 10-43, 344-381 hier 373.

teils der *Carmina Burana* herhalten musste, wurde schließlich durch Rudolf Peiper beendet, der den Archipoeta und Walter von Châtillon als zwei Persönlichkeiten voneinander trennte. Auch Peiper sieht in *CB* 220 ein Gedicht des Archipoeta, doch bezweifelt er, dass der *Galtherus subprior* als Verfasser von *CB* 220 zu gelten habe (doch s. u. 2.4.):

> „Mehrere strophen ... des vierten liedes der Göttinger hds. (Archicancellarie uir discrete mentis) finden sich wieder im Carmen buranum n. CXCIV p. 74 ohne dass der verfasser des letzteren wie Giesebrecht p. 373 gezeigt hat, für einen plagiator gelten darf: denn auch dieses lied ist eigenthum des Archipoeta. Und so wird sich noch ein und das andre auf eben diesen dichter zurückführen lassen. Willkürlich aber ist es, wenn Grimm p. 180 und Giesebrecht p. 360 danach dem verfasser den namen Galterus beilegen auf grund der verse:
>
> Hoc Galtherus subprior iubet in decretis,
> ne mantellos ueteres [uos] refarinetis
> renouari prohibens calce uel in cretis:
> hoc decretum uacat iam, sicut uos uidetis.
>
> Es mag ein subprior des namens seinen mönchen irgend welche decreta gegeben haben, oder er mag über die Decretalen geschrieben haben, auf den dichter bezieht sich das nicht."[60]

Diese schon von Giesebrecht überzeugend dargelegte Zuschreibung von *CB* 220 an den Archipoeta kann durch weitere Argumente gestützt werden, die ich im folgenden ausführlicher darstellen werde: (1) durch allgemeine Überlegungen zur Mutabilität mittelalterlicher Liedtexte, die so zwar schon von den Schwesterphilologien seit langem angestellt worden sind, die aber für die mittellateinische Dichtung bisher kaum fruchtbar gemacht worden sind; (2) durch eine vergleichende Interpretation der beiden Fassungen *F* und *Cb*, in der mögliche Beweggründe für die Bearbeitung aufgezeigt werden sollen; (3) durch einen Vergleich von *CB* 220 mit der Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas und (4) durch einen stilistischen Vergleich von *CB* 220 mit den authentischen Werken des Archipoeta.

[60] Rudolf PEIPER, *Walter von Châtillon* (Festschrift für das Evangelische Gymnasium zu Breig; Breslau 1869) 2.

2.2. *Der Aufbau von CB 220*

Zur Orientierung sei zunächst eine Übersicht über Aufbau und Inhalt von *CB* 220 vorausgeschickt[61]. Das Gedicht richtet sich anlässlich des Weihnachtsfestes (Str. 5, 1 *ad natale*) an hoch gestellte Kleriker und Prälaten. In satirischer Form und unter ständigem Rückgriff auf Ovid und die Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas beschreibt der Verfasser im Hauptteil (Str. 6-15), wie die Geizhälse ihre alten Kleider umarbeiten lassen, statt sie an bedürftige Kleriker zu verschenken. Da sie damit gegen das in Reims erlassene Manteldekret des Primas (des *Galtherus subprior* in *Cb*) verstoßen, fallen sie der Exkommunikation anheim, solange bis sie ihr Verhalten ändern und ihre alten Kleider verschenken. Die Parodie der Exkommunikation[62], der stärksten und gefürchtetsten Kirchenstrafe, dient wie schon beim Hugo Primas als Einkleidung einer indirekten, aber gleichwohl unbescheidenen Aufforderung an den hohen Klerus, zu Weihnachten warme Kleider, im Besonderen Mäntel zu verschenken.

F 1-4 *exordium (F)*: Der Satz des Widerspruchs besagt, dass zwei kontradiktorische Aussagen nicht zur gleichen Zeit wahr sein können (1). Man kann nicht immer ernst sein, deshalb will ich der Weisheit des Volks folgen und Ernst und Scherz vermischen (2). Die angesprochenen Gegensätze sind der Geizige und der Freigebige; jener ist verhasst, dieser beliebt und berühmt (3). Durch die Tugend der Freigebigkeit erreicht man die Sterne (4).

Cb 1-4 *exordium (Cb)*: In meiner Armut wende ich mich an gelehrte Männer, weil die Laien die Dichter nicht zu würdigen wissen und ihnen auch keine Geschenke geben (1). Ich bin arm, aber ohne eigene Schuld (2). Als Dichter eigne ich mich nicht zum Bauern oder zum Ritter (3), ich kann weder betteln noch stehlen. Was soll ich gegen meine Armut tun?

5-6 *narratio*: Das Thema des Gedichts sind die Geizhälse, die ihre alten Kleider nicht an bedürftige Kleriker verschenken, sondern umarbeiten lassen.

7-9 *exemplum* (1): Ich habe schon Reiche (Ritter *Cb*) gesehen, die Mäntel trugen, die noch aus der Zeit des Odysseus stammten

[61] Vgl. dazu auch BÖMER, *Eine Vagantenliedersammlung* (Anm. 17) 179-180; POLHEIM, *Der Mantel* (Anm. 18) 54.

[62] Vgl. dazu die oben in Anm. 20 genannte Literatur.

(7). Statt die Mäntel zu verschenken, lassen sie Farbe und Form verändern: grün wird zu rot, der Stoff wird gewendet (8-9).

10-13 *exemplum* (2): Ich habe schon einen bestimmten Kleriker (Reiche *Cb*) gesehen, der die Verwandlungen des Mantels noch zu steigern wusste: der Mantel wird zur Kappe, die Kappe zum Mantel, die Frau zum Mann, der Mann zur Frau, ja sogar zum Neutrum, der Mantel zum Rock, der Rock zu Schuhen (10-13). Damit übertreffen sie die Metamorphosen der Gorgo und des Tiresias (12).

14-15 *conclusio*: Das Manteldekret, das der Primas zu Reims (der *Galtherus subprior* (*Cb*) erlassen hat, findet keine Beachtung, noch immer werden die alten Mäntel umgearbeitet (14). Deshalb exkommunizieren wir alle Geizhälse; sie seien verflucht, bis sie ihr Verhalten ändern (15).

2.3. *Der Vergleich der Textfassungen F und Cb*

Der Archipoeta selbst berichtet uns von dem immer währenden Feilen des Dichters an seinen Werken:

Que semel emittitur, nescit uox reuerti.
Scripta sua corrigunt eciam diserti;
uersus uolunt corrigi denuoque uerti,
ne risum segnicies pariat inerti. (*carm.* 4, 9)

Leider hat man in dieser Stelle nur allzu schnell das topische Horazzitat gesehen (*ars* 390 *nescit uox missa reuerti*; vgl. auch *ars* 438-441) gesehen und die Interpretation auf eine Durcharbeitung der Schriften *vor* der „Publikation" eingeengt. Eine solche Beschränkung legt der Text selbst aber nicht nahe. Es gibt keinen Grund, hier nicht auch an die Überarbeitung bereits vorgetragener Gedichte zu denken. Gerade dafür bietet die Überlieferung der Gedichte des Archipoeta eine Reihe von Beispielen: sechs Strophen aus dem *carm.* 4 wurden in *carm.* 10 übernommen; *carm.* 9, der „Kaiserhymnus", ist in zwei Fassungen überliefert, die man nicht einfach als Umarbeitung eines Schreibers oder „Pseudisten" abtun kann[63]; *carm.* 10 existiert, abgesehen von vielfachen Verkürzungen,

[63] So für mich überzeugend Paul KLOPSCH, *Zum Kaiserhymnus des Archipoeta*, in: *Euphorion* 54 (1960) 312-319. - Der auf Drängen Karl LANGOSCHs herbeigeführte Widerruf erklärt wieder alles mit der Tätigkeit von „Pseudisten", vgl. Paul KLOPSCH, *Zu Kaiserhymnus und Beichte des Archipoeta*, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 4 (1967) 161-166.

in mindestens zwei Fassungen, von denen auch die, bisher allgemein als sekundär angesehene, „englische Handschriftenfamilie" sicherlich noch aus dem 12. Jahrhundert stammt[64]. Doppel- oder Autorfassungen sind also selbst in der schmalen Überlieferung des Archipoeta noch zu erkennen.

In unserem Fall deutet alles darauf hin, dass der Archipoeta zu zwei Gelegenheiten, wahrscheinlich am Weihnachtsfest, vor einem unterschiedlich zusammengesetzten Publikum seine Kleidermetamorphose vorgetragen hat. Er versah den Hauptteil des Gedichts (Str. 5-15) mit einer jeweils der Situation angepassten Einleitung (Str. 1-4). Das *exordium F* scheint nur für *CB* 220 konzipiert zu sein; das *exordium Cb* benutzt Strophen, die der Archipoeta entweder schon vorher für das *carm.* 4 verfasst hatte, oder die er später aus der Kleidermetamorphose in jenes übernehmen sollte (s. u. 2.6.). Die veränderte Aufführungssituation hat aber auch zu Änderungen im Wortlaut des Gedichts geführt.

(1) Mit den unterschiedlichen Einleitungen verändert sich auch die Art, die Kommunikation mit dem Publikum herzustellen. In beiden Fällen wird versucht, die Gunst und die Anteilnahme des Publikums zu gewinnen, doch mit unterschiedlichen Mitteln. *F* beginnt mit einem Lob der Freigebigkeit: der Freigebige erweist sich wie der hl. Martin von Tours als rechter *summus Dei miles* und des Himmelreichs würdig, ganz im Gegensatz zu dem Geizigen. Hier wird den Adressaten schon gleich zu Anfang die Möglichkeit geboten, sich selbst der Gruppe der Freigebigen zuzurechnen; damit stehen sie auch im Weiteren auf der Seite des Dichters, wenn im Hauptteil die Geizhälse kritisiert werden, und können schließlich ihre Tugend in die Tat umsetzen, indem sie den Dichter reich belohnen. In *Cb* hingegen scheint der Dichter sich zunächst gegen den Vorwurf zu verteidigen, er habe seine Armut selbst verschuldet. Dadurch erklären sich die Hinweise auf seine gelehrte Bildung, durch die er genauso wie die Adressaten zu den *litterati* gehört, auf seine schuldlose Armut, auf seine ritterbürtige Abstammung und schließlich erneut auf seinen Stand als Kleriker und Dichter. All diese Gründe verwehren es dem Dichter zum Bettler zu werden. Mit dieser Argumentation stellt der Archipoeta aber auch seine Würdigkeit Geschenke zu empfangen heraus, denn nach der zeitgenössischen Auffassung hatte der Freigebige die Würdigkeit des

[64] Vgl. KLOPSCH, *Zu Kaiserhymnus und Beichte des Archipoeta* (Anm. 63) BISCHOFF, *Carmina Burana* I 3 (Anm. 50) 13-14.

Beschenkten zu prüfen, gemäß der vielzitierten Vorschrift der *Disticha Catonis* (*prol.* 17) *Cui des uideto*. Das heißt, dass der hohe Klerus für die Armen, aber auch für den niederen Klerus zu sorgen hatte; ausgeschlossen waren hingegen die fahrenden Spielleute, denen die Theologie durch den Ausschluss von der Eucharistie auch die Würdigkeit entzogen hatte[65]. Umsomehr waren die Kleriker über die Hochachtung und die reichen Geschenke erbost, die viele Bischöfe und Fürsten gerade diesen geschätzten Unterhaltungskünstlern zukommen ließen[66]. Seinen Unmut über diese Bevorzugung äußert der Archipoeta in den Strophen, die in seinem *carm.* 4 unmittelbar auf die Einleitungsstrophen von *CB* 220 folgen:

Doleo, cum uideo leccatores multos
penitus inutiles, penitusque stultos,
nulla prorsus animi racione fultos,
sericis et uariis indumentis cultos.

Vellem, soli milites eis ista darent,
et de nobis presules nostri cogitarent,
non leonum spoliis asinos ornarent,
sed dum querunt gloriam, pietate carent.

Eia nunc, pontifices pietatis mire,
cum poeta soleat foris esurire,
mimi solent cameras uestras introire,
qui nil sciunt facere preter insanire. (*carm.* 4, 22-24 [23-25])

Hier ist es also dem Autor darum zu tun, die Zugehörigkeit des Dichters zur Gemeinschaft der gebildeten Kleriker zu betonen und sich von der verachteten und zugleich beneideten Gruppe der

[65] Zur sozialen Randstellung der Spielleute vgl. Antonie SCHREIER-HORNUNG, *Spielleute, Fahrende, Außenseiter. Künstler der mittelalterlichen Welt* (GAG 398; Göppingen 1981); Wolfgang HARTUNG, *Die Spielleute. Eine Randgruppe in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters* (Wiesbaden 1982); Friedrich SCHEELE, *Spilleute ... die sint alle rechtlos. Zur rechtlichen und sozialen Stellung des Spielmanns in Text und Bild des Sachsenspiegels*, in: Ruth SCHMIDT-WIEGAND / Dagmar HÜPPER (Hrsg.), *Der Sachsenspiegel als Buch* (Frankfurt 1991) 315-357; Ernst SCHUBERT, *Fahrendes Volk im Mittelalter* (Bielefeld²1999).

[66] Einen guten Eindruck von den vielfältigen Unterhaltungskünsten der Spielleute erhalten wir aus den Rechnungsbüchern des Passauer Bischofs Wolfger von Erla, vgl. Hedwig HEGER, *Das Lebenszeugnis Walthers von der Vogelweide* (Wien 1970). Zur Kritik der Kleriker an den Spielleuten vgl. ib. 203-246 und WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (Anm. 32) 334 im Kommentar zu Peter von Blois, *carm.* 2, 2, 5, 7.

Spielleute abzugrenzen, in der Hoffnung dadurch die Adressaten auf seine Seite zu ziehen.

(2) Die Bezeichnung der getadelten Personengruppen wird vom Autor leicht verändert: die Fassung *F* spricht von *diuites* und einem besonderen *clericus fame satis clare*, während *Cb* nur allgemein *milites* und *diuites* nennt. Das geschieht sicherlich nicht ohne Absicht, sondern in Übereinstimmung mit dem gedanklichen Tenor der Einleitung, doch reichen unsere spärlichen Informationen über Publikum und Aufführungssituation nicht aus, um darüber Genaueres sagen zu können. Vielleicht liegt hier eine Übereinstimmung mit der soeben aus *carm.* 4 zitierten Stelle vor, die die Sorge für die *leccatores* dem Adel, den *milites,* anheim stellt, dem hohen Klerus hingegen die Sorge für die Latein schreibenden *poetae.*

(3) Auch der Hinweis auf den Urheber des „Manteldekrets" ist dem Kenntnishorizont des Publikums bzw. der aktuellen Situation angepasst, in *F* der *Primas in Remensibus,* in *Cb* der *Galtherus subprior* (s. u. Kap. 2.4.).

(4) Schließlich hat auch der erneute Gebrauch der vermutlich älteren Fassung *F* die Möglichkeit geboten, einige Stellen stilistisch zu verbessern, z. B. noch einen weiteren witzigen Neologismus anzubringen (Str. Cb 15, 2 *repalliatores*).

Im Gegensatz dazu würde ein Erklärungsversuch, der einen späteren Bearbeiter oder Schreiberwillkür annimmt, eine Vielzahl nur schwer zu beantwortender Fragen aufwerfen. Ist der Verfasser des Hauptteils (Str. 5-15), bzw. der Einleitung in *F Hoc in dialetica* nicht der Archipoeta, warum hat dann dieser Autor bei einer späteren Überarbeitung die ursprüngliche Einleitung *F* fortgelassen und durch eine neue, aus fremden Material zusammengestellte ersetzt? Die inhaltlichen Unterschiede der beiden Einleitungen sind sehr feiner Natur und für ein Bittgedicht wären beide allemal passend. Woher hatte dieser Bearbeiter überhaupt Zugang zu dem *carm.* 4 des Archipoeta, das, da es uns allein im Göttinger cod. philol. 170 überliefert ist, vermutlich auch im 12. Jahrhundert nur in sehr wenigen Kopien existierte? Natürlich müssen wir bei so häufig abgeschriebenen und veränderten Gedichten wie der „Vagantenbeichte" des Archipoeta (*carm.* 10 = *CB* 191; einschließlich der Einzelstrophen in 37 Hss.), der „Apokalypse des Golias" (WIC 91 *A tauro torrida lampade Cynthii,* über 68 Hss.) oder *De coniuge non ducenda* (WIC 18302 *Sit Deo gloria laus benedictio,*

über 55 Hss.)[67] immer mit Anpassungen Späterer oder sogar Schreiberbearbeitungen rechnen. Dagegen handelt es sich bei *CB* 220 um ein nur in zwei Handschriften ‚überliefertes Werk, wodurch sich die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Bearbeitung durch einen Dritten beträchtlich reduziert. Warum sollte sich der hypothetische Bearbeiter, wenn er durch die Übernahme fremder Strophen Zeit und Mühe sparen wollte, sich dann wiederum die Muße genommen haben, die Archipoeta-Strophen umzustellen und stilistisch zu bearbeiten, ja sogar die Anspielungen unter Rückgriff auf die Bibel zu verdeutlichen? Oder wenn nun der hypothetische Bearbeiter gleichzeitig der Verfasser von *CB* 220 F ist, warum sollte dieser sprachgewandte Autor nicht in der Lage gewesen sein, in kurzer Zeit selbst eine neue Einleitung für sein Gedicht zu verfassen? Schließlich welchen Grund sollte ein Schreiber gehabt haben, nachträglich beim Kopieren einen Text zu verändern, der ursprünglich nur für eine bestimmte Aufführungssituation und den mündlichen Vortrag geschaffen worden war? Wer hätte seine schriftlichen Veränderungen würdigen sollen? Es bleibt also festzuhalten, dass sich der Annahme Giesebrechts, der Archipoeta sei der Verfasser von *CB* 220 Fassung *Cb*, keine vernünftige Alternative gegenüberstellen lässt, die die Entstehung der handschriftlichen Überlieferung besser erklären könnte. Es hat also der Autor der Einleitung in *Cb* beide Fassungen von *CB* 220 geschrieben, nämlich der Archipoeta.

2.4. *Vergleich von CB 220 mit der Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas*

Dass *CB* 220 auf die Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas Bezug nimmt, ergibt sich zweifellos aus mehreren Beobachtungen. *CB* 220 verweist in Strophe F 14, 1 *(Primas in Remensibus iusserat decretis)* namentlich auf ein Dekret (sicherlich in Gedichtform) des (Hugo) Primas. Da ich oben gezeigt habe (Kap. 1.3.), dass sich eine Anzahl, meist formaler und stilistischer Gründe für eine überzeugende Zuschreibung der Kleidermetamorphose *In noua fert animus* an den Hugo Primas anführen lässt (Kap. 1.3.), halte ich die Nennung des Primas in der Fassung *F* für zuverlässiger und damit auch für ursprünglicher als die Verfasserangabe in Cb 14, 1 *Hoc*

[67] Zur Überlieferung vgl. Arthur George RIGG (Hrsg.), *Gawain on Marriage* (Studies and Texts 79; Toronto 1986).

Galtherus subprior iubet in decretis. In dieser Ansicht bestätigen mich folgende Überlegungen:

Ist Meyers Zuschreibung der Kleidermetamorphose an den Hugo Primas zutreffend, dann erweist sich auch die Aussage der Fassung *F* als sachlich korrekt, d. h. es war tatsächlich der Hugo Primas, der zu Reims sein Manteldekret vortrug. Dieser Hinweis auf den Primas in Reims muss für das Publikum der Fassung *F* aber auch verständlich und sinnvoll gewesen sein, d. h. die meisten oder jedenfalls die einflussreichen und gebildeten Zuhörer müssen den Primas, den berühmten Dichterfürsten der französischen Schulen, zumindest vom Hörensagen her gekannt haben. Der *Galtherus subprior* der Fassung *Cb* hingegen scheint auf ein anderes Publikum gemünzt zu sein. Entweder konnte eine allgemeine Bekanntheit des Primas nicht wie in der Fassung *F* vorausgesetzt werden, oder es gab persönliche Gründe des Autors, gerade dem *Galtherus subprior* die Abfassung dieses ehrenvollen Dekrets zuzuschreiben: sei es, dass Galtherus dem Publikum in besonderer Weise bekannt oder sogar anwesend war, worauf das Präsens *iubet* hindeutet, sei es, dass es sich um einen Freund oder Gönner des Verfassers handelte, dem er auf diese Weise huldigen wollte. Hieraus ergibt sich ein weiterer Ansatz zur Bestimmung der Priorität der Fassungen: Mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit stellt der sachlich richtige Hinweis auf den Hugo Primas und sein Reimser Gedicht in *F* die ursprüngliche Fassung dar, die dann später in *Cb* für eine erneute Aufführung vor einem anderen Publikum geändert wurde. Somit wären die beiden Fassungen in der zeitlichen Reihenfolge $F \rightarrow Cb$ entstanden.

Für die eben dargestellten Annahmen reicht es aus, mit Rudolf Peiper in den *decreta* des Galtherus die (mündliche) Aufforderung des Subpriors zu sehen, gebrauchte Kleider an den niederen Klerus zu verschenken. Sollten diese *decreta* in der Fassung *Cb* jedoch ein vorausgegangenes Gedicht bezeichnen, dann wäre vermutlich Galtherus dessen Verfasser. Ein solches Gedicht könnte uns nun aber tatsächlich in der Fassung *F* erhalten sein, einem Gedicht, das der Autor der Fassung *Cb* vor einem ähnlich zusammengesetzten Publikum schon früher einmal oder mehrmals vorgetragen hat *(Hoc Galtherus subprior iubet in decretis ... prohibens ...).* Da die Forderung aber immer noch auf ihre Erfüllung wartet *(Hoc decretum uacat iam, sicut uos uidetis),* erneuert der Dichter jetzt zum Weihnachtsfest seine *decreta,* d. h. das schon einmal vorgetragene Gedicht, und nennt sich bei dieser Gelegenheit selbst mit Namen.

Wie oben erwähnt (Kap. 2.1.), haben schon Grimm und Giesebrecht den *Galtherus subprior* als Verfasser von *CB* 220 angesehen, doch gingen beide weit darüber hinaus und identifizierten den *Galtherus subprior* zudem noch mit *Galterus de Insula* (Walter von Châtillon)[68]. Peipers säuberliche Trennung der beiden Persönlichkeiten hat viel Klarheit gebracht[69], hat aber leider auch den Namen Galtherus aus der Archipoeta-Forschung verschwinden lassen. Daher nennen die modernen Herausgeber des Archipoeta, Max Manitius, Heinrich Watenphul und Heinrich Krefeld weder *CB* 220 noch den *Galtherus subprior* in ihren Ausgaben[70]. Sicherlich hat man den *Galtherus subprior* zu früh zur Seite gelegt, noch bevor alle Möglichkeiten durchdacht waren. Vielleicht bietet der Name Galtherus sogar einen weit erfolgreicheren Ausgangspunkt für die Identifizierung des Archipoeta als die jüngst vorgeschlagenen Kölner Scholaster Rudolf I und Rudolf II[71]. Doch wird man in dieser Frage eine Untersuchung des urkundlichen Materials abwarten müssen.

Um den *subprior Galtherus* tatsächlich als Verfasser von *CB* 220 benennen zu können, muss man allerdings noch überprüfen, ob der Archipoeta auch an anderen Stellen von sich selbst in der 3. Pers. Sing. spricht. Gewöhnlich formuliert der Archipoeta seine Aussagen in der 1. Pers. Sing., doch gibt es immerhin zwei Stellen, an denen der Verfasser sich selbst plötzlich in der 3. Pers. Sing. nennt, so als handle es sich um eine andere Person[72]. Es fällt auf, dass er sich dabei als *uates* oder *poeta* bezeichnet.

[68] GRIMM, *Gedichte des Mittelalters auf König Friedrich I den Staufer* (Anm. 54) 39-40 [180]; GIESEBRECHT, *Die Vaganten oder Goliarden und ihre Lieder* (Anm. 59) 360.

[69] PEIPER, *Walter von Châtillon* (Anm. 60) 2-10.

[70] Max MANITIUS, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta* (München 1913; ²1929); Heinrich WATENPHUL / Heinrich KREFELD, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta* (Heidelberg 1958). - Erst die zweisprachige Ausgabe von Heinrich KREFELD, *Der Archipoeta* (Schriften und Quellen der Alten Welt 41; Berlin 1992) 25 erwähnt Bischoffs Zuschreibung von *CB* 220.

[71] Rudolf SCHIEFFER, *Bleibt der Archipoeta anonym?* in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 98 (1990) 59-79; Johannes FRIED, *Der Archipoeta - ein Kölner Scholaster?* in: FS Harald Zimmermann (Sigmaringen 1991) 85-90; vgl. dazu die Vorbehalte von DRONKE, *Hugh Primas and the Archpoet* (Anm. 19) XX-XXII.

[72] Auch in den Selbstaussagen anderer zeitgenössischer Dichter stehen die 1. Pers. Sing. und 3. Pers. Sing. promiscue, vgl. z. B. Hugo Primas, *carm.* 1, 25-26; *carm.* 15, 5, 1-2; *carm.* 18, 9-10; *carm.* 21; *carm.* 23, 21-23; Serlo von Wilton,

Nomen uatis uel personam
manifeste non exponam;
sed quem fuga fecit Ionam,
per figuram satis bonam
Ione nomen ei ponam. (*carm.* 2, 17-21)

Dum sanctorum omnium colitur celebritas,
singuli colencium gerunt uestes inclitas,
archicancellarium uatem pulsat nuditas.

Poeta composuit racionem rithmicam,
† atyrus † imposuit melodiam musicam,
unde bene meruit mantellum et tunicam. (*carm.* 7, 10-

Im Licht dieser recht ähnlichen Stellen darf man durchaus annehmen, dass es sich beim Hinweis auf die *decreta* des *Galtherus subprior* um eine Selbstnennung des Autors von *CB* 220 handelt.

Von dem expliziten Hinweis auf das Manteldekret des Primas abgesehen, weist *CB* 220 noch weitere hypertextuelle[74] Anspielungen auf die Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas auf[75]:

(1) Es ähnelt sich die Aufführungssituation. Beide Gedichte sind für einen Festvortrag bestimmt; während der Hugo Primas in Str. 1, 2-3 nur unbestimmt von Festen spricht (*que dicenda sunt in festis, / quare pretermitterem*?), bezeichnet *CB* 220, 5, 1 mit *ad natale* sicherlich die Geburt Christi, das Weihnachtsfest.

(2) Auch *CB* 220 spielt auf den Anfang der *Metamorphosen* Ovids an, den der Hugo Primas seinem Gedicht als Motto voran-

carm. 2, 120; *carm.* 3, 18; *carm.* 13, 15-16; *carm.* 43; Matthäus von Vendôme, *ars uers.* 1, 57, 19-20; *epist.* 1 prol. 1-2; *Tobias* 9-10, 53-54, 2109-2110, 2143-2144; Walter von Châtillon, *carm.* W 1, F 37; *carm.* W 3, 8, 3-4; *carm.* W 17, 1; *carm.* W 18, 1; Chrétien de Troyes, *Philomena* 734; *Guillaume d'Angleterre* 1-10; *Érec* 9-18; *Cligès* 1-10; *Perceval* 7-15.

[73] Statt des korrupten † *atyrus* † schlägt Fidel Rädle jetzt mit guten Gründen vor, *amplius* zu lesen, vgl. Fidel RÄDLE, *Archipoeta - „obendrein" Komponist. Zur Crux in Carmen VII 11, 2 (Watenphul / Krefeld)*, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 29 (1994) 39-44. - In Str. 10, 3 *archicancellarium uatem* folge ich der Verbesserung Karl Langoschs.

[74] Zu dem innerhalb der kaum mehr zu übersehenden Intertextualitätsdebatte durchaus praktikablen Konzept der „Hypertextualität" vgl. Gérard GENETTE, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second dégré* (Paris 1982); dt. Übers. ID., *Palimpseste. Die Literatur auf zweiter Stufe* (Frankfurt am Main 1993).

[75] Vgl. hierzu BÖMER, *Eine Vagantenliedersammlung* (Anm. 17) 179-180 und POLHEIM, *Der Mantel* (Anm. 18) 54.

gestellt hatte. Die Stelle wird in Str. 9 aufgenommen, wobei sie sowohl syntaktisch als auch formal in den neuen Zusammenhang eingepasst ist:

Forma, cum in uarias formas si<n>t mutata
uestimenta diuitum uice uariata.
„In noua" fert animus dicere „mutata
uetera", uel pocius sint „inueterata!" (*CB* 220 Cb 9)

(3) Der Hugo Primas vergleicht (Str. L 4-5) die Verwandlung einer *cappa* in einen *mantellus*, analog zu den unterschiedlichen Genera der lateinischen Wörter mit der Geschlechtsumwandlung des antiken Sehers Tiresias. Dieser, so berichtet Ovid (*met.* 3, 316-338), wurde durch den Schlag mit einem Stock auf zwei sich paarende Schlangen zuerst vom Mann zur Frau, später nach einem erneuten Schlag wieder zu einem Mann verwandelt; dadurch erlangte er die Möglichkeit, das sexuelle Empfinden beider Geschlechter zu erleben und zu vergleichen. Der Verfasser von *CB* 220 erhöht die Zahl der Kleiderverwandlungen entsprechend den grammatischen Genera auf drei. In Überbietung Ovids und des Hugo Primas wird bei ihm das Kleidungsstück nunmehr drei Verwandlungen unterzogen:

et uincens Tiresiam sexum tertiauit. (*CB* 220 F 12, 4)

Der Scherz mit der Geschlechtsänderung in *CB* 220 ist ohne Rückgriff auf das Gedicht des Hugo Primas kaum zu verstehen. Daher erweisen die verkürzende Anspielung und die absichtliche Überbietung *CB* 220 wiederum deutlich als das spätere Werk.

(4) Der Hugo Primas spielt mit der Umdeutung schon existierender Verben und der Bildung von Neologismen. So benutzt er für das Entfernen der *colla* vom Mantel das Verb *decollare* (L 3, 1; L 15, 5). Der Witz entsteht aus dem Widerspruch der neuen Bedeutung „den Kragen, bzw. die Kappe abtrennen" zu der sonst gebräuchlichen „enthaupten". An anderer Stelle (L 3, 2) leitet er von *mantellus* den Neologismus *mantellare* ab „zum Mantel machen" ab[76]. In *CB* 220 werden nun diese Wortspiele in vielfälti-

[76] Man findet beim Hugo Primas noch *resutare* (L 4, 2; konjiziert aus *refutant*), *bigamare* (L 15, 2), *dexterare* (L 25, 5), *sinistrare* (L 25, 6); ansonsten benutzt er einige in der Dichtung seltene, aber z. T. schon klassisch belegte Verben: *decurtare* (L 32, 4), *disquadrare* (L 6, 4), *inuersare* (L 17, 4), *auadrare* (L 23, 1), *rotun-*

ger Weise überboten. Das Mittel dazu findet der Verfasser in der regelmäßigen Ableitung eines Verbs auf *-are* von einem Nomen[77]. Bemerkenswert sind folgende Neologismen, die zum größten Teil nicht in den Lexika zu belegen sind:

caligare	(Str. L 13, 4; „zu Stiefeln machen")
cappare	(10, 3; 13, 1)
feminare	(12, 3)
hermaphroditare	(12, 2)
masculare	(12, 3)[78]
palliare	(10, 4; 13, 2; hier von *pallium* abgeleitet)
recappare	(13, 3 *recappatum*)
tertiare	(12, 4)

Weiterhin werden mit dem Suffix *-tor* neue Nomina agentis gebildet, wobei nur *reciprocator* von einem klassisch belegten Verb *reciprocare* abgeleitet wird, während die beiden anderen Nomina auf die eben aufgeführten Neologismen *cappare* und *palliare* zurückgehen:

recappator	(F 15, 2; Cb 15, 1)
reciprocator	(15, 3)
repalliator	(Cb 15, 2)

Diese Beobachtungen lassen nur den einen sinnvollen Schluss zu, nämlich dass der Verfasser von *CB* 220 mit allen Mitteln versucht, die Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas nicht nur zu imitieren, sondern stilistisch und inhaltlich zu überbieten[79]. Auch

dare (L 6, 5). Auffällig ist auch das Adjektiv *mantellaris* (L 23, 1 *Formam ... mantellarem*).

[77] Das entspricht den Vorschriften des Matthäus von Vendôme in seiner *Ars uersificatoria* 2, 36-39. Vgl. auch Otto PRINZ, *Mittellateinische Wortneubildungen, ihre Entwicklungstendenzen und ihre Triebkräfte*, in: *Philologus* 122 (1978) 249-275; weitere Beispiele bieten Karl STRECKER, *Einführung ins Mittellatein* (Berlin 1928) 18 und Franco MUNARI (Hrsg.), *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera* II (Storia e letteratura 152; Rom 1982) 130 zu Matth. Vindoc. *epist.* 2, 5, 10. Seinen Höhepunkt erfährt dieser Kunstgriff wohl im *Planctus Nature* und im *Anticlaudianus* des Alanus de Insulis.

[78] Vgl. auch Wilhelm von Blois, *Alda* 401-402 *Sic sub ueste maris mulierem masculat illa, / et sub feminea feminat ipsa marem.*

[79] Zur Überbietung vgl. Ernst Robert CURTIUS, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Tübingen / Basel ^{11}1993) 171-174 und Arno REIFF, *Interpretatio, imitatio, aemulatio. Begriff und Vorstellung literarischer Abhängigkeit bei den Römern* (Diss. phil. Bonn 1959); zu Reiffs Darstellung ist die Rezension von Manfred FUHRMANN, *Gnomon* 33 (1961) 445-448 mit Gewinn hinzuzuziehen.

damit erweist sich *CB* 220 entgegen der Ansicht Bömers als das jüngere Gedicht. Das hier beschriebene aemulative Verhältnis zu den Werken des Hugo Primas lässt sich auch sonst beim Archipoeta feststellen, als Beispiel seien nur die romanischen Versformen und die auffälligen, aus der altfranzösischen Dichtung als „Laissen" bekannten Tiradenreime in *carm.* 2, der sogenannten „Jonas-Beichte", genannt. Das bisher bekannte Material, das auf eine Ausbildung des Archipoeta an den hohen Schulen Frankreichs hinweist, haben Karl Strecker und Peter Dronke zusammengestellt[80]. Dronke vermutet, der Archipoeta könne sich um 1150 als Schüler des Hugo Primas in Orléans aufgehalten haben, doch bleiben genaue Zeit- und Ortsangaben spekulativ. Genauso gut wäre es möglich, dass der Archipoeta zur gleichen Zeit Schüler des Hugo Primas in Reims, einer anderen Stadt Nordfrankreichs oder in Paris gewesen ist; besonders für Reims spräche die genaue Angabe *Primas in Remensibus.* Dronkes Interpretation als *aemulatio* wird dem Verhältnis des Archipoeta zu seinem vermutlichen Lehrer und Vorbild in viel größerem Maße gerecht, als die allzu simple biographische Identifikation beider Personen, wie sie Gustavo Vinay vorgeschlagen hat[81].

2.5. *Stilistische Kriterien für eine Zuschreibung von CB 220 an den Archipoeta*

Die Übereinstimmung der vier Einleitungsstrophen in *Cb* mit dem *carm.* 4 des Archipoeta bietet das äußere Kriterium für eine Zuschreibung von *CB* 220 an den Archipoeta. Jetzt stellt sich die Frage, ob zusätzlich auch innere Kriterien, d. h. stilistische Übereinstimmungen zwischen *CB* 220 und den authentischen Gedichten des Archipoeta nachweisbar sind. Seit der Veröffentlichung der Göttinger Gedichte durch Jacob Grimm hat man immer wieder versucht, in der anonym überlieferten mittellateinischen Dichtung noch unbekannte Werke des Archipoeta zu identifizieren, doch bislang ohne rechten Erfolg. Dies liegt vor allem daran, dass der Archipoeta nicht so häufig und nicht in dem

[80] Karl STRECKER, *Die zweite Beichte des Erzpoeten,* in: FS Hermann Degering (Leipzig 1926) 244-252, hier 249-252; Peter DRONKE, *The Archpoet and the Classics,* in: Peter GODMAN / Oswyn MURRAY (Hrsg.), *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford 1990) 57-72.

[81] Gustavo VINAY, *Ugo Primate e l'Archipoeta,* in: *Cultura Neolatina* 9 (1949) 5-40.

Umfang sprachliche Wendungen und Topoi wiederholt wie manche seiner Zeitgenossen, so dass den inneren, also den sprachlich-stilistischen Kriterien hier nicht die ausschlaggebende Bedeutung zukommt, die sie sonst oft besitzen. Auch der von Ernst Robert Curtius mit feinem Spürsinn herausgearbeitete Bestand an häufig verwendeten Topoi und Einzelwörtern ist zwar auf das schmale Textkorpus der zehn Gedichte gerechnet auffällig[82], bietet aber für weitere Attribuierungen keine ausreichend sichere Grundlage, da es sich in den meisten Fällen um auch sonst verbreitete Gedanken oder Wörter handelt, die nicht nur für den Archipoeta, sondern vielmehr für die Dichtung des Hochmittelalters insgesamt charakteristisch sind. Somit kommt den im folgenden angeführten „Parallelen" zwar für sich genommen nur wenig Beweiskraft zu[83], doch zeigen sie immerhin eine deutliche Übereinstimmung mit dem Stil und Sprachgebrauch des Archipoeta, dem kaum nennenswerte Besonderheiten gegenüberstehen.

(1) Mehrere Male findet sich in *CB* 220 ein Chiasmus über die Verszäsur hinweg, wobei mindestens ein Wort wiederholt wird:

sed dum inest alterum alterum abesse. (*CB* 220 F 1, 4)

C<um> hoc tritum sepius sepius refecit,
et refectum sepius sepius defecit ... (*CB* 220 F 11, 1-2)

Dem entsprechen in ähnlicher Weise beim Archipoeta

uerbum suum, suam imaginem (*carm.* 1, 5, 3)

Arte mira, miro consilio (*carm.* 1, 8, 1)

nam Deo dat, qui dat inopibus (*carm.* 1, 31, 3)

quantum sis largus, largo michi munere prodas. (*carm.* 6, 40)

Iam tiranno Siculo Siculi detrectant (*carm.* 9, 31 [32], 1)

Sicut exaltatus es, exaltare magis! (*carm.* 9, 33 [34], 2)

non est in tot turribus turris Alethie. (*carm.* 10, 9, 4)

[82] Ernst Robert CURTIUS, *Der Archipoeta und der Stil mittellateinischer Dichtung*, in: *Romanische Forschungen* 54 (1940) 105-164, hier 106-120 Kapitel 1. „Der Stil des Archipoeta".

[83] Vor dem „Zauberbann der Parallelen" warnt eindringlich Bertil AXELSON, *Ein drittes Werk des Firmicus Maternus?* in: ID., *Kleine Schriften zur lateinischen Philologie* (Lund 1987) 74-99, bes. 82; vgl. auch WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (Anm. 32) 69-73.

(2) Die beim Archipoeta beliebte Verwendung von *ratio* im Sinne von „Rede, Wort" (*carm.* 1, 41, 4; *carm.* 2, 15; *carm.* 4, 22 [23], 3; *carm.* 7, 11, 1 [?])[84] findet sich auch in *CB* 220:

nam si uulgi ratio pondus habet ueri (*CB* 220 F 2, 3)

Man vergleiche zur Formulierung *pondus ueri* auch:

redditurus ad pondus proprium (*carm.* 1, 14, 3)

(3) Das Adjektiv *mirus* gehört zu den vom Archipoeta häufiger benutzten Prädikaten:

cum haberent pallia uetustatis mire (*CB* 220 7, 3)
immo mirus artifex hermafroditauit (*CB* 220 12, 2)
Arte mira, miro consilio (*carm.* 1, 8, 1)
Eia nunc, pontifices pietatis mire (*carm.* 4, 24 [25], 1)

(4) Die Junkturen *fama clara* und *laudes clarae*[85]

huius nomen latitat, hic est fama clarus (*CB* 220 F 3, 3)
Vidi nuper clericum fame satis clare ... (*CB* 220 F 10, 1)
omnes extollunt te laudibus undique claris. (*carm.* 6, 32)
Electum Colonie claris dignum laudibus (*carm.* 7, 9, 1)

(5) Die *figura etymologica*:

uel cum a tinctoribus color coloratur (*CB* 220 8, 4)
morte bona morior, dulci nece necor (*carm.* 10, 6, 2)

(6) Die häufig benutzte, von Curtius[86] so genannte „*scire*-Formel":

hoc generalissimum bonum esse scitur (*CB* 220 F 4, 3)
scire licet quare, non qualiter. (*carm.* 1, 7, 4)

(7) Die Figur des *articulus*:

a lesura, maculis, notis et a dampnis
ignis, fumi, pulueris, uini, sed et amnis. (*CB* 220 F 6, 3-4)

[84] CURTIUS, *Der Archipoeta* (Anm. 82) 107.
[85] CURTIUS, *Der Archipoeta* (Anm. 82) 113.
[86] CURTIUS, *Der Archipoeta* (Anm. 82) 109-110.

Terreat nos ignis incendium,
fetor, fletus, et stridor dencium. (*carm.* , 18, 3-4)

soluas eum, quem honorat,
tremit, colit et adorat. (*carm.* 2, 50-51)

stultus ego, qui penes te
nummis, equis, uictu, ueste
dies omnes duxi feste (*carm.* 2, 78-80)

signo crucis muniens frontem, uultum, pectus (*carm.* 5, 1, 3)

(8) Bisher nicht zur Sprache gekommen sind zwei Kriterien, die auf den ersten Blick sogar gegen eine Zuweisung des Gedichts an den Archipoeta sprechen könnten. Heinrich Krefeld wies mich brieflich (30. Juli 1999) darauf hin, dass die Vielzahl von neugebildeten Verben und Nomina in *CB* 220 (z. B. *caligare, cappare, feminare, hermaphroditare, masculare, palliare, recappare, tertiare*; *recappator, reciprocator, repalliator*) sich in diesem Umfang im bisher bekannten Oeuvre des Archipoeta nicht nachweisen lassen. Mit Recht hat man schon immer auf die meisterliche Sprachbeherrschung des Dichters hingewiesen, der es nur selten nötig hat, auf ungewöhnliche Wortbildungen oder Konstruktionen zurückzugreifen; als vielgenannte Ausnahmen gelten das Adverb *nane* (*carm.* 4, 5, 2) oder der Vers *Esse probant inopes nos corpore cum reliquo pes* (*carm.* 3, 20), wobei im letzten Fall entweder constructio ad sensum oder metrischer Zwang *pes* = *pedes* vorliegt. Hierher gehören außerdem das kühne Adverb *Tulliane loqueris* (*carm.* 7, 5, 1) und das von *trutannus* abgeleitete Verb *trutannizare* (*carm.* 2, 83). Der Archipoeta scheut also durchaus nicht davor zurück, zur Erreichung eines witzigen Reims oder einer brillanten Formulierung die Grenzen des Normalen zu überschreiten.

In *CB* 220 sind alle Neubildungen deutlich durch den Wunsch veranlasst, das Vorbild, die Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas, inhaltlich und sprachlich zu übertreffen. Es handelt sich um einen stilistischen Kunstgriff, der nicht um seiner selbst willen gebraucht, sondern hier inhaltlich und formal der Absicht der *aemulatio* untergeordnet ist. Die Neubildungen sprechen also nicht gegen, sondern vielmehr für den Archipoeta, da sie sein aemulatives Verhältnis zu den Werken des Hugo Primas bestätigen, das sich auch sonst nachweisen lässt (s. o. 2.4.).

(9) Als bemerkenswertes formales Kriterium der Gedichte des Archipoeta gilt der äußerst seltene Tonwechsel (Taktwechsel) im

fallenden Sechssilber (6), d. h. dem zweiten Halbvers der Vagantenzeile (7' + 6). Wilhelm Meyer glaubte anfangs, der Archipoeta habe den Tw in 6 mit einer Ausnahme gänzlich vermieden, während seine Zeitgenossen wie Walter von Châtillon oder der anonyme Verfasser von *CB* 92 den Tw in etwa 10 % der Zeilen zulassen. Bei der Revision seiner Ausführungen für die „Gesammelten Abhandlungen" musste Meyer jedoch insgesamt drei Stellen mit Tw in 6 einräumen[87]. Dag Norberg erklärt diese Fälle als mot métrique[88]. Das mot métrique kann man beim Archipoeta auch in den steigenden Siebensilbern (7') am Versanfang häufiger finden (so zähle ich 14 Fälle von mot métrique in 7' allein in *carm.* 4 [130 Zeilen]: Str. 1, 3 *áut morèm transgréditùr*; 2, 3; 4, 3; 9, 1; 9, 4; 16, 2; 18, 3; 19, 3; 21, 1; 26 [27], 1; 26 [27], 2; 27 [28], 3; 29 [30], 4; 32 [33], 4;); es erklärt zufriedenstellend die drei von Meyer erwähnten Stellen:

nón uelùd inúitus	(*carm.* 4, 26 [27], 4)
<ós> habèns decórum	(*carm.* 5, 10, 2)
cúm sanctò Martíno	(*carm.* 5, 19, 1)

Die von Meyer beobachtete Regel muss also genauer gefasst werden: Der Archipoeta lässt einen ausgesprochenen Tw in 6 nicht zu; ein Tw in Form des mot métrique ist zwar gestattet, bleibt aber trotzdem sehr selten (1-mal in 130 Zeilen in *carm.* 4; 2-mal in 100 Zeilen in *carm.* 5).

Mit diesen Beobachtungen stimmen auch die drei Fälle von Tw in 6 überein, die in den beiden Fassungen von *CB* 220 zu finden sind:

quí nichìl largítur	(*CB* 220 F 4, 1)
ét ignìs et ámnis	(*CB* 220 Cb 6, 4)
ác formà mutátur	(*CB* 220 F/Cb 8, 1)

Danach haben sowohl Fassung *F* als auch *Cb* jeweils 2-mal ein mot métrique (Tw) in 6 auf 60 Verse, eine Häufigkeit, die sich durchaus noch mit dem *carm.* 5 des Archipoeta vergleichen lässt, aber

[87] MEYER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* I (Anm. 26) 262-263.

[88] NORBERG, *L'accentuation des mots* (Anm. 27) 47-53, hier 51; warum Norberg nicht auch *cúm sanctò* (*carm.* 5, 19, 1) als mot métrique aufführt, verstehe ich nicht.

weit von der zehnprozentigen Häufigkeit z. B. bei einem Walter von Châtillon entfernt ist.

2.6. *Das Verhältnis zwischen CB 220 und dem carm. 4 des Archipoeta*

Wie oben in Kap. 2.3. ausgeführt, ist vermutlich *F* die frühere, *Cb* die spätere Fassung von *CB* 220. Dafür spricht neben anderen Argumenten die stilistische „Verbesserung" der letzten Strophe in *Cb*. Nun stellt sich noch die Frage, ob auch das Verhältnis zwischen *CB* 220 in der Fassung *Cb* und dem *carm.* 4 des Archipoeta, mit dem es vier Strophen gemeinsam hat, ähnlich sicher bestimmt werden kann. Das *carm.* 4 wird seit Wilhelm Meyer[89] in den Frühherbst 1163 datiert; sechs Strophen (10-15) hat der Dichter selbst in die sogenannte „Vagantenbeichte" (*carm.* 10) übernommen, die frühestens im Spätherbst 1163, vielleicht aber auch erst längere Zeit später gedichtet wurde. Könnte man nun die Priorität bestimmen, wäre damit die Möglichkeit einer Datierung von *CB* 220 vor oder nach dem Frühherbst 1163 gegeben.

Die vier gemeinsamen Strophen stehen in beiden Gedichten in unterschiedlicher Reihenfolge, doch ohne dass ein augenfälliger Grund für diese Umstellung erkennbar wäre:

CB 220	Archipoeta *carm.* 4
1	20
2	17
3	18
4	19

Wenn überhaupt, so könnte man vermuten, dass Str. 20 in *CB* 220 an erster Stelle steht, um das Gedicht mit dem gebräuchlichen Gedichtanfang „Ich singe jetzt ein Lied ..." einsetzen zu lassen. Der Dichter beginnt mit seiner Klage (*conqueror*) und nennt außerdem Thema und Publikum:

Sepe de miseria mee paupertatis
conqueror in carmine uiris litteratis;
laici non sapiunt ea, que sunt uatis,
sed nil michi tribuunt, quod est notum satis. (*CB* 220 Cb 1)

[89] MEYER, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas* (Anm. 16) 170-171

Der Text der vier Strophen weist neben Sonderfehlern der beiden Handschriften einige bemerkenswerte Unterschiede auf, die nach den obigen Ausführungen zur Mutabilität mittelalterlicher Liedtexte durchaus als Autorfassungen angesehen werden dürfen.

(1) *Cb* steht dem Bibeltext vom Wortlaut her näher als *G* (Göttingen cod. philol. 170):

... quia non sapis ea, quae Dei sunt ...		(*Matth.* 16, 23)
laici non sapiunt	*ea, que sunt uatis*	(*CB* 220 Cb 1, 3)
laici non capiunt	*ea, que sunt uatis*	(*carm.* 4, 20, 3)

(2) Ebenso an anderer Stelle:

Fodere non ualeo, mendicare erubesco.		(*Luc.* 16, 3)
Fodere non ualeo,	*quia sum scolaris*	(*CB* 220 Cb 3, 1)
Fodere non debeo,	*quia sum scolaris*	(*carm.* 4, 18, 1)

(3) Die Lesart *lacrimor* in *Cb* erscheint konkreter und anschaulicher als *lugeo* in *G*.

unde sepe lacrimor,	*quando uos ridetis*	(*CB* 220 Cb 2, 3)
unde sepe lugeo,	*quando uos ridetis*	(*carm.* 4, 17, 3)

(4) Der doppelte, adversative und kausale Ausdruck *sed quia* in *G* steht einem einfachen *quia* in *Cb* gegenüber:

Fodere non ualeo,	*quia sum scolaris:*	
ortus ex militibus	*prelior ignaris;*	
quia me tunc terruit	*labor militaris,*	
malui Uirgilium	*quam te sequi, Paris!*	(*CB* 220 Cb 3)
Fodere non debeo,	*quia sum scolaris,*	
ortus ex militibus	*preliandi gnaris;*	
sed quia me terruit	*labor militaris,*	
malui Virgilium	*sequi quam te, Paris!*	(*carm.* 4, 18)

(5) Die Lesart *méndicùs* in *Cb* widerspricht der Wortbetonung *mendícus*, die der Archipoeta in seinen metrischen und rhythmischen Gedichten sonst ausnahmslos beachtet (*carm.* 4, 16, 1; *carm.* 4, 19, 4; *carm.* 6, 17):

quí nec fúr nec méndicùs	*néutrum ésse uólo?*	(*CB* 220 Cb 4, 4)
néc mendícus fierì,	*néc fur ésse uólo?*	(*carm.* 4, 19, 4)

(6) Vorausgesetzt, dass es sich bei der Lesart *prelior ignaris* in *Cb* nicht um eine Verlesung des in *G* überlieferten *preliandi gnaris* handelt, muss man annehmen, dass *prelior* hier mit dem Dativ (*ignaris*) konstruiert wird. Dieter Schaller schreibt in diesem Sinne: „Mit der etwas ungewöhnlichen, aber doch von Verben wie *nocere, incommodare, adversari, reniti, repugnare, resistere* analogisch ableitbaren Dativkonstruktion *prelior ignaris* will derjenige, der hier spricht, ausdrücken, daß er - obzwar ritterlicher Abkunft - doch den Kampf gegen Unwissende (als Schulmeister?) bevorzuge, da ihn das Kriegshandwerk schrecke. Ganz logisch entfällt also in der dritten Zeile das adversative *sed,* das für den originalen Gedankengang des Archipoeta unentbehrlich war."[90]

Fodere non ualeo,	*quia sum scolaris:*	
ortus ex militibus	*prelior ignaris*	(*CB* 220 Cb 3, 1-2)
Fodere non debeo,	*quia sum scolaris,*	
ortus ex militibus	*preliandi gnaris*	(*carm.* 4, 18, 1-2)

Wie lassen sich diese Varianten nun beurteilen? Die Stellen (3) und (4) sind beide grammatisch korrekt und in sich stimmig; eine wie auch immer geartete „Verbesserung" lässt sich nicht überzeugend nachweisen. In (1) und (2) steht die Lesart von *Cb* jeweils dem Bibeltext näher. Dafür bieten sich mindestens zwei Erklärungen an: Zum einen könnte die ursprünglich bibelnahe Fassung später verändert, zum anderen die ungenau aus dem Gedächtnis zitierte Stelle bei der Überarbeitung verbessert, also dem Bibeltext nachträglich angeglichen worden sein. Zwar kann eine sichere Entscheidung hier nicht getroffen werden, doch tendiere ich zur ersten Alternative und vermute, dass in der ursprünglichen Fassung (*Cb*) die Bibelstelle wörtlich zitiert und diese erst im Zuge einer stilistischen Überarbeitung (*G*) verändert wurde. Diese Vermutung könnte auch durch die Änderung (5) gestützt werden. Denn man wird dem Archipoeta nicht leicht zutrauen wollen, dass er das korrekte *mendícus* (*carm.* 4) später durch das fehlerhafte *méndicùs* (*CB* 220) ersetzt habe. In diesem Fall müsste man allerdings annehmen, der syntaktische Neologismus *prelior ignaris* (6) - wenn es sich nicht einfach um einen Schreibfehler handelt - könnte dem Verfasser nachträglich als zu gewagt und unverständlich

[90] Dieter SCHALLER, *Bemerkungen zum Schlußband der kritischen Edition der Carmina Burana,* in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 10 (1975) 106-115, hier 110.

erschienen sein, so dass er ihn änderte, um vom Publikum besser verstanden zu werden. Wenn man also überhaupt eine stilistische Verbesserung feststellen kann, dann hat sie vermutlich von *CB* 220 zum *carm.* 4 des Archipoeta stattgefunden. Für eine sichere Entscheidung aber reichen die wenigen und schwachen Indizien nicht aus, so dass man redlicherweise das Verhältnis zwischen beiden Gedichten weiterhin als ungelöst betrachten muss.

2.7. *Ergebnisse*

Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung lassen sich mit wenigen Worten zusammenfassen: Die kritische Ausgabe der *Carmina Burana* durch Bernhard Bischoff wird dem Gedicht *CB* 220 nicht gerecht. Die beiden Teile *CB* 220 und 220a erweisen sich entgegen der Trennung des Herausgebers in der Handschrift *Cb* als ein zusammengehöriges Gedicht *Sepe de miseria*; die Handschrift *F* überliefert mit dem Gedicht *Hoc in dialetica* eine zweite, vermutlich frühere Fassung. Gehören die vier Strophen des Archipoeta als *exordium* in der Fassung *Cb* fest zu dem Hauptteil des Gedichts, werden wir mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit im Archipoeta auch den Verfasser von *CB* 220 erkennen dürfen, der zu zwei verschiedenen Anlässen das Gedicht in den Fassungen *F* und *Cb* vortrug. Ein Vergleich von *CB* 220 mit der Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas zeigt uns den Archipoeta als *aemulus* seines Vorbildes und vermutlichen Lehrers, des Hugo Primas. Überlieferungssituation und Interpretation ergänzen sich gegenseitig und bestätigen auf klare und sichere Weise die Vermutung Giesebrechts, Peipers und Bischoffs, dass es sich bei *CB* 220 um ein Werk des Archipoeta handle. Damit besitzen wir in den beiden Fassungen der Kleidermetamorphose *CB* 220 das elfte Gedicht des Archipoeta.

2.8. *Die Handschriften*

Die Handschrift *F* (Florenz, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Plut. 36.34) stammt nach Bernhard Bischoff aus dem 14. Jahrhundert und ist italienischer Herkunft[91]. Sie wurde von zwei zeitgleichen Schreibern geschrieben, von denen der erste die

[91] Vgl. A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* II (Florenz 1775) 239; STRECKER, *Walter von Châtillon und seine Schule* (Anm. 42) 107; STRECKER, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte* (Anm. 13) VI und 59-61 (Übersicht über den Strophenbestand).

Remedia amoris und den *Ibis* Ovids eintrug, der zweite die kleine Sammlung rhythmischer Gedichte. Die vierzeiligen Vagantenstrophen sind durch Freizeilen voneinander abgesetzt; der Anfangsbuchstabe jeder Strophe ist nach links ausgerückt. Die 126 Strophen werden weder durch Überschriften, große Initialen oder Paragraphenzeichen in Einzelgedichte getrennt; daher sind wir für die Bestimmung und Abgrenzung der Einzelgedichte auf die Parallelüberlieferung angewiesen. Die zusammenhängenden Gedichte Walters von Châtillon hat bereits Karl Strecker voneinander getrennt. Auf einen Abschnitt („Nest") mit Werken Walters folgt zunächst die „Vagantenbeichte" (*carm.* 10) des Archipoeta, dann *CB* 220, das sicherlich auch vom Archipoeta stammt, und zuletzt die Satire *Ad terrorem omnium* (WIC 465). Die deutliche Trennung zwischen einem ersten Abschnitt mit Werken Walters von Châtillon und einem zweiten mit mindestens zwei Gedichten des Archipoeta legt die Vermutung nahe, dass wir es hier mit der Abschrift von zwei Autorsammlungen zu tun haben. Unter dieser Prämisse müsste geprüft werden, ob auch das letzte Gedicht *Ad terrorem omnium* ein Werk des Archipoeta sein könnte (s. u. Anhang 1).

Über den Text der Vagantenbeichte des Archipoeta schreibt Bischoff, dass „unter deren Hss. Fl trotz Flüchtigkeiten zu den besten zählt"[92]. Mögen die vielen kleineren Fehler im Zusammenspiel mit einer guten Parallelüberlieferung nicht besonders ins Gewicht fallen, so erschweren sie im Falle eines codex unicus jedoch die Textkonstitution beträchtlich. Ich bezweifle, dass es mir gelungen ist an allen Stellen die originale Fassung *F* zu rekonstruieren.

fol. 1-11 Ovid, *Remedia amoris* mit Glossen. Schreibervers am Ende:
Referimus Christo laudes nunc undique digno,
Qui nos explere permisit haec omnia uere.

fol. 12-15 Ovid, *Ibis* mit Glossen. Schreibervers am Ende:
Manus scriptoris benedicta sit omnibus bonis.

fol. 16ra-19rb, Sammlung von rhythmischen Gedichten (126 Vagantenstrophen):

16ra-16va Inc. *Multiformis hominum fraus et iniustitia* (22 Str.)
WIC 11390, Walter von Châtillon, *carm.* W 5

[92] BISCHOFF, *Carmina Burana* I 3 (Anm. 50) 79.

16va-16vb Inc. *Inter curas hominum curis deprauata* (16 Str.)
WIC 9453, Walter von Châtillon, *carm.* W 7a
16vb-17va Inc. *Missus sum in uineam circa horam nonam* (27 Str.
WIC 11120, Walter von Châtillon, *carm.* W 4 (!)
17va-18ra Inc. *Eliconis riuulo modice respersus* (14 Str.)
WIC 7693, Walter von Châtillon, *carm.* W 7/6
18ra-18va Inc. *Estuans intrinsecus ira uehementi* (25 Str.)
WIC 627, Archipoeta, *carm.* 10 (= *CB* 191)
18va-19ra Inc. *Hoc in dialetica tandem constat esse* (15 Str.)
WIC 8269, Archipoeta, *carm.* 11 (= *CB* 220)
19ra-b Inc. *Ad terrorem omnium surgo locuturus* (7 Str.)
WIC 465, Archipoeta (?)

Cb ist die weltberühmte Handschrift der *Carmina Burana* (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660/4660a)[93]. Auf fol. 96v-97r steht, beginnend mit *Item* und einer großen zweizeiligen Initiale, das Gedicht *CB* 220 *Sepe de miseria mee paupertatis* (WIC 17020). Der Text ist als Prosa geschrieben; die Langzeilen werden durch Reimpunkte getrennt. Die Strophenanfänge werden durch größere farbige Initialen gekennzeichnet. Eine besondere Hervorhebung der 5. Str. *Nullus ita parcus est* durch eine größere Initiale, wie sie Bischoff zu erkennen glaubte, lässt sich nicht feststellen, denn das *N* ist kaum größer als die anderen Initialen und steht zudem mitten in der Zeile. In der unmittelbaren Nähe von *CB* 220 finden sich keine weiteren Gedichte, die auf den Archipoeta hinweisen. Doch ist die Handschrift *Cb* für die Überlieferung des Archipoeta neben *G* (Göttingen cod. philol. 170) und *Br* (Brüssel Ms. 2067-2073) ein unschätzbarer Textzeuge, da sie *carm.* 10 (= *CB* 191) nicht nur in guter und vollständiger Textgestalt überliefert, sondern auch die sonst verlorenen Zusatzstrophen (= *CB* 191 a) bewahrt hat, die der Archipoeta vermutlich an einen seiner Gönner gerichtet hat [94].

[93] Vgl. die Gesamtausgaben von Alfons HILKA / Otto SCHUMANN / Bernhard BISCHOFF (Hrsg.), *Carmina Burana, I. Band: Text,* Bde. 1-3 (Heidelberg 1930 / 1941 / 1970); Otto SCHUMANN, *Carmina Burana, II. Band: Kommentar,* Bd. 1 (Heidelberg 1930); Benedikt Konrad VOLLMANN, *Carmina Burana* (Frankfurt am Main 1987). - Bernhard BISCHOFF (Hrsg.), *Carmina Burana. Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift Clm 4660 und Clm 4660a* (Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften 9; Brooklyn NY / München 1967).

[94] An der Echtheit der Zusatzstrophen vermag ich nicht zu zweifeln, da sie bis in Einzelheiten hinein mit dem Sprachgebrauch des Archipoeta übereinstimmen;

Die Edition folgt denselben Richtlinien, wie ich sie oben für die Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas dargelegt habe (Kap. 1.5.).

dafür haben sich schon GRIMM, *Gedichte des Mittelalters auf König Friedrich I den Staufer* (Anm. 54) 39 [179-180], Walther BULST, *Lateinisches Mittelalter* (Heidelberg 1984) 228 [= *Gnomon* 44 (1972) 464] und neuerdings ausführlich FRIED (Anm. 71) 86-88 mit überzeugenden Argumenten ausgesprochen. Gegen die Echtheit konnten bisher nur pauschale Urteile ins Feld geführt worden, die eigentlich nichts aussagen, so z. B. MEYER, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas* (Anm. 16) 170 „... denn die 6 [!] in den Burana hinten angeschobenen Strophen haben nichts damit zu thun ..."; WATENPHUL / KREFELD, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta* (Anm. 70) 76 „... die letzten 5 sind sicherlich nicht vom AP"; VOLLMANN, *Carmina Burana* (Anm. 50) 1215 und besonders 1219 „Die Form der Strophen (streng alternierender Rhythmus, Reinheit der Reime) entspricht der vom Archipoeta gesetzten Norm. Die unterwürfige Mentalität (Str. 28, 3 f.) widerspricht jedoch aufs entschiedenste dessen stolzem Selbstbewußtsein"; DRONKE, *Hugh Primas and the Archpoet* (Anm. 19) XXII Anm. 7 „... but I find it hard to see them as on the same artistic level as the 25 strophes printed as Poem X below."

Archipoeta carm. (CB 220 uersio F)

fol. 18va

F 1 Hoc in dialetica tandem constat esse,
non autem per accidens, i<m>mo per necesse,
quod duo contraria nequeunt inesse,
sed, dum inest alterum, alterum abesse.

F fol. 18vb

Vt spem fructus afferat, debent grana seri,
non est † pulcrum turpes † mores semper geri,
nam si uulgi ratio pondus habet ueri,
expedit et ludicris seria misceri.

Sunt oppositissima largus et auarus:
odiosus omnibus hic, sed ille carus;
huius nomen latitat, hic est fama clarus;
doctus hic, sed alter est stultus et ignarus.

F 4 Idolorum seruus est, qui ni<chi>l largitur,
su<m>mus Dei milex est, qui sua partitur.
Hoc generalissimum bonum esse scitur:
sic ad astra scanditur, sic ad celos itur!

(CB 220 a, 1)

F 5 Nullus ita parcus est, qui non ad natale
emat cappam, pallium, pelles uel quid tale,
sed non statim dissipat, uel custodit male,
induens ad quodlibet festum, sed annale.

(CB 220 a, 2)

F 6 Parcus pelles perticat et inuoluit pannis,
et indutas rarius multis seruat annis
a lesura, maculis, notis et a da<m>pnis
ignis, fumi, pulueris, uini, sed et amnis.

1. 2 i<m>mo *Wollin*

2. 2 Nō ē plcrū t'pes *F*

3. 1 Sunt *Wollin*] Stt' *F* 2 carus *Wollin*] clarus *F*

4. 1 ni<chi>l *Wollin* 2 su<m>mus *Wollin* 3 generalissimum *Wollin*] generalissimum est *F*

5. 4 sed *Wollin (ex Cb)* sit *F*

6. 2 indutas *Wollin (ex Cb)*] indutus *F* 3 notis *Wollin (ex Cb)*] nothis *F* et *Wollin (ex Cb)*] sed *F* 4 ignis *Wollin (ex Cb)*] Ingnis *F*

Archipoeta carm. (CB 220 uersio Cb)

Item.

(CB 220, 1 Archipoeta 4, 20)

Cb 1 Sepe de miseria mę paupertatis
conqueror in carmine uiris litteratis;
laici non sapiunt ea, que sunt uatis,
sed nil michi tribuunt, quod est notum satis.

(CB 220, 2 - Archipoeta 4, 17)

Cb 2 Poeta pauperior omnibus poetis
nichil prorsus habeo nisi quod uidetis,
unde sepe lacrimor, quando uos rideti:
nec me meo uicio pauperem putetis!

(CB 220, 3 - Archipoeta 4, 18)

Cb 3 Fodere non ualeo, quia sum scolaris:
ortus ex militibus prelior ignaris;
quia me tunc terruit labor militaris,
malui Uirgilium quam te sequi, Paris!

(CB 220, 4 - Archipoeta 4, 19)

Cb 4 Mendicare pudor est, mendicare nolo;
fures multa possident, sed non absque dolo.
Quid nunc miser faciam, qui nec agros colo,
qui nec fur nec mendicus neutrum esse uolo?

(CB 220 a, 1)

Cb 5 Nullus ita parcus est, qui non ad natale
emat cappam, pallium, pelles uel quid tale,
sed non statim dissipat, nec custodit male,
nec ducit ad quodlibet festum, sed annale.

(CB 220 a, 2)

Cb 6 Parcus pelles perticat et inuoluit pannis,
et indutas rarius multis seruat annis
a lesura, maculis, notis et a dampnis
fumi, uini, pulueris, et ignis et amnis.

lemma: Item. *Cb*

1. 3 - laici non sapiunt ea, que sunt uatis -, *interp. Vollmann*

3. 3 tunc *Vollmann*] nunc *Cb*

4. 3 nunc *Wollin*] ergo *Cb*

(CB 220 a, 3)

F 7 Vidi quosdam diuites nuper conuenire,
festiuarum uestium gestu superbire,
cum haberent pallia uetustatis mire,
que Ulixes rediens posset reperire.

(CB 220 a, 4)

Color sepe paliis ac forma mutatur:
color, <cum> pro uiridi rufus comparatur,
vel, quod est interius, foras regiratur,
vel cum a tin<c>toribus color coloratur;

(CB 220 a, 5)

Forma, cum in formas si<n>t uarias mutata
vestimenta diuitum uice uariata.
„In noua" fert animus dicere „mutata
vetera", uel pocius „in reueterata!"

(CB 220 a, 6)

Vidi nuper clericum fame satis clare
formas in multiplices uestes uariare:
contra frigus yemis palium cappare,
veris ad introitum ca<ppam> paliare.

fol. 19ra

(CB 220 a, 7)

F 11 C<um> hoc tritum sepius sepius refecit,
et refectum sepius sepius defecit,
noluit abicere statim, nec abiecit,
sed parcentem tunice iuppam sibi fecit.

(CB 220 a, 8)

Sic in modum Gorgonis formam transformauit,
i<m>mo mirus artifex hermafroditauit:
masculauit feminam, marem feminauit,
et uince<n>s Tiresiam sexum tertiauit.

7. 1 quosdam *Wollin (ex Cb)*] quadam *F* 2 festiuarum *Bischoff*] festiuorum *F* 3 uetustatis mire *Wollin (ex Cb)*] uenustatis inire *F* 8. 2 cum *Wollin (ex Cb)*] *om. F*

9. 1 si<n>t *Schmeller*] sit *F Cb* sint uarias *Wollin*] uarias si<n>t *F* mutata *F Cb*] forma *in margine Cb*, formata *Wustmann Bischoff*

10. 1 nuper *F*] quosdam *Cb*, quendam *Bischoff* 4 cappam palliare *Wollin (ex Cb)*] capaliare *F*

11. 1 Cum *Wollin (ex Cb)*] C *F* 2 defecit *Wollin (ex Cb)*] abiecit *F* 3 noluit abiecere statim *Wollin (ex Cb)*] noluit statim abiecere *F* 4 tunice *Wollin (ex Cb)*] tunicam *F*

12. 2 hermafroditauit *Schmeller*] hermofrōditauit *F*, ermofroditauit *Cb* 4 uincens *Wollin (ex Cb)*] uinces *F*

13. 2 e conuerso *Wollin (ex Cb)*] Et 9° *F*

(CB 220 a, 3)

Cb 7 Vidi quosdam milites nuper conuenire,
de festiuis uestibus gestu superbire,
cum haberent pallia uetustatis mirę,
quę Ulixes rediens posset reperire.

(CB 220 a, 4)

Cb 8 Color sepe palliis et forma mutatur:
color, cum pro uiridi rubrum conparatur,
uel, quod est interius, foris regiratur,
uel cum a tinctoribus | color coloratur;

(CB 220 a,

Cb 9 Forma, cum in uarias formas si<n>t mutata
uestimenta diuitum uice uariata.
„In noua" fert animus dicere „mutata
uetera", uel pocius sint „inueterata!"

(CB 220 a, 6)

Cb 10 Vidi quosdam diuites famę satis clarę
formas in multiplices uestes uariare:
contra frigus hiemis pallium cappare,
ueris ad introitum cappam palliare.

(CB 220 a, 7)

Cb 11 Cum hoc tritum sepius sepius refecit,
et refectum sepius sepius defecit,
noluit abicere statim, nec abiecit,
sed parcentem tunicę iuppam sibi fecit.

(CB 220 a, 8)

Cb 12 Sic in modum Gorgonis formam transformauit,
immo mirus artifex ermafroditauit:
masculauit feminam, marem feminauit,
et uincens Tyresiam sexum terciauit.

9. 1 si<n>t *Schmeller*] sit *Cb F* mutata *Cb F*] forma *in margine Cb,* formata *Wustmann Bischoff (fortasse recte)* 3/4 *sic interp. Vollmann*] "In noua fert animus" dicere mutata / uetera, uel potius: in reueterata. *Bischoff (ex F)* 4 sint *s. l. add. Cb*

11. 2 refectum *Wollin (ex F)*] respectum *Cb*

12. 2 ermafroditauit (hermaphroditauit) *Bischoff*] ermofroditauit *Cb*

(CB 220 a, 9)

F 13 Parum sibi fuerat palium capare,
e conuerso deinceps capam paliare,
recapatum palium in iupam mutare,
si non tandem faceret iupam caligare.

(CB 220 a, 10)

F 14 Primas in Remensibus iusserat decretis,
ne mantellos ueteres uos renouaretis,
renouari prohibens calce uel in cretis;
quod decretum uiluit, ut iam uos uidetis.

(CB 220 a, 11)

F 15 Nos quoque, secundum quid eius successores,
excomunicamus hos <et> recapatores,
et omnes huiusmodi reciprocatores.
Omnes anathema sint, donec mutent mores!

14. 1 iusserat *Bischoff*] iubserat *F* 3 renouari *Wollin (ex Cb)*] renouare *F*
15. 2 et *Wollin (ex Cb)*] *om. F*

(CB 220 a, 9)

Cb 13 Parum sibi fuerat pallium cappare,
ę conuerso deinceps cappam palliare,
recappatum pallium in iuppam mutare,
si non tandem faceret iuppam caligare.

(CB 220 a, 10)

Cb 14 Hoc Galtherus subprior iubet in decretis,
ne mantellos ueteres <uos> refarinetis,
renouari prohibens calce uel in cretis.
Hoc decretum uacat iam, sicut uos uidetis.

(CB 220 a, 11)

Cb 15 Excommunicamus hos et recappatores,
et capparum ueterum repalliatores,
et omnes huiusmodi reciprocatores.
Omnes anathema sint, donec mutant mores!

14. 1 iubet *in margine add. Cb*] pc (= precepit?) *extrema in margine Cb,* habet *Schumann (CB II 1, 83)*

Kommentar zu uersio F

1. 1 *constat esse*: vgl. ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 4, 4, 4 ... *constat esse uerum.*

2 *per accidens ... per necesse*: Ausdrücke der scholastischen Logik, „zufällig" und „notwendig", vgl. Albert BLAISE, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aeui* (Turnhout 1975) s.v. *accidens.*

3/4 Gemeint ist der Satz vom Widerspruch; zum Gebrauch grammatischer und logischer Termini in der Dichtung vgl. CURTIUS, *Europäische Literatur* 416-418.

4 *alterum alterum*: zu dieser Art der Wortwiederholung s. o. Kapitel 2.5.(1).

2. 1 *Ioh.* 12, 24-25 *Amen, amen dico uobis, nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet; si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum affert.*

3/4 *uulgi ratio*: das gemeinte Sprichwort steht bei PS. CATO 3, 6 (= WPS 12671) *Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis, / ut possis animo quemuis sufferre laborem.* Ähnliche Formulierungen bieten HOR. *ars* 343-344 (226) *omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci / lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.* SERLO WILT. *carm.* 42, 3 *Recia pone iugis, postponens seria nugis.* MATTH. VINDOC. *ars uers.* 2, 35 ... *et grauibus dulcia et seriis iocunda possunt interponi* ... Vgl. auch CURTIUS, *Europäische Literatur* 419-425 „Scherz und Ernst in mittelalterlicher Literatur". - *pondus ... ueri*: vgl. ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 1, 14, 3 *ad pondus proprium.*

3. Vgl. ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 4, 25 [26] *Pereat ypocrisis omnium parcorum! / Scimus, quod auarus est cultor ydolorum. / Commendetur largitas presulum largorum: / Electus Colonie primus est eorum. ib.* 30 [31], 3-4 *nobilis est animi pluribus prodesse; / largo numquam poterit animo deesse.*

4. 1 *Eph.* 5, 5 (*Col.* 3, 5) *aut auarus, quod est idolorum seruitus.* GALTER. CASTEL. *Vita s. Thome* 116, 4 über Rom (*carm.* O 27, 4, 5-6) *eris fit idolatra dux Christicolarum.* PETR. BLES. *carm.* 1, 4, 2b, 3-4 *set crimen hoc exaggerat / idolatra pecunie.* S. o. den Kom. zu Str. 3.

2 Vermutlich eine Anspielung auf den hl. Martin von Tours, vgl. ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 1, 39 *Largissimus largorum omnium / presul dedit hoc michi pallium, / magis habens in celis premium / quam Martinus, qui dedit medium.* - *milex*: = *miles.*

3 *scitur*: die *scire*-Formel, vgl. CURTIUS, *Der Archipoeta* (Anm. 82) 109-110.

4 VERG. *Aen.* 9, 641-642 *Macte noua uirtute, puer, sic itur ad astra / dis genite et geniture deos.* ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 10, 13, 2 *cor imbutum nectare uolat ad superna.* Vgl. OTTO, *Die Sprichwörter* Nr. 197.

5. 1 *CB* 92, 30, 1-2 *Non est ullus adeo fatuus aut cecus, / cui non appareat militare decus.*

6. 1 *perticat*: *perticare* „in die Garderobe hängen" ist von *pertica* „Stange, Garderobe" abgeleitet; im Sinne von *metiri* steht das Verb bei HENR. SEPTIM. *eleg.* 3, 9-11 (über die septem artes liberales) *Prima fouet pueros, alia silogizat, amenat / tertia colliquiis, perticat illa solum, / hec abacum monstrat, alia philomenat, et altum / erigit ad superos septima uirgo caput.*

3/4 Vgl. die Figur des *articulus* beim ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 1, 18, 3-4 *Terreat nos ignis incendium, / fetor, fletus, et stridor dencium.*

4 *sed et:* = *et*, vgl. LEHMANN/HOFMANN/SZANTYR II 483.

7. 4 *Ulixes*: Odysseus wird häufiger als Beispielfigur genannt (vgl. CURTIUS, *Europäische Literatur* 367-369), z. B. ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 4, 32 [33], 2; *carm.* 7, 5, 1.

8. 2 *color*: sc. *mutatur* (Str. 8, 1).
4 *color coloratur*: ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 10, 26, 3 *colorare stultum est bene colorata.*

9. Vgl. OV. *met.* 1, 1-3 *In noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas / corpora: di, coeptis (nam uos mutastis et illas) / adspirate meis* ... D. i. das Motto der Kleidermetamorphose des Hugo Primas.
1 *Forma*: sc. *mutatur* (Str. 8, 1).
2 *uice uariata*: VERG. *Aen.* 9, 164 *Discurrunt uariantque uices* ...
4 *uel pocius in reueterata*: „oder vielmehr, in neuveraltete" BERNT, *Carmina Burana* (Anm. 50). - *pocius*: als Einleitung der *correctio* auch in ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 4, 21 [22], 3-4 *Presules Italie, presules auari, / pocius ydolatre debent nominari.*

10. 2 *multiplices*: vgl. ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 10, 26, 1 *Cum sit fama multiplex de te diuulgata.*
3/4 *cappare ... paliare*: „zur Kapuze machen" und „zum Mantel machen", wiederholt in Str. 13, 1-2.

12. 1 *Gorgonis*: die Gorgo besaß die Fähigkeit, durch ihren Blick Lebewesen zu verwandeln, vgl. OV. *met.* 4, 772-803; FVLG. *mit.* 1, 21 (p. 32-33); MYTH. VAT. *III* 14, 1-3. - Die Formulierung imitiert HVGO PRIMAS *In noua fert animus* 3, 3-4 *sic in modum Protheos / transformantur uestimenta.*
2 *hermafroditauit*: der Neologismus *hermaphroditare* begegnet auch bei ALAN. INS. *Planct. Nat.* 1, 18 *ars magice Veneris hermafroditat eum.*
3 GVILL. BLES. *Alda* 401-402 *Sic sub ueste maris mulierem masculat illa, / et sub feminea feminat ipsa marem.*
4 *Tiresiam*: vgl. OV. *met.* 3, 316-338; HVGO PRIMAS *In noua fert animus* 4, 6. - *tertiauit*: „hat verdreifacht".

13. 1/2 *cappare ... paliare*: S. o. Str. 10, 3-4.

14. 1 *Primas in Remensibus*: der Hugo Primas schrieb die Kleidermetamorphose *In noua fert animus* vermutlich während seines Aufenthalts in Reims.
4 *ut iam uos uidetis*: vgl. ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 2, 76 *Vt iam loquar manifeste* ... ID. *carm.* 5, 23, 3 ... *ut iam loquar uerum.*

15. 1 *secundum quid*: „gewissermaßen" BERNT, *Carmina Burana* (Anm. 50); ähnlich auch die Formulierungen ARCHIPOETA *carm.* 4, 31 [32], 1 *Secundum quod habeo* ... ID. *carm.* 10, 21, 2 *secundum Dominici regulam mandati.*
4 HVGO PRIMAS *In noua fert animus* 39, 1-3 *Do decretum ad extrema, / quod sit diues anathema, / qui has uestes induit.* Die Verfluchung des Mützendiebes ANON. *Raptor mei pilei* (WIC 16413) 7, 3-4 *nisi resipuerit, corrigens peccamen, / anathema fuerit! Fiat, fiat! Amen.* - *anathema*: hier wie beim Hugo Primas metonymisch gebraucht, „der Verfluchte".

Kommentar zu uersio Cb

1. Zur Selbstdarstellung des Verfassers als *clericus* und *litteratus* vgl. CURTIUS, *Der Archipoeta* (Anm. 82) 106-107.

3 *Matth.* 16, 23 ... *quia non sapis ea, quae Dei sunt.* HVGO PRIMAS *carm.* 23, 89 *Ad laicos non transibo.*

2. 3 *Luc.* 6, 21 *Beati, qui nunc fletis, quia ridebitis. ib.* 6, 25 *Vae uobis, qui ridetis nunc, quia lugebitis et flebitis.*

3. 1 *Luc.* 16, 3 *Fodere non ualeo, mendicare erubesco.* ABAELARD *hist. calam.* (Muckle p. 201) *Tunc autem precipue ad scolarum regimen intolerabilis me compulit paupertas, cum „fodere non ualerem et mendicare erubescerem".* IOH. DE ALTA SILVA *Dolopathos* (p. 47) *Mansit ergo miles in ciuitate cibos cottidie cane uel accipitre querens, quia aliud, unde uiueret, non habebat; neque enim eum more rusticorum uiuere, fodere scilicet aut mendicare, sua generositas paciebatur.* GALTER. CASTEL. *carm.* W 13, 13 *Profuit antiquitus litteratum esse, / cum floreret studium copiosa messe; / set modernis fodere magis est necesse, / quam uatum Parisius scolis interesse.*

2 *prelior ignaris*: „kämpfe ich gegen Unwissende", so SCHALLER (Anm. 90) 110.

4 *Paris*: in der Trojageschichte des Dares Phrygius, den das Mittelalter als glaubwürdigen Augenzeugen der Geschehnisse ansah, ist Paris ein Held ohne Fehl und Tadel, so z. B. auch in *CB* 92, 12, 1; vgl. CURTIUS, *Der Archipoeta* (Anm. 82) 131 Anm. 30.

4. S. o. Kom. zu Str. 3, 1.

9. 3/4 „... nein, nicht die alten, sondern: die etwas aus der Mode gekommenen!" VOLLMANN, *Carmina Burana* (Anm. 50).

14. 1 *Galtherus subprior*: eine bislang nicht identifizierte Persönlichkeit, vielleicht der Verfasser des Gedichts, s. o. Kapitel 2.4. – *iubet in decretis*: vgl. CB 42, 7, 1 *Romani capitulum habent in decretis.*

2/3 *refarinetis*: GRIMM, *Gedichte des Mittelalters auf König Friedrich I den Staufer* (Anm. 54) 78 [235] „refarinare was wir heute kollern (colorer) nennen, schmutziges tuch mit kreide ... reiben ..."

4 *uacat*: „wird nicht ausgeführt", handelt es sich um einen juristischen terminus technicus?

Anhang 1: Das Gedicht Ad terrorem omnium

Fraglich bleibt, ob die Überlieferung des anonymen Gedichts *Ad terrorem omnium* (Chevalier 296; WIC 465 etc.)[95] in *F* in enger Nachbarschaft zum *carm.* 10 des Archipoeta und *CB* 220 einen Hinweis auf den Autor zu geben vermag. Stilistisch erscheint mir die Satire konventionell, sie könnte mit gleichem Recht Walter von Châtillon und seiner „Schule"[96], dem Archipoeta, aber auch einem uns unkannten Dritten zugeschrieben werden. Bemerkenswert bleibt in jedem Fall die häufige Überlieferungsgemeinschaft mit der „Vagantenbeichte" des Archipoeta (*carm.* 10). Möglicherweise werden in der Zukunft eine kritische Edition nach allen Textzeugen und eine genaue Untersuchung des Stils Hinweise auf den Verfasser geben können.

Es folgt ein weitgehend diplomatischer Abdruck der sieben in *F* überlieferten Strophen, die ich mit Wilhelm Wattenbachs Abdruck der frühen, vielleicht noch aus dem 12. Jahrhundert stammenden Handschrift Vorau Ms. 376 (olim CXXXVI) fol. 62v[97], verglichen habe. Zehn wichtige, an Papst Alexander III. gerichtete Zusatzstrophen hat Karl Strecker aus der Handschrift Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. Aldini 42 (s. 14) fol. 6ra-6va ediert[98].

F 1 Ad terrorem omnium surgo locuturus:
Omnis clerus audiat, simplex et maturus.
Nichil est, quod timeam, ualde sum securus:
Sermo meus percutit uelud ensis durus.

1. 1 surgo *Wollin*] sergo *F*, surgam *V* 3 timeam *F*] timeat *V* 4 Sermo meus *F*] Noster sermo *V*

[95] Die neuere Literatur nennt SZÖVÉRFFY, *Secular Latin Lyrics* III (Anm. 19) 340-341 und 449-450.

[96] So z. B. STRECKER, *Walter von Châtillon und seine Schule* (Anm. 42) 185.

[97] Wilhelm WATTENBACH, *Bericht über eine Reise durch Steiermark,* in: *Neues Archiv* 2 (1877) 383-425, hier 411-413; vgl. auch Clemens BLUME (Hrsg.), *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* 33 (1899) 289-292 Nr. 258.

[98] Karl STRECKER, *Ad terrorem omnium,* in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 65 [NF 53] (1928) 93-96.

F 2 Pertimendi presules sunt et cardinales,
Abbates et monaci, sancti ueniales,
Sacerdotes emuli, clerici uenales,
Congregantes iugiter opes temporales.

F 3 Quanto plus acumulant, tanto plus marcescunt
Sunt uelud ydropici, quorum membra crescunt
Dum plus bibunt, siciunt et magis arescunt;
Sic auari miseri, numquam requiescunt.

F 4 Quid est auaritia, nisi uilis cultus,
Vanitatis uanitas, <c>o<r>dium tumultus?
Pereunt diuitie, perit homo stultus,
Miser postquam moritur, statim fit sepultus.

fol. 19rb

F 5 In sepulcro tegitur uili tegumento,
Dirumpitur postea miser in tormento,
Redimi non <pre>ualet auro nec argento,
Quatitur subplicijs ut arundo uento.

F 6 Ergo cor apponere magis non debetis
In mundanis opibus, quas uos possidetis,
Cun<c>ta transitoria sunt, que uos uidetis.
Querite psalmografum, et inuenietis!

F 7 Quid in uestris opibus, miseri, speratis,
Varijs et griseyis corpus adornatis?
Ecce, pauper postulat uestem nuditatis,
Quem uidere, miseri, prorsus denegatis.

2. 1 Pertimendi *F*] Puniendi *V* 2 sancti ueniales *F*] sanctimoniales *V* 3 emuli *F*] tutuli *V*

3. 3 Dum *F*] Cum *V* et magis arescunt *F*] magis exardescunt *V*

4. 2 Vanitatis *F*] Vanitatum *V* cordium *V*] odium *F*

5. 2 Dirumpitur *F*] Deputatur *V* 3 preualet *V*] ualet *F* 3/4 *ordinem uersuum immutat V*

6. 1 *uersum om. V* 4 psalmografum *Wollin*] spsalmografum *F* Nichil horum proprium est, que uos tenetis *post uersum quartum add. V*

7 (= *V 8*). 2 et griseyis *F*] induuiis *V* 3 uestem *V*] ure *F* 4 uidere *V*] uideri

Anhang 2: Benutzte Editionen mittelalterlicher Texte

Petrus Abaelard, *Historia calamitatum (epist. 1),* hrsg. Joseph Thomas MUCKLE, *Letter of Consolation to a Friend (Historia calamitatum),* in: *Mediaeval Studies* 12 (1950) 163-213; Eric HICKS, *La vie et les epistres Pierres Abaelart et Heloys sa fame* I (Paris / Genf 1991).

Adam S. Victoris, hrsg. Franz WELLNER, *Adam von Sankt Viktor, Sämtliche Sequenzen* (München ²1955).

Alanus de Insulis, *Exceptiuam actionem,* hrsg. Marie-Thérèse D'ALVERNY, *Alain de Lille et la Theologia,* in: FS Henri de Lubac (Paris 1964) 109-128.
Id., *Planctus Nature,* hrsg. Nikolaus M. HÄRING, in: *Studi Medievali* III 19 (1978) 797-879.

Altercatio Ganimedis et Helene (WIC 19029 Taurum sol intrauerat), hrsg. Rolf [Rudolf Wilhelm] LENZEN, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 7 (1972) 161-186.

Archipoeta, *Carmina,* hrsg. Heinrich WATENPHUL / Heinrich KREFELD (Heidelberg 1958).

Baldricus Burgulianus, *Carmina,* hrsg. Karlheinz HILBERT (Editiones Heidelbergenses 19; Heidelberg 1979); Jean-Yves TILLIETTE (Paris 1998) Bd. 1.

Bene ueneritis! Caretis socio (WIC 2136), hrsg. Peter HERDE, *Beiträge zum päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Urkundenwesen im dreizehnten Jahrhundert* (Münchener Historische Studien, Abt. geschichtl. Hilfswissenschaften 1; Kallmünz ²1967) 247-251.

Carmina Burana, I. Band: Text 1-3, hrsg. Alfons HILKA / Otto SCHUMANN / Bernhard BISCHOFF (Heidelberg 1930 / 1941 / 1970).

Eberhardus Bethuniensis, *Graecismus,* hrsg. Johannes WROBEL (Breslau 1887; Reprint Hildesheim 1987).

Galterus de Castellione, *Alexandreis,* hrsg. Marvin L. COLKER (Thesaurus Mundi 17; Padua 1978).
Id., *Carmina* O, hrsg. Karl STRECKER, *Die Lieder Walters von Châtillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer* (Berlin 1925).
Id., *Carmina* W, hrsg. Karl STRECKER, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon* (Heidelberg 1929).
Id., *Carmina Wilmart,* hrsg. André WILMART, *Poèmes de Gautier de Châtillon dans un manuscrit de Charleville,* in: *Revue Bénédictine* 49 (1937) 121-169 und 322-365.
Id., *Tractatus siue dialogus ... contra Iudaeos* (PL 209, 423-458).
Id., *Vita s. Brandani,* hrsg. Carsten WOLLIN, *Saints' Lives by Walter of Châtillon: Brandan, Alexius, Thomas Becket* (Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 27; Toronto 2002).
Id., *Vita s. Thome,* ib.

Guillelmus Blesensis, *Alda,* hrsg. Ferruccio BERTINI, in: *Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo* VI, hrsg. Ferruccio BERTINI (Genova 1998) 11-109.

Henricus Septimellensis, *Elegia,* hrsg. Giovanni CREMASCHI (Bergamo 1949).

Hugo Primas, *Carmina,* hrsg. Wilhelm MEYER, *Die Oxforder Gedichte des Primas (des Magister Hugo von Orleans)* (Berlin 1907; Reprint Darmstadt 1970); Christopher James MCDONOUGH, *The Oxford Poems of Hugh Primas and the Arundel Lyrics* (Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 15; Toronto 1984).

Iohannes de Alta Silua, *Dolopathos,* hrsg. Alfons HILKA, *Historia septem sapientum* II (Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte 5; Heidelberg 1913).

Mattheus Vindocinensis, *Ars uersificatoria,* hrsg. Franco MUNARI (Storia e letteratura 171; Rom 1988).

Mythographus Vaticanus tertius, hrsg. G. H. BODE (Celle 1834; Reprint Hildesheim 1968).

Petrus Blesensis, *Carmina,* hrsg. Carsten WOLLIN (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis 128; Turnhout 1998).

Raptor mei pillei morte moriatur (WIC 16413), hrsg. Thomas WRIGHT, *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes* (London 1841; Reprint Hildesheim 1968) 75-76.

Serlo Wiltonensis, *Carmina,* hrsg. Jan ÖBERG (Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 14; Stockholm 1965).

Stephanus Tornacensis, *In commune theatrum* (WIC 8866), hrsg. Lucien AUVRAY, *Un poème rythmique et une lettre d'Étienne de Tournai,* in: FS Paul Fabre (Paris 1902; Reprint Genf 1972) 279-291.

Ernst Robert CURTIUS, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Tübingen/Basel ^{11}1993).

August OTTO, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig 1890; Reprint Hildesheim 1964).

Summary

Many medieval and modern texts are preserved in more than one version, mostly written and improved by the author himself. This phenomenon, called *mouvance* by Paul Zumthor or *Mutabilität* by Hubert Heinen, has been treated lucidly by Joseph Bédier in 1928. Bédier renounced traditional textual eclecticism and decided to print the different versions separately, each time following a *manuscrit de base.* The problems arising from different versions of one text are shown in a new edition of two rhythmic poems on the re-use of precious clothes, written by two famous Latin poets of the twelfth century, the French *magister* Hugh Primas and the anonymous Archpoet. Hugh Primas probably directed his satire *In noua fert animus* (WIC 9027, 5264) at the chapter and clergy of Reims. Some years later his poem has been imitated by the Archpoet in the *Carmen Buranum* 220 (WIC 8269 *Hoc in dialetica tandem constat esse;* WIC 17020 *Sepe de miseria mee paupertatis*). The *Galtherus subprior* mentioned in the F-version of *Carmen Buranum* 220 might be interpreted as an author's self-reference. If this is true, then we would in fact have detected the name of the famous author, hitherto exclusively known by the title of *Archipoeta.*

Ami, client et intermédiaire: Étienne de Tournai et ses réseaux de relations (1167-1192)*

par

W. YSEBAERT

Aspirant du Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique - Flandre, Belgique)

(Bruxelles)

Introduction

> « Certains pensent que vous avez de l'estime pour moi et ils sont tout à fait convaincus que mes prières auprès de vous leur sont utiles, fasse le ciel qu'ils ne se trompent pas »[1].

* Cet article est tiré de W. YSEBAERT, *De Parijse brievencollecties van Stefaan van Doornik (1167-1192). Vergelijkende studie van de manuscripten en netwerkanalyse op basis van de brieven,* mémoire de licence non-publié sous la direction du professeur G. DECLERCQ, Bruxelles, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 1999, 195 + 42 p. Nous tenons à remercier ici le professeur G. Declercq pour ses judicieux conseils et ses remarques pertinentes, ainsi que J. Van Wijnendaele, A. Fauck et A. Knaepen qui nous ont aidé pour la correction de la version française de ce texte. Nous menons actuellement une recherche concernant *toutes* les lettres d'Étienne de Tournai, et cela dans le cadre d'un projet concernant 'le rôle de l'écriture dans le développement des réseaux de relations au XII[e] siècle' (sous la direction du professeur G. Declercq), pour le Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique – Flandre (Belgique, F.W.O.-Vlaanderen).

L'édition la plus récente des lettres d'Étienne de Tournai est fournie par J. DESILVE, *Lettres d'Étienne de Tournai,* Valenciennes/Paris, Lemaître, 1893, 470 p. Les renvois aux lettres dans les pages suivantes sont fondés sur cette édition ('DS + chiffre' renvoie à la place d'une lettre dans l'édition de Desilve, 'DS + B + chiffre' renvoie aux lettres d'Étienne de Tournai découvertes par Desilve dans le manuscrit Paris, Bib. Nat., Baluze 128 (XVII s.) (Desilve, pages 393-408)).

[1] DS 120: "*Credunt aliqui me in oculis vestris complacere, et preces meas sibi apud vos prodesse pro voluntate sua meciantur, nec utinam menciantur*".

C'est par ces mots qu'Étienne de Tournai, abbé de Sainte-Geneviève de Paris de 1176 à 1192, s'adresse à Guillaume de Champagne, archevêque de Reims. Dans cette lettre, il demande à ce dernier d'intervenir en faveur d'un ecclésiastique demeuré anonyme, qui s'était adressé à lui pour qu'il plaide sa cause auprès de l'archevêque de Reims. Ce clerc considérait probablement qu' Étienne de Tournai était la personne adéquate pour approcher le puissant et influent archevêque, et la citation que nous avons reproduite (qui par ailleurs provient du début de la lettre) laisse présumer qu'il n'était apparemment pas le seul à penser ainsi. Nous ne connaissons malheureusement pas l'issue de l'intervention d'Étienne de Tournai auprès de Guillaume de Champagne, de même que nous restons dans l'incertitude quant au contenu et au déroulement de l'affaire dont il est question dans cette lettre. Nous pourrions déduire de l'absence de ces données réelles que cette lettre est peu importante, mais la citation susmentionnée nous fournit un ensemble d'indications qui, envisagées dans le cadre des lettres écrites durant cette période par Étienne de Tournai, nous livrent des informations intéressantes concernant les différents types de relations entretenues par le dernier. Cet article a pour but d'analyser et de définir, sur base de ces lettres, les relations nouées par Étienne de Tournai jusqu'à la fin de son abbatiat à Sainte-Geneviève en 1192, et de donner un aperçu des différents réseaux de relations à l'intérieur desquels il peut être replacé[2].

Les collections de lettres parisiennes d'Étienne de Tournai

Étienne de Tournai naquit le 18 février 1128, vraisemblablement dans la région d'Orléans[3]. Après une formation approfondie dans

[2] Nous avons suivi globalement la même méthode que J. HASELDINE, 'Understanding the language of *Amicitia*. The friendship circle of Peter of Celle (c. 1115-1183)', dans: *Journal of Medieval History*, 20, 1994, p. 237-260, et J. MCLOUGHLIN, 'Amicitia *in Practice*: John of Salisbury (c. 1120-1180) and his Circle', dans: D. WILLIAMS (éd.), *England in the Twelfth Century. Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 1990, p. 165-181, deux historiens qui ont prêté beaucoup d'attention au langage utilisé dans les lettres; voir *infra*.

[3] La biographie la plus complète d'Étienne de Tournai est celle de J. WARICHEZ, *Étienne de Tournai et son temps, 1128-1203*, Tournai-Paris, Casterman, 1937, 453 p. Ce travail, bien que vieilli, peut être considéré comme

le domaine des *artes liberales* (à Orléans) et ceux du droit civil et canon (à Bologne)[4] il devint, entre 1153 et 1158, chanoine régulier à l'abbaye de Saint-Euverte à Orléans, où il fut élu abbé entre fin 1167 et début 1168. Ensuite, entre le 4 avril et le 8 août 1176, il fut abbé de Sainte-Geneviève de Paris[5], abbaye qui, comme Saint-Euverte, appartenait à l'ordre de Saint-Victor. Son abbatiat à Sainte-Geneviève constitue la période centrale de sa carrière, période durant laquelle il exerça son influence de dignitaire ecclésiastique au plus haut niveau du pouvoir (tant clérical que temporel),

la synthèse de base. Là où nous n'avons pas suivi les opinions de Warichez, nous l'avons signalé dans une note. Des données biographiques sont aussi regroupées dans: C. BERNOIS, 'Étienne de Tournai, 1128-1203', dans: *Mémoires de l'Académie de Sainte-Croix*, 1905, p. 12-121; J. BRIAL, 'Étienne, abbé de Sainte-Geneviève à Paris, puis évêque de Tournai', dans: *Histoire littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur et continué par des membres de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris, 1820, vol. XV, p. 524-587; G. CONKLIN, *The ecclesiology of Stephen of Tournai, 1128-1203*, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Dissertation, 1987, 341 p.; Ph. DELHAYE, 'Étienne de Tournai', dans: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 1963, vol. XV, col. 1274-1278; M. FAZY, 'Étude historique et biographique sur Étienne de Tournai d'après sa correspondance', dans: *Positions de thèses de l'École des Chartes*, 1906, p. 95-105; M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich, Beck, 1931[3], vol. 3, p. 940-943; S. SCHELER, *Sitten und Bildung der französischen Geistlichkeit nach den Briefen Stephans von Tournai (†1203)*, Berlin, 1915, 108 p.; Ch. VAN DEN STEEN, *Étienne, évêque de Tournai, 1192-1203. Son milieu, ses relations, sa vie quotidienne. Essai d'heuristique et de biographie*, Louvain, UCL, Mémoire non-publié présenté pour l'obtention du grade du licencié en Sciences Religieuses, 1971, 2 vol. + 25 cartes; C. VLEESCHOUWERS, 'Chronologische problemen aangaande de bisschoppen van Doornik (1146-1218): episcopaatsjaren en jaarstijl', dans: *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Émulation te Brugge*, CXVII, 1980, p. 5-55; Ch. VULLIEZ, 'Etudes sur la correspondance et la carrière d'Étienne d'Orléans dit de Tournai († 1203)', dans: J. LONGÈRE, *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au Moyen Age. Communications présentées au XIII[e] Colloque d'Humanisme médiéval de Paris (1986-1988)*, Paris-Turnhout, Brepols, 1991, p. 195-231 et A. WAUTERS, 'Étienne, évêque de Tournai', dans: *Biographie Nationale*, Bruxelles, Bruylant Ch. & Cie., 1878, vol. 6, col. 719-725.

[4] Il n'existe aucune preuve confortant l'ancienne thèse selon laquelle Étienne de Tournai aurait étudié la théologie à Paris ou à Chartres; voir aussi S. FERRUOLO, *The origins of the University. The schools of Paris and their critics, 1100-1215*, Stanford/California, Stanford University Press, 1985, p. 361-362 n. 177.

[5] J. WARICHEZ, *o.c.*, p. 188 se base sur DS 24 pour dater cette élection. Nous pensons, d'après notre étude des différents manuscrits, que cette datation est correcte, mais qu'elle ne peut être déduite de DS 24, mais plutôt de DS B2.

et entretint de bonnes relations tant avec les archevêques, les cardinaux et les papes qu'avec les souverains capétiens Louis VII et Philippe-Auguste. En février 1192 il fut finalement élu évêque de Tournai[6], au terme d'une procédure dans laquelle intervint certainement Guillaume de Champagne, à l'époque archevêque de Reims. Étienne mourut le 11 septembre 1203, alors qu'il était toujours évêque de Tournai.

Étienne de Tournai nous est connu surtout par son oeuvre juridique[7], mais aussi par la collection étendue de ses lettres conservées. Il s'agit de 330 ou 331 lettres qui ont déjà été publiées plusieurs fois pour la plus grande partie[8], mais qui n'ont constitué que rarement

[6] Pour la datation de son élection et son ordination comme évêque, voir C. VLEESCHOUWERS, *o.c.*, p. 6 et p. 39-50, qui corrige l'hypothèse d'une élection vers la fin 1191, émise auparavant par Warichez.

[7] Il s'agit d'un commentaire sur le *Decretum* de Gratien (la *Concordia discordantium canonum*), publié par J.H. VON SCHULTE, *Die Summa des Stephanus Tornacensis über das Decretum Gratiani*, Giessen, 1891. La bibliographie concernant ce sujet est abondante; voir par exemple: G. CONKLIN, *o.c.*; ID., 'Stephen of Tournai and the development of aequitas canonica: the theocracy and practice of law after Gratian', dans: Ch. STANLEY (éd.), *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. 21-27 August 1988*, San Diego, University of California / Citta del Vaticano, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1992, p. 369-386; ID., 'Law, reform, and the origins of persecution: Stephen of Tournai and the order of Grandmont', dans *Medieval Studies*, 61, 1999, p. 107-36; A. GOURON, 'Sur les sources civilistes et la datation des Sommes de Rufin et d'Étienne de Tournai', dans: *Bulletin of medieval Canon Law*, 16, 1986, p. 55-70; H. KALB (éd.), *Studien zur Summa Stephans von Tournai. Ein Beitrag zur kanonistischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte des späten 12. Jahrhunderts*, Innsbruck, Wagner, 1983, 139 p.; ID., 'Bemerkungen zum Verhältnis von Theologie und Kanonistik am Beispiel Rufins und Stephan von Tournai', dans: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 103, Kan. Abt. 72, 1986, p. 338-348; ID., '"Non adversi sed diversi." Konfligierende Rechtstexte und die Dekretistik am Beispiel Stephans von Tournai', dans: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 105, 1997, p. 346-360; S. KUTTNER, 'The third part of Stephen of Tournai's Summa', dans: *Traditio*, 14, 1958, p. 502-505; R. WEIGAND, 'Studien zum kanonistischen Werk Stephans von Tournai', dans: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 103, Kan. Abt. 72, 1986, p. 350-361.

[8] Un aperçu des différentes éditions et un commentaire sont présentés dans Ch. VULLIEZ, *o.c.*, p. 197-198. Comme mentionné plus haut, l'édition la plus récente et la plus complète est celle de J. Desilve. Il faut remarquer que cette édition est vieillie et incomplète (Desilve ne connaissait que cinq des dix manuscrits dans lesquels on peut trouver un grand recueil de lettres (voir la note 10)). Elle

le sujet de travaux historiques[9]. Ces lettres se retrouvent dans dix manuscrits, contenant chacun une série importante de lettres[10], qui se divisent en cinq familles[11]. Selon l'hypothèse la plus récente, les lettres peuvent être divisées en deux grandes collections, à savoir respectivement les collections de Paris et de Tournai[12]. Nous avons procédé à une analyse concernant ce sujet: nous avons comparé les manuscrits entre eux pour ce qui concerne le nombre et l'ordre des lettres, ainsi que la présence de rubriques et d'adresses. Nous avons ensuite confronté ces résultats aux données internes des lettres (les

constitue cependant toujours le travail de base pour celui qui veut se pencher sur la correspondance d'Étienne de Tournai. Desilve et Vulliez recensent 325 ou 326 lettres (la lettre publiée dans Desilve aux pages 411-419 est d'origine douteuse). Si l'on ajoute à ce nombre une lettre publiée dans L. AUVRAY, 'Un poème rythmique et une lettre d'Étienne de Tournai', dans: *Mélanges Paul Fabre, études d'histoire du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1902, p. 291, et 4 lettres inédites que nous avons trouvées dans divers manuscrits nous pouvons dénombrer 330 ou 331 lettres d'Étienne de Tournai.

[9] Jusqu'ici seuls Desilve et Vulliez ont prêté attention aux manuscrits dans lesquels les lettres sont conservées.

[10] Les dix manuscrits sont: **B**: Bruxelles, Bib. Roy., 899-901 (1497), ff. 95-150, 184 lettres; **P**: Paris, Bib. Nat., lat. 2923 (in. XIV^e s.), ff. 94-169, 300 lettres; **M**: Paris, Bib. Nat., lat. 8566A (XIII^e s.), ff. 1-105v., 216 lettres; **C**: Paris, Bib. Nat., lat. 8630A (in. XIII^e s.), 110 ff., 236 lettres (endommagé); **S**: Paris, Bib. Nat., lat. 14168 (in. XIII^e s.), ff. 65-80v., 84 lettres; **O**: Tarragona, Bib. Publica, Cod. n° 6 (XIII^e s.), ff. 1-15., 97-98r., 60 lettres (?); **T**: Toledo, Arch. y Bib. Cap., Cod. 43-4 (in. XIV^e s.), ff. 45r-87r, 171 lettres; **A**: Valenciennes, Bib. Mun., 483 (XIII^e s.), ff. 3-89v., 216 lettres; **V**: Vatican, Reg. lat., 157 (XIII^e s.), 72 ff., 301 lettres; **G**: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-Aug. Bib., 46-63 (Gud. lat. 309) (XIII^e s.), 77 ff., 300 lettres. Aux pages 381-392 de son édition, Desilve a publié 12 lettres rassemblées par Claude du Molinet, auteur d'une publication antérieure des lettres (DU MOLINET, C., *Magistri Stephani, abbatis S. Genovefae Parisiensis, tum episcopi Tornacensis, epistolae, quae auctores, emendatores et notis illustratae denuo prodeunt studio R.P. Claudio Du Molinet, canonici regularis Congregationis Gallicae.* Lutetiae Parisiorum, sumptibus Ludovici Billaine, 1679). Ces 12 lettres ne se trouvent dans aucun des dix manuscrits mentionnés. Quelques autres manuscrits contiennent une lettre d'Étienne de Tournai et, dans quelques formulaires, on peut trouver des fragments de lettres; un aperçu de ces manuscrits est présenté par Ch. VULLIEZ, *o.c.*, p. 220.

[11] Ces familles sont: **P-C-V-G-O / M-A / B / T / S**. Pour son édition, Desilve a utilisé les manuscrits **P**, **G**, **C**, **M** en **A**; Vulliez connaissait tous les manuscrits à l'exception du manuscrit **O**. Nous n'avons pas pu examiner ce dernier, mais sur base de sa description dans Ch. HASKINS, 'Orleanese Formularies in a Manuscript at Tarragona', dans: *Speculum*, 5, 1930, p. 411-420, on peut déduire qu'il fait probablement partie de la même famille que **P**, **C**, **V** et **G**.

[12] Ch. VULLIEZ, *o.c.*, p. 202-204.

faits, les destinataires, les dates). Nous pensons pouvoir conclure de cette analyse que cette hypothèse n'est pas valable. D'après nous, il existe non pas *une* collection parisienne mais *trois* collections, séparées et cependant liées entre elles, constituées chacune à un moment différent, dans un but différent, et sous la direction d'une personne différente, mais toutes composées durant l'abbatiat d'Étienne de Tournai à Sainte-Geneviève (ou peu après celui-ci). Les manuscrits **S**, **T** et **B** représentent chacun une de ces collections. De toutes les lettres écrites par Étienne de Tournai avant son épiscopat à Tournai, il n'y en a que deux qui ne se retrouvent pas dans une ou plusieurs de ces collections[13]. Celles-ci contiennent en revanche 16 lettres qui n'existent pas dans les sept autres manuscrits[14]. Ces derniers peuvent vraisemblablement être divisés en deux autres collections, marquées toutes deux du 'caractère tournaisien': l'une d'entre elles se retrouve dans les manuscrits **P**, **C**, **V**, **G** et **O**, l'autre dans les manuscrits **M** et **A**. Tous ces manuscrits contiennent des lettres qui sont aussi bien tournaisiennes que pré-tournaisiennes[15].

Relations et réseaux d'Étienne de Tournai durant la période 1167-1192

Les manuscrits **S**, **T** et **B** (autrement dit les trois collections parisiennes), nous ont servi de point de départ pour connaître les relations d'Étienne de Tournai durant la période qui a précédé son épiscopat. Les lettres constituent le centre d'intérêt privilégié de nombreux historiens depuis le début du vingtième siècle. Étudiées dans le cadre des collections auxquelles elles appartiennent, elles nous livrent des informations fondamentales sur les différents aspects de la société médiévale[16]. Une façon nouvelle d'attaquer le

[13] DS 5 et 209.

[14] DS B1,B2, B3, B4, B5, B6, B7, B8, B9, B10, B11, B12 et 4 lettres inédites.

[15] Nous restons prudents en ce qui concerne les collections tournaisiennes, encore insuffisamment analysées. Les différents aspects du développement de ces collections seront traités de façon plus approfondie dans le cadre de notre projet mentionné plus haut.

[16] Une approche générale des lettres et des collections de lettres ainsi qu'une brève bibliographie peuvent être consultées dans G. CONSTABLE, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1976, 67 p. [Typologie des sources du Moyen Age Occidental, fasc. 17].

'problème des lettres et des collections de lettres' a été proposée en 1988 par John McLoughlin qui a montré que ces collections pouvaient fournir des renseignements intéressants sur les relations personnelles des ecclésiastiques comme sur les réseaux de relations[17]. Il a illustré cette théorie au moyen de l'analyse des lettres de Jean de Salisbury. L'apport le plus important de ce travail fut le renouvellement de la définition du concept d'*amicitia* à travers l'étude menée dans la correspondance de Jean de Salisbury. D'après McLoughlin, l'amitié médiévale dans les milieux cléricaux a été trop souvent approchée par les historiens comme une construction théorique, comme une forme d'amitié idéalisée[18] qu'on retrouverait aussi bien dans les relations d'amitié préférentielles et spirituelles entre personnes que dans l'amitié plus mystique entre Dieu et l'homme[19]. Cette approche se base sur de nombreux traités, sermons et lettres dans lesquels l'amitié est souvent décrite de cette façon par des moines[20]. Les lettres de Jean de Salisbury nous permettent de mieux comprendre comment cette personne envisageait l'amitié (c'est-à-dire comme une activité pragmatique) ou comment il a utilisé ses relations pour atteindre différents buts. Le terme 'ami' a reçu de cette façon un contenu plus 'terrestre' qui se distingue des définitions théoriques[21]. McLoughlin a développé son analyse sur base d'une classification des destinataires, du langage utilisé dans les lettres et de la répartition géographique des destinataires. Haseldine a poursuivi cette démarche en étudiant de la même façon les lettres

[17] "Letter collections have yet to be explored for the great quantity of information which they contain about (i) the forms of personal ties and obligation and (ii) the types on contacts and networks which churchmen operated", J. McLOUGHLIN, *o.c.*, p. 168.

[18] ID., *o.c.*, p. 167-168.

[19] Voir W.E.S. WOLDRING, *Vriendschap door de eeuwen heen*, Baarn, Ambo, 1994, p. 69 et suivantes.

[20] Les différents types d'amitié monastique et des références bibliographiques sont donnés dans B.P. McGUIRE, *Friendship & Community. The Monastic Experience 350-1250*, Michigan/Kalamazoo, Cistercian Publications Inc., 1988, 571 p. J. HASELDINE, *o.c.*, p. 239-249 propose nombre de références bibliographiques concernant les différentes approches de l'amitié médiévale.

[21] Déjà I.S. ROBINSON, 'The friendship network of Gregory VII', dans: *History*, 63, 1978, p. 1-22 prouve l'intérêt des 'amitiés politiques' dans le clergé, et M. MULLETT, 'Byzantium: a friendly society?', dans: *Past & Present*, 118, 1988, p. 3-24 a montré que l'interprétation théorique des historiens de l'amitié médiévale occidentale ne vaut pas pour le monde byzantin du XI[e] siècle, et elle précise qu'il faudrait chercher des formes de relations plus pratiques.

de Pierre de Celle, tout en se consacrant plus au langage utilisé et en distinguant les lettres d'après leur objectif. Haseldine en a conclu que l'*amicitia* ne pouvait être réduite à une simple attitude pragmatique, et que les groupes dans lesquels était utilisé le 'langage d'amitié' ne devaient pas être envisagés comme des alliances politiques, mais bien comme une espèce 'd'aristocratie spirituelle', comme des mouvements politico-intellectuels dans lesquels les individus partageaient des intérêts communs[22].

Les travaux de McLoughlin et de Haseldine ont eu pour objectif d'étudier les relations d'amitié et les réseaux médiévaux sur base des collections de lettres. Cependant, leurs méthodes se revèlent insuffisantes. Nous ne savons pas clairement comment l'auteur d'une lettre se comportait à l'égard de chaque destinataire ou des tiers qu'il mentionne, ni quel était le genre de chaque relation qui liait ces personnes, ni pourquoi il en allait ainsi. Dans notre étude des relations d'Étienne de Tournai, nous avons essayé de répondre – ne fût-ce qu'en partie – à ces questions. En premier lieu, nous avons adopté la méthode d'analyse de McLoughlin et de Haseldine, et ce pour pouvoir comparer Étienne de Tournai à Pierre de Celle et Jean de Salisbury. Nous avons ensuite séparé les lettres d'après l'objectif qu'elles poursuivaient. Par après, nous nous sommes attachés aux destinataires et (si possible) aux tiers mentionnés dans ces lettres, pour éviter de réduire ces personnes aux éléments de l'une ou l'autre catégorie. Enfin, nous avons introduit des concepts tels que 'patronage', 'relation entre patron et client' et 'intermédiaire', parce que ces concepts offrent justement la possibilité de préciser le genre de relation liant deux ou plusieurs personnes. Ces notions, qui proviennent de l'anthropologie et de la sociologie, ont déjà été largement appliquées par les historiens de l'Antiquité et des Temps Modernes, mais ont été trop peu utilisées dans l'étude de la civilisation de l'Occident médiéval[23]. Par le terme de 'patronage', nous

[22] J. HASELDINE, *o.c.*, p. 248 et p. 258-260.

[23] Par exemple A. WALLACE-HADRILL (éd.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, London/New York, Routledge, 1989, 255 p. pour l'Antiquité, et les différentes études de Sharon Kettering (par exemple S. KETTERING, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France*, New York/Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986, 322 p.) pour l'époque des Temps Modernes. Une bibliographie détaillée concernant l'application de ces concepts à travers l'anthropologie, la sociologie ou la science politique jusqu'aux années '80 se trouve dans S.N. EISENSTADT et L. RONIGER, *Patrons, clients and friends. Interpersonal relations and*

entendons ici une relation personnelle et asymétrique entre un patron et un client. Cette relation, entreprise volontairement, entraîne l'obligation de distribution réciproque de biens et de services. Un patron exerce un pouvoir sur ses clients et il peut exercer sur eux une influence: en effet, il peut leur accorder ou leur refuser des avantages précis, selon qu'il veuille les récompenser ou les punir. Il protège ses clients et leur fournit des biens et des services; en échange, ces derniers lui témoignent loyauté et obéissance et rendent éventuellement certains services[24]. Le patronage constitue clairement une relation verticale, qui s'oppose à la relation d'amitié, relation horizontale où l'échange de biens et de services ne résulte pas d'une obligation. Le 'broker' ou 'l'intermédiaire'[25] est quelqu'un qui intervient entre deux parties séparées, qui agit "as a middleman to arrange an exchange of ressources between parties who are separated by physical or personal distance"[26]. Un intermédiaire a des moyens d'action personnels qui peuvent contribuer à l'échange entre les parties. Il influence ainsi les transactions, dont il tire lui aussi un avantage. La fonction d'intermédiaire peut être remplie par un patron, un client ou une autre personne. Certains auteurs considèrent que la société féodale est constituée à tous les niveaux de relations patron-client, sur lesquelles on pourrait dès

the structure of trust in society, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 302-340.

[24] Ces caractères sont mis en évidence par différentes études sociologiques ou anthropologiques; par exemple A. BLOK, 'Variations in patronage', dans: *Sociologische Gids,* 16, 1969, p. 365-366; W.F. WERTHEIM, 'Patronage als structureel verschijnsel', dans: *Sociologische Gids,* 16, 1969, p. 362; S.N. EISENSTADT et L. RONINGER, 'Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange', dans: *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 22, 1980, p. 49-51; J. WATERBURY, 'An attempt to put patrons and clients in their place', dans: E. GELLNER et J. WATERBURY (éds.), *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies,* London, Duckworth, 1977, p. 329-332; S. KETTERING, *o.c.*, p. 3-4, p. 13; W.E.S. WOLDRING, *o.c.*, p. 31.

[25] Ch. VULLIEZ, *o.c.*, p. 210 utilise le terme *intercesseur,* mais nous avons choisi le terme *intermédiaire* comme traduction du terme anglais *broker.* Ce dernier nous semble mieux indiquer que le terme français, le rôle joué par Étienne de Tournai vis-à-vis de certains de ses destinataires. Pour une explication des concepts *broker* et *brokerage,* voir J. BOISSEVAIN, *Friends of friends. Networks, manipulators and coalitions,* Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1974, p. 147-169 et S. KETTERING, *o.c.*, 4-6.

[26] S. KETTERING, *o.c.*, p. 4.

lors apposer l'étiquette de 'système de patronage'[27]; d'autres le nient farouchement[28]. Dans notre travail nous ne faisons pas référence à cette discussion; les concepts de 'patron', 'client' et 'intermédiaire' sont utilisés exclusivement pour préciser la nature des relations individuelles existant dans la France du XII[e] siècle au sein du clergé.

Charles Vulliez, dans une brève étude consacrée à Étienne de Tournai, s'est lui aussi penché sur sa correspondance. Pour ce faire, il s'est basé entièrement sur l'édition réalisée par Desilve. Cependant, notre examen du contenu des lettres nous a montré que les interprétations de Desilve n'étaient pas toujours fondées. Desilve ne connaissait pas les manuscrits S, T et B, et les manuscrits qu'il a utilisés sont souvent incomplets en ce qui concerne la présence des adresses. Il en résulte des fautes dans la détermination du destinataire et la datation exacte de ces lettres. Sur les 207 lettres qui se trouvent dans les manuscrits S, T et B, nous en avons donc redaté 64 et trouvé, dans 13 cas, un destinataire différent de celui proposé par Desilve[29]. En outre, Desilve ignorait l'existence de quatre lettres, qui apparaissent dans ces manuscrits[30]. Ceci fait différer nos chiffres de ceux de Vulliez, d'autant plus que ce dernier a pris en considération la carrière complète d'Étienne de Tournai.

Une dernière remarque s'impose. L'utilisation de collections de lettres en vue d'étudier des relations entre personnes n'est pas sans danger. Les collections de lettres médiévales constituaient souvent des ensembles littéraires, des ouvrages véritablement destinés au public et composés en vue d'un but précis, reposant sur des principes d'organisation bien pesés, et dans lesquels le matériel utilisé – lettres, mais aussi parfois sermons, petits traités, actes et poèmes – avait fait l'objet d'une sélection et dont le contenu avait souvent été retravaillé. Les informations que nous tirons des lettres isolées posent souvent des problèmes: l'essentiel du message n'est pas tou-

[27] A. BLOK, *o.c.*, p. 367 et R. LEMARCHAND et K. LEGG, 'Political Clientelism and Development. A Preliminary Analysis', dans: *Comparative Politics*, 4, 1972, p. 163-165.

[28] E. GELLNER, 'Patrons and clients', dans E. GELLNER et J. WATERBURY (éds.), *o.c.*, p. 2-3 et M. GILSENAN, 'Against Patron-Client Relations', dans E. GELLNER et J. WATERBURY (éds.), *o.c.*, p. 181-182.

[29] Pour une nouvelle datation de certaines lettres adressées aux papes, voir D. LOHRMANN, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich, Neue Folge VIII: Diözese Paris I. Urkunden und Briefsammlungen der Abteien Sainte-Geneviève und Saint-Victor*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989, p. 32-39 et 115-125.

[30] Il s'agit des 4 lettres encore inédites (voir la note 8).

jours exprimé, et le contenu de ces lettres peut en outre avoir souffert de modifications stylistiques imposées par le caractère public de celles-ci ou en raison des exigences des règles des *artes dictaminis*. Tout cela peut donner une image inexacte de la realité, et il convient d'en tenir compte[31].

1. Classification des destinataires

Les manuscrits parisiens **S**, **T** et **B** contiennent au total 207 lettres différentes. D'après notre datation 29 lettres (14 %) se situent dans la période orléanaise d'Étienne de Tournai[32], dix lettres (4,83 %) peuvent provenir aussi bien de la période orléanaise que parisienne, une lettre date de la période de Tournai[33], et les 167 lettres restantes (80,67 %) doivent être placées très probablement durant son abbatiat à Sainte-Geneviève de Paris. Il ressort de ce panorama que le poids des lettres parisiennes est considérable, et c'est donc cette période parisienne qui sera la plus largement prise en considération dans les pages qui suivent[34].

Les 207 lettres ont été adressées à 103 destinataires différents, des personnes ou des groupes de personnes ayant reçu une ou plusieurs lettres d'Étienne de Tournai. En répartissant ces destinataires selon les mêmes catégories que celles utilisées par McLoughlin[35], nous pouvons comparer la correspondance d'Étienne de Tournai et

[31] G. CONSTABLE, *o.c.*, p. 56 et suivantes; G. CONSTABLE, *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, Cambridge/Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1967, vol. 1, p. 26-27 et 41-44; J. HASELDINE, 'The Creation of a Literary Memorial: The Letter Collection of Peter of Celle', dans: *Sacris Erudiri*, 37, 1997, p. 336-338; J. MCLOUGHLIN, *o.c.*, p. 168; R.W. SOUTHERN, *Saint Anselm. A Portrait in a Landscape*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 468-479.

[32] Seule DS 28 serait antérieure à son abbatiat à Orléans, et daterait de la periode où il séjournait à Chartres, c'est-à-dire vers 1158; les autres lettres ont été écrites pendant son abbatiat à Orléans.

[33] DS 237: lettre écrite par Étienne de Tournai pendant son épiscopat et adressée à Jean de Toucy, abbé de Sainte-Geneviève, et à ses chanoines.

[34] Pour la période s'étendant jusqu'à la fin de son abbatiat à Orléans, nous ne disposons pas de données concernant sa vie, ses activités et ses relations. Les lettres datant de cette période ne constituent que 10% du total des lettres d'Étienne de Tournai. Les autres sources concernant cette période sont aussi limitées. Ch. VULLIEZ, *o.c.*, p. 227-231 recense par exemple 32 actes dans lesquels Étienne de Tournai est mentionné; seuls 5 sont datés de la période orléanaise.

[35] J. MCLOUGHLIN, *o.c.*, p. 171-172.

celle d'un certain nombre de ses contemporains[36]. Le tableau 1 répartit les destinataires en fonction de leurs groupes sociaux: maîtres actifs dans les écoles, moines, clergé séculier, clergé régulier, laïcs et enfin ecclésiastiques de haut rang. Le tableau 2 s'organise selon des fonctions exercées, et ne reprend donc qu'une partie des destinataires: papes, cardinaux, archevêques, évêques, abbés et prieurs, archidiacres, officiants des chapitres cathédraux ou des institutions religieuses, rois et enfin laïcs de haute origine[37]. Les deux tableaux doivent être lus comme suit: le premier chiffre suivant chaque nom représente le nombre total de destinataires pris en compte. Les autres chiffres donnent, par auteur, le pourcentage des lettres reçues par catégorie. Dans le tableau 1, le total des chiffres d'une personne atteint 100 %; ce n'est pas le cas dans le tableau 2, puisqu'on n'a pas repris tous les destinataires[38].

Tableau Groupes sociaux des destinataires

Destinataires[a]	PdC	JdS	AdL	GF	BdC	PV	EdT
		92	62	108	252	79	96
Maîtres actifs	1 %	7 %	2 %	0 %	1 %	1 %	1,5 %
Moines	60	18	21	19	39	46	8,1
Clergé séculier[b]	4	37	15	17	4	6	6,6
Clergé régulier[c]	1	3	0		2	0	18,2
Laïcs	4		2	17	18	14	3
Clercs haut rang[d]	24	22	58	40	31	32	62,6
Inconnu	6	9	0	2			

a. PdC: Pierre de Celle, JdS: Jean de Salisbury, AdL: Arnulphe de Lisieux, GF: Gilbert Foliot, BdC: Bernard de Clairvaux, PV: Pierre le Vénérable, EdT: Étienne de Tournai.
b. Clercs des paroisses, membres des chapitres cathédraux de chanoines séculiers et clercs séculiers au service du roi.
c. Chanoines des ordres religieux et membres des chapitres cathédraux de chanoines réguliers.
d. Papes, cardinaux, archévêques et évêques.

Cf. HASELDINE, *o.c.*, p. 244-245 (note 2) et McLOUGHLIN, *o.c.*, p. 171

[37] J. McLOUGHLIN, *o.c.* p. 171-172 utilisait les termes de 'social order' et de 'special status' pour le classement des destinataires. Il est difficile de trouver des termes français indiquant exactement les mêmes catégories que celles données par McLoughlin; nous avons choisi d'utiliser les termes 'groupes sociaux' et 'fonctions exercées'.

[38] Haseldine avait donné pour tous les auteurs le nombre de lettres adressées à des destinataires inconnus (voir tableau: 'inconnu'). Nous avons choisi de ne pas procéder ainsi parce que nous avons omis d'autres lettres, lettres dont nous ne pouvions plus placer les destinataires dans une catégorie exacte. Il s'agit des DS 2, 36, 149, 164, 190, 202, B4, B7, adressées à six destinataires différents. La lettre DS 237 n'est pas reprise non plus dans le classement, car cette lettre a été écrite

De ce tableau s'impose un chiffre: le haut pourcentage de lettres adressées par Étienne de Tournai à des ecclésiastiques de haut rang. Plus de 62 % des lettres (124 lettres) sont adressées à des personnes qui exercent une fonction ecclésiastique plus haute que celle d'Étienne de Tournai: évêques, archevêques, cardinaux, papes. Comparé aux autres auteurs de lettres, ce pourcentage est le plus élevé. La faible représentation des lettres adressées à des moines et des clercs séculiers comme l'importante représentation des lettres adressées à des chanoines réguliers s'expliquent facilement: Étienne de Tournai faisait partie d'un ordre de chanoines réguliers, alors que Pierre le Vénérable, Bernard de Clairvaux, Gilbert Foliot et Pierre de Celle appartenaient à l'ordre monastique[39], et Jean de Salisbury et Arnulphe de Lisieux au clergé séculier.

Tableau 2. Fonctions exercées par les destinataires

Destinataires[a]	PdC	JdS	AdL	GF	BdC	PV	
	82	92	62	108	252	79	96
Papes	4 %	2	6	5	4	2	18,7 %
Cardinaux	2	8	15	6	2	9	11,6
Archevêques	10	2	10	5	10	7	9,1
G.d Champagne[b]							14,1
Evêques	9	14	26	25	9	12	9,1
Abbés et prieurs	40	11	23	11	40	27	20,2
Archidiacres	0	12	10	9	0	< 1	1,5
Rempl. Office[c]	4	10	3	6	4	2	4
Rois	2	0		3	2	4	,5
Laïcs haute origine			0	7		7	
Total:	72 %	60 %	96 %	77 %	71 %	68 %	90,8 %

a. PdC: Pierre de Celle, JdS: Jean de Salisbury, AdL: Arnulphe de Lisieux, GF: Gilbert Foliot, BdC: Bernard de Clairvaux, PV: Pierre le Vénérable, EdT: Étienne de Tournai.
b. G. d Champagne: Guillaume de Champagne. 'Guillaume de Champagne' est présenté à part à cause du grand nombre de lettres qui lui sont adressées. Ces lettres trouveraient aussi leur place dans les catégories des archevêques ou des cardinaux (pour les lettres écrites après le mois de mars 1179).
c. Ceux qui remplissaient un office dans des chapitres cathédraux ou dans d'autres institutions réligieuses, à l'exception des abbés et des prieurs.
Les destinataires qui ont exercé plusieurs fonctions durant la période au cours de laquelle ils ont reçu des lettres sont aussi classés de cette manière. Ainsi, Jean Bellesmains, évêque de Poitiers et archevêque de Lyon est compté deux fois dans la catégorie des évêques et une fois dans celle des archevêques. Trois lettres adressées à plus d'une personne sont reprises dans le tableau comme suit: la lettre 87, adressée à l'évêque Henri et à Guillaume, doyen de Bayeux est reprise dans la catégorie des évêques. La lettre B 11, adressée à l'évêque Nivélon et à Guillaume, doyen de Soissons est également classée dans la catégorie des évêques. La lettre 172, adressée au doyen et au chapitre de Reims, figure dans la catégorie 'Rempl. Office'.

par Étienne de Tournai pendant son épiscopat. Le nombre de destinataires est dès lors réduit à 96, et le nombre de lettres à partir desquelles sont établis les pourcentages à 198.

[39] Pierre de Celle et Gilbert Foliot ont encore exercé une fonction épiscopale après leur abbatiat.

Plus de 90 % des lettres d'Étienne de Tournai ont été adressées à des personnes appartenant aux catégories du tableau 2. 18,7 % de ces lettres ont été envoyées au pape, ce qui constitue à nouveau le pourcentage le plus élevé de notre échantillon d'auteurs. Le nombre de lettres adressées à des cardinaux se situe également au-dessus de la moyenne, au contraire du pourcentage de lettres adressées à des abbés, des prieurs et des évêques. Il convient également de souligner le nombre élevé de lettres adressées à Guillaume de Champagne, que nous avons donc choisi de regrouper en une catégorie distincte[40]. Il est impossible d'expliquer, uniquement à partir de cette présentation, le nombre élevé de lettres adressées par Étienne de Tournai à des clercs de haut rang et surtout au pape. La collection de lettres d'Étienne de Tournai ressemble le plus à celle d'Arnulphe de Lisieux, mais il est dangereux d'établir une comparaison trop stricte sur base des chiffres qui précèdent. Non seulement Arnulphe de Lisieux n'était pas chanoine régulier, mais les lettres reprises dans les tableaux ci-dessus concernent sa carrière entière et donc également son épiscopat à Lisieux. Il en va de même pour les autres auteurs. On a pris en considération pour chacun d'eux la collection complète de leurs lettres, alors que pour Étienne de Tournai n'ont été reprises que celles concernant ses deux abbatiats. Remarquons toutefois que Charles Vulliez, qui a examiné les lettres des périodes pré-tournaisiennes et tournaisiennes (et plus spécifiquement leurs destinataires) a pu établir entre les deux périodes, un glissement du nombre de lettres adressées aux différentes catégories de destinataires. Il y eut, durant la période tournaisienne, relativement moins de lettres écrites au pape et aux cardinaux, et plus de lettres adressées à des évêques, des abbés et des prieurs; le nombre de lettres adressées à Guillaume de Champagne, archevêque de Reims, a proportionnellement augmenté durant cette période, mais aucune lettre ne fut adressée à un autre archevêque[41].

Il faut prendre en considération un certain nombre d'autres aspects lorsqu'on compare les lettres et les destinataires d'Étienne de Tournai avec ceux des six autres auteurs, outre les différences entre le clergé régulier et séculier et la prise en compte (ou non) de

[40] Pour la relation entre Guillaume de Champagne et Étienne de Tournai *infra* paragraphe 4 a.

[41] Ch. VULLIEZ, *o.c.*, p. 205-210 et p. 223-226.

la carrière entière de l'auteur en question. Bernard de Clairvaux et Pierre le Vénérable ont vécu dans la première moitié du XII[e] siècle, et appartiennent dès lors à un contexte social différent. Arnulphe de Lisieux et Gilbert Foliot ont tous deux exercé leurs fonctions dans le royaume anglo-saxon et non, comme Étienne de Tournai, dans le royaume capétien. Jean de Salisbury, anglais de naissance, suivit une carrière académique et fut, durant les cinq dernières années de sa vie, évêque de Chartres. Pierre de Celle fut, durant la plus grande partie de sa carrière, abbé bénédictin et succéda, durant les deux dernières années de sa vie, à Jean de Salisbury comme évêque de Chartres. En d'autres termes, il s'agit chaque fois de personnes dont la carrière et la place dans le contexte social peuvent difficilement être comparées avec celles d'Étienne de Tournai; la seule chose qu'on puisse vraiment dire sur base des chiffres cités plus haut est que les destinataires d'Étienne de Tournai lui sont difficilement comparables, à l'exception peut-être d'Arnulf de Lisieux.

2. Le langage utilisé dans les lettres d'Étienne de Tournai

Il est intéressant de se pencher sur le langage utilisé par Étienne de Tournai dans ses différentes lettres. Nous avons examiné quelles lettres contiennent des termes qui renvoient à des liens d'amitié, quand Étienne de Tournai utilise le *tu* ou le *vos*, à l'égard de quels destinataires le mot *amicus* est utilisé dans la *salutatio*, quelles lettres développent des considérations au sujet de l'amitié, et quand l'auteur (dans certaines lettres) se réfère à des obligations réciproques contenues dans le concept d'amitié. D'une façon générale on peut parler ici des lettres qui contiennent le 'langage d'amitié'[42]. Le tableau 3 donne un aperçu des lettres de ce genre avec leur destinataire et des remarques annexes.

1. Nous avons contrôlé dans toutes les lettres la présence des termes *amicitia* et *amicus*, et des mots qui pouvaient être utilisés comme leurs synonymes, à savoir *caritas*, *amor*, *dilectio* et *affectus*. Le terme *amitié* n'a été utilisé que dans neuf lettres. Dans quatre cas, celui-ci est accompagné d'une courte description du concept d'*amitié*. Si on

[42] Ceci sont les critères utilisés par J. HASELDINE, *o.c.*, p. 254-258 et J. MCLOUGHLIN, *o.c.*, p. 165 et p. 172-173. 206 des 207 lettres qui se trouvent dans les manuscrits parisiens S, T et B, sont prises en compte pour cette partie de notre enquête. Seule la lettre 237 n'y est pas intégrée.

met cela en rapport avec les autres termes, il n'existe que 26 lettres, adressées à 21 destinataires différents, dans lesquelles les mots utilisés par Étienne de Tournai peuvent se rapporter à un lien d'amitié l'unissant à son destinataire. Cela équivaut donc à 20,6 % du nombre total des destinataires, un pourcentage bien plus bas que celui des lettres de Jean de Salisbury[43]. Si on ne prend pas en compte les lettres dans lesquelles on trouve une description de l'amitié, il n'y a plus que 14 destinataires différents à qui, dans 17 lettres, l'auteur s'adresse en des termes qui font référence à des liens amicaux. La manière de parler, la langue utilisée, est très modérée par rapport à celle employée par les autres auteurs du XII[e] siècle. Le contexte dans lequel les lettres ont été écrites semble toutefois montrer que l'utilisation de ces mots n'était pas gratuite. En effet, dans 19 des 26 lettres, Étienne de Tournai requiert une intervention ou une aide ou livre, comme but final de la lettre, une recommandation en faveur d'un tiers[44].

2. La forme *tu* ou *vos* peut également trahir un lien personnel entre l'auteur et son destinataire. Étienne de Tournai utilise la forme *tu* en s'adressant à 15 destinataires. À l'égard de huit d'entre eux, il utilise un ou plusieurs des termes dont il est question au paragraphe précédent[45]. Jean de Salisbury n'utilise la forme *tu* qu'à l'égard de personnes qui lui sont directement subordonnées et réserve la forme *vos* pour des personnes qui exercent une fonction supérieure[46]. En revanche, Étienne de Tournai n'emploie jamais la forme *tu* dans des lettres adressées à des destinataires qui ont une fonction supérieure à la sienne, mais il ne le fait pas non plus systématiquement lorsqu'il s'adresse à des personnes d'une fonction inférieure. Cela montre des similitudes avec la façon dont il formule ses *salutationes*. Suivant les règles des *artes dictaminis*, le nom du destinataire (l'*inscriptio*) est généralement placé avant celui de l'expéditeur (l'*intitulatio*) dans le cas ou l'expéditeur est un subordonné du destinataire; à l'inverse, l'expéditeur met son nom avant celui du des-

[43] J. McLOUGHLIN, *o.c.*, p. 165, parle de deux tiers des lettres de Jean de Salisbury, lettres dans lesquelles le destinataire était interpellé dans un tel langage. Haseldine ne livra pas de chiffres exacts pour les lettres de Pierre de Celle.

[44] Voir *infra*.

[45] Dans un nombre limité de lettres, Étienne de Tournai utilise seulement la forme *ego*. Quelques autres lettres sont adressées à plusieurs personnes, la forme *vos* y est utilisée de facto.

[46] J. McLOUGHLIN, *o.c.*, p. 172-173.

tinataire si ce dernier se trouve être son subordonné. On peut choisir librement la place dans le cas ou les deux personnes exercent la même fonction (par exemple un abbé écrivant à un autre abbé)[47]. Étienne de Tournai ne place son nom avant celui de son destinataire que dans cinq cas[48]; dans tous les autres, il met le nom de son destinataire avant le sien, même pour les personnes qui exercent une fonction inférieure à la sienne.

3. L'utilisation du qualificatif *amicus* dans la *salutatio* (l' adresse) peut également renvoyer à un lien d'amitié avec le destinataire mais il faut remarquer que, dans les cas des lettres d'Étienne de Tournai, on pourrait en tirer une image qui prête à confusion: en effet, ses lettres ne possèdent pas toutes une adresse (du moins dans les manuscrits)[49]. On peut toutefois constater les éléments suivants dans les lettres contenant une adresse. Étienne de Tournai utilise *amicus* dans la *salutatio* de 15 lettres, adressées à 12 destinataires différents. Sept de ces destinataires se retrouvent dans les lettres où la forme *tu* est employée, ou dans des lettres où Étienne de Tournai utilise des termes renvoyant aux liens d'amitié. Il reste encore cinq autres destinataires. Dans trois lettres, Étienne de Tournai utilise un superlatif dans l'adresse[50]. Il emploie également un tel superlatif à l'égard d'un quatrième destinataire, mais cela dans la lettre même[51]. Il n'y a que ces quatre personnes auxquelles il s'adresse de cette façon, ce qui constitue vraisemblablement un indicateur valable des bonnes relations le liant à ces quatre personnes.

4. On ne trouve pas dans les lettres d'Étienne de Tournai de longues considérations au sujet de l'amitié. Cependant, neuf lettres contiennent une courte réflexion sur ce thème qui, dans tous les cas, se place en début de lettre et y sert de *captatio benevolentiae.*

[47] Voir G. CONSTABLE, 'The Structure of Medieval Society according to the Dictatores of the Twelfth Century', dans: K. PENNINGTON et R. SOMERVILLE (éds.), *Law, Church and Society. Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner,* S.l., University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977, p. 253.

[48] DS 80, 99, 118, 153 et 175.

[49] Seulement 104 des 207 lettres dans les manuscrits **S**, **T** et **B** contiennent une adresse complète (et donc utilisable).

[50] DS 66, adressée à Lambert de Bruges: "*desiderantissimo amico*"; DS 47, adressée à Barthélemy de Vendôme: "*amantissimo domino et patri*"; DS 175, adressée à Peder Sunesen: "*amantissimo fratri*".

[51] DS 27, adressée au prieur des chanoines victorins à Naples: "*dilectissime...*"

Sept des neuf destinataires auxquels de telles lettres sont adressées bénéficient aussi d'autres aspects du langage de l'amitié. Dans sept des neuf lettres cette réflexion est suivie d'une demande d'argent ou d'une demande d'intervention en faveur de quelqu'un; dans les deux autres cas il s'agit de la recommandation d'un tiers.

5. Tant McLoughlin qu'Haseldine insistent sur la forme des 'obligations réciproques' qu'ils estiment caractéristiques de l'amitié médiévale et qui se retrouvent dans un certain nombre de lettres[52]. Aucun des deux auteurs ne précise cependant de quel genre d'obligations réciproques il s'agit: celles-ci entrent-elles dans le cadre d'une relation d'amitié ou expriment-elles une relation d'un autre genre? Ce qu'on appelait les obligations de l'amitié était souvent présenté, par exemple par Cicéron, comme un 'remboursement de dettes'[53]; cependant on ne peut comparer cela avec une obligation réciproque entre des personnes de rang inégal, comme c'est le cas dans une relation patron-client. Ainsi Cicéron parle-t-il de la réciprocité en amour, et non pas de l'obligation de satisfaire les besoins de l'autre[54]. L'idéal de l'amitié découvert par Haseldine dans les lettres de Pierre de Celle semble se rattacher à l'univers de pensée cicéronien et ne peut être réduit aux caractéristiques de la relation entre patron et client.

Dans la lettre DS 179, Étienne de Tournai écrit à Omer, évêque de Ripen, que l'amitié suppose le secours mutuel[55], mais il n'insiste pas sur ce point – il s'agit d'une lettre où il demande de l'argent pour des travaux à réaliser à l'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève. On ne trouve, dans aucun manuscrit, aucune autre lettre adressée par Étienne de Tournai à cet évêque, et il n'est jamais fait mention de ce dernier dans aucune missive, ce qui rend difficile l'évaluation de leurs rapports mutuels. Dans la lettre DS 163, Étienne de Tournai se présente lui-même comme l'ami du cardinal Soffroi, et écrit qu'il est convaincu de l'amitié de celui-ci, sans parler toutefois d'obligations réciproques[56]. Il requiert son intervention auprès de la curie

[52] J. HASELDINE, *o.c.*, p. 240 et J. MCLOUGHLIN, *o.c.*, p. 172.

[53] J. HASELDINE, *o.c.*, p. 241.

[54] J.G.F. POWELL (éd.), *Cicero: Laelius, on friendship (Laelius de Amicitia)*, Warminster, Aris & Phillips LTD, 1990, VIII: 26-27.

[55] DS 179: "*Quatuor sunt que aut novas conciliant amicicias aut veteres colunt: alterne confabulationes, obsequia mutua...*"

[56] DS 163: "*et de reciproqua amicicia vestra nec dubitam...*"

pontificale, et signale par ailleurs qu'il est prêt à obéir au cardinal. Étienne de Tournai lui écrit trois autres lettres; dans deux d'entre elles, il demande de l'aide pour l'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève et pour un certain nombre de religieux[57], dans la troisième il s'excuse longuement de ne pas avoir utilisé sa propre influence au profit d'un parent du cardinal[58]. Dans ces trois lettres on ne retrouve pas le langage d'amitié; la réciprocité qui ressort plus ou moins du contenu de ces lettres a un caractère plus pragmatique que ce qu'on attendrait dans le cadre de l'amitié cicéronienne. Enfin, dans la lettre DS 197, Étienne de Tournai demande de l'aide à Guillaume de Champagne, archevêque de Reims, au profit de Robert, abbé fraîchement élu de l'abbaye Saint-Vincent de Senlis. Robert était un chanoine qui venait de l'abbaye Saint-Victor, Étienne de Tournai l'appelle "mon vieil ami avec lequel je partage des obligations réciproques"[59] mais n'insiste pas sur ce point. En outre il n'existe aucune lettre d'Étienne de Tournai qui soit adressée à Robert et il n'est jamais fait mention de ce dernier. Il est donc difficile de se faire une idée du genre de relation les liant et des obligations réciproques auxquelles il est fait allusion.

On ne retrouve pas, dans le cadre des lettres qui contiennent le langage d'amitié, d'autres indications concernant une aide ou des obligations réciproques. Il ressort cependant de trois lettres que le principe de réciprocité existait bel et bien, mais pas nécessairement seulement dans le cadre d'une relation amicale. À un moment déterminé, dans l'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève, un religieux italien est entretenu, à la demande du pape, aux frais de l'abbaye. Étienne de Tournai mentionne le fait aussi bien au pape Alexandre III qu'à son chancelier Albert de Morra, et se plaint de n'avoir pas reçu de service correspondant en échange[60]. Étienne de Tournai semble ici se conformer au principe de réciprocité et il est clair que ces lettres ne correspondent pas au concept d'amitié.

6. 44 lettres (21, 4 %) d'Étienne de Tournai, adressées à 36 destinataires différents (35,3 %), contiennent une ou plusieurs caractéristiques du langage de l'amitié. En voici un aperçu:

[57] DS 168 et 198.

[58] DS 209.

[59] DS 197: "*familiaris et amicus est meus ab antiquo, et mutuis obligatus obsequiis...*"

[60] DS 62, 63 et 71

Tableau 3. Aperçu des destinataires à l'égard desquels est employé le langage de l'amitié

Nom du destinataire	N° lettre	Termes[a]	Sal.[b]	Tu[c]	Cons.[d]
Absalon, archevêque de Lund	176	T			C
Albert de Mora, cardinal et chancelier pontifical	146				C
Arald, abbé de Saint-Benoît de Fleury	60	T			
Barthélemy de Vendôme, archevêque de Tours	47		(A) S		
Bertier, prieur, et les chanoines de Saint-Euverte	90		A		
Geoffroi, abbé de Saint-Satur-sous-Sancerre	18		A		
	54	T			
	67	T			
	151		A		
	173			tu	
Gérard, abbé de Saint-Ambroise de Bourges	140		A		
Hugues de Garlande, doyen de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans	156	T			
Hugues, abbé de Saint-Barthélemy de Noyon	B6			tu	
Hugues, abbé de Saint-Vincent de Senlis	135		A		
Jean d'Orléans, notaire du pape	80	T		tu	
Jean, chanoine de Saint-Satur-sous-Sancerre	64			tu	
Jothon, archevêque de Tours	33	T			C
Un chanoine de l'église du Puy	31	T			
Lambert de Bruges	66	T	A S	tu	
Un moine de La Charité-sur-Loire	59				C
Nicolas, prieur de Saint-Barthélemy de Noyon	61	T	A		C
Omer, évêque de Ripen	179	T			C
Le sous-prieur de La Charité-sur-Loire	58		A		
Les parents d'un chanoine décédé	41		A		
Peder Sunesen	153	T		tu	
	175	T	(A) S	tu	
Pierre de Pavie, cardinal	56	T			
Le prieur et la congrégation de La Charité-sur-Loire	103	T			
Le prieur des chanoines victorins de Naples	27	T	A (S)	tu	C
Raymond, prieur de Sainte-Geneviève	126			tu	
Raynaud, archiprêtre d'Orléans	137	T		tu	C
	162	T		tu	
Richard Barre, archidiacre de Lisieux et d'Ely	275			tu	
Robert Galardon, prieur de Pontigny	1			tu	
Robert, ancien condisciple	36	T	A	tu	
Soffroi, cardinal	163	T			C
Vivien, cardinal	77	T			
Guillaume d'Aebbelholt, abbé de Saint-Thomas de Paraclet	145	T	A		
	178	T	A		
Guillaume de Bière, ermite et ancien prieur de Saint-Euverte	188		A	tu	
Guillaume de Cabriano	26	T		tu	
Guillaume de Champagne	185	T			
	197	T			
Guillaume d'Orléans, notaire du pape	107			tu	

a. La lettre T signale la présence dans la lettre de termes qui renvoient à des liens personnels ou des relations amicales entre Étienne de Tournai et son destinataire.
b. *Salutatio*: La lettre A signale que le mot *amicus* est utilisé dans l'adresse; (A) renvoie à l'utilisation de *amantissimo* au lieu de *amicus*. S renvoie à l'utilisation d'un superlatif dans l'adresse, (S) renvoie à l'utilisation d'un superlatif dans la lettre même.
c. La mention *tu* signale l'utilisation de la forme *tu* dans la lettre.
d. *Considération*: La lettre C signale la présence d'une considération au sujet de l'amitié dans la lettre.

En ce qui concerne le nombre des clercs de haut rang, on constate une différence complète entre ce tableau et les tableaux 1 et 2. Dès qu'on parle des liens d'amitié, on ne retrouve que neuf destinataires sur 36 (soit 25 %) exerçant une fonction plus élevée que celle d'Étienne de Tournai[61], alors qu'il y en avait 124 sur 206 (soit 62 %) dans le nombre total des lettres[62]. Des caractéristiques communes apparaissent chez 11 destinataires[63]. Aucun d'entre eux n'exerce de fonction plus élevée qu'Étienne de Tournai. Cinq d'entre eux appartiennent à l'ordre victorin, les six autres sont d'anciennes connaissances de la période orléanaise ou d'avant celle-ci. Neuf des 44 lettres (20,45 %) peuvent être datées avec certitude de la période orléanaise[64], deux autres sont douteuses[65]. Les lettres orléanaises représentent 14% du total de la correspondance étudiée, mais 20,45% de celle ou est utilisé le langage d'amitié. On peut donc constater que ces lettres sont ici mieux représentées, mais compte tenu du nombre réduit des lettres, cette constatation n'a pas grande importance.

22 des 36 destinataires mentionnés dans le tableau 3 n'ont reçu qu'une seule lettre d'Étienne de Tournai, soit celle mentionnée dans ce tableau. Il est difficile, voire impossible, de comprendre et d'expliquer sur base d'une seule lettre la relation qui a pu lier Étienne

[61] Absalon, archevêque de Lund; Albert de Mora, cardinal et chancelier pontifical, Barthélemy de Vendôme, archevêque de Tours; Jothon, archevêque de Tours; Pierre de Pavie, cardinal; Soffroi, cardinal; Vivien, cardinal; Guillaume de Champagne; Omer, évêque de Ripen.

[62] Voir tableau 1.

[63] Les mots indiquant l'amitié se trouvant dans une réflexion concernant celle-ci valent pour une caractéristique (c'est le cas pour Absalon, archevêque de Lund; Jothon, archevêque de Tours; Omer, évêque de Ripen le cardinal Soffroi). Les 11 destinataires sont: Geoffroy, abbé de Saint-Satur; Jean d'Orléans, notaire du pape; Lambert de Bruges; Nicolas, prieur de Saint-Barthélemy de Noyon; Peder Sunesen; Raynaud, archiprêtre d'Orléans; Robert, son ancien condisciple; Guillaume d'Aebbelholt; Guillaume de Bière, ermite; le prieur des victorins à Naples Guillame de Cabriano.

[64] DS 18, 26, 31, 33, 54, 56, 58, 59 et 61.

[65] DS 60 et B6.

de Tournai et leur destinataire. Il ressort cependant de la plupart des lettres qu'Étienne de Tournai utilise le langage d'amitié de manière pragmatique. On ne trouve que 13 lettres adressées à 12 destinataires, qui ne demandent pas clairement une aide, une intervention ou la recommandation d'un chanoine ou d'un parent[66]. Étienne de Tournai ne semble pas cultiver l'*amicitia* de la même façon que Pierre de Celle, qui désire réellement construire un 'cercle d'amis' en envoyant des lettres, en utilisant un certain langage dans celles-ci et en développant le concept d'amitié. Il se rapproche d'avantage de la façon dont ce concept est compris par Jean de Salisbury, c'est-à-dire comme une activité plus pragmatique et, plus spécifiquement chez ce dernier, basée sur les intérêts propres de chacune des deux parties[67]. On ne retrouve pas chez Étienne de Tournai l'interprétation typiquement monastique de l'amitié, présente chez un grand nombre d'auteurs du milieu du XII[e] siècle[68]. Il est par ailleurs moins question d'intérêt personnel chez Étienne de Tournai que chez Jean de Salisbury, parce que ses lettres requièrent de l'aide ou une intervention pour une tierce personne plutôt que pour lui-même[69]; et il est impossible de déterminer dans quelle mesure ses demandes et leurs réponses étaient réciproques. En outre, Étienne de Tournai utilise beaucoup moins le langage d'amitié que Jean de Salisbury; il le fait dans 21,4 % de ses lettres contre 60 % chez Jean de Salisbury.

3. Objectif et contenu des lettres d'Étienne de Tournai

On peut répartir la correspondance d'Étienne de Tournai en onze catégories fondées sur leur but et leur contenu[70]:

[66] Ce sont les lettres adressées à Barthélemy de Vendôme, archevêque de Tours; Gérard, abbé de Saint-Ambroise de Bourges; Jean, chanoine de Saint-Satur; Lambert de Bruges; les parents d'un chanoine décédé; Peder Sunesen; cardinal Pierre de Pavie; Richard Barre; Robert Galardon; cardinal Vivien; Guillaume d'Aebbelholt; Guillaume de Bière.

[67] J. McLOUGHLIN, *o.c.*, p. 167.

[68] Principalement sur base des 15 lettres d'Étienne de Tournai à différents prélats danois, McGuire a abouti aux mêmes conclusions. Voir B.P. McGUIRE, *o.c.*, p. 364-365, mais aussi p. 339 et suivantes.

[69] Voir *infra*.

[70] Voir tableau 4, où seule la catégorie 11 n'est pas reprise dans le tableau. 206 des 207 lettres des manuscrits S, T et B sont intégrées à cette présentation, seule DS 237 est omise. Un classement comme celui proposé par Haseldine, c'est-à-

1. La première catégorie regroupe 25 lettres, adressées à 20 destinataires, dans lesquelles Étienne de Tournai demande ou communique des informations[71]. Ces informations sont dans la plupart des cas très pratiques: communication de la date d'événements futurs, recommendations à un subordonné en son absence, informations au destinataire sur un parent étudiant à l'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève, etc. À quatre exceptions près, les destinataires de ces lettres n'étaient vraisemblablement pas inconnus d'Étienne de Tournai. En d'autres termes, les lettres ayant pour but d'échanger des informations pratiques trahiraient le genre de relation que leur auteur entretient avec leurs destinataires, puisqu'il s'agit souvent d'une correspondance entre personnes se connaissant.

2. Une deuxième catégorie comprend 11 lettres contenant des recommandations en faveur de chanoines malades ou en fuite[72], ou s'informant de la nécessité de garder ou de renvoyer des chanoines[73]. Ces lettres sont toutes adressées à des abbés appartenant à l'ordre de Saint-Victor[74].

3. Une troisième catégorie se compose des lettres concernant 'l'affaire de Dol'. Il s'agit d'une manœuvre politique des évêques bretons de la province ecclésiastique de Tours, qui cherchèrent à échapper à l'influence des souverains capétiens en faisant reconnaître l'évêché de Dol comme un nouveau archevêché breton indépendant[75]. Ce problème s'imposa durant l'abbatiat d'Étienne de

dire subdivisé en lettres d'amitié, lettres d'affaires, lettres d'amitié et d'affaires, lettres politiques et lettres théologiques, n'était pas appliquable aux lettres d'Étienne de Tournai, car un grand nombre de celles-ci ne peuvent être réparties dans une de ces catégories.

[71] DS 21, 35, 40, 41, 47, 65, 66, 72, 85, 86, 92, 93, 106, 107, 115, 118, 125, 140, 145, 147, 175, 187, 194, 201 et B3.

[72] Concernant la problématique des chanoines fugitifs, voir J. LECLERCQ, 'Documents sur les "fugitifs"', dans: *Analecta Monastica. Textes et études sur la vie des moines au Moyen Age*, 54, 1965, p. 87-145.

[73] DS 18, 32, 54, 67, 89, 101, 113, 135, 151, 173 et B6.

[74] Dans certaines de ces lettres, on peut dire qu'Étienne agit comme intermédiaire ou *broker* pour un chanoine en fuite. Comme il s'agit ici des problèmes propres à l'ordre, des problèmes dans lesquels seuls les chanoines et abbés étaient impliqués, nous avons choisi de compter ces lettres ici et non dans la catégorie 7 (voir *infra*).

[75] Concernant cette affaire, voir G. CONKLIN, 'Les Capétiens et l'affaire de Dol de Bretagne, 1179-1199', dans: *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 78, 1992, p. 241-263.

Tournai à Sainte-Geneviève, et plus précisement pendant les premières années du règne du Philippe-Auguste. Elle constitue le sujet de neuf lettres d'Étienne de Tournai: quatre écrites au nom de Philippe-Auguste[76], une au nom de la régente Adèle (au moment de la troisième croisade)[77], une au nom de Guillaume de Champagne[78] et les trois autres en son nom propre[79]. Étienne de Tournai s'y montre défenseur fidèle des intérêts de la couronne capétienne. Le fait qu'il écrive des lettres au nom du roi et de la régence n'est pas sans importance: ceci révèle les bonnes relations qu'il entretenait à cette époque avec la maison royale française.

4. Une quatrième catégorie comprend sept lettres se rapportant à des problèmes internes à l'ordre de Grandmont durant la période 1185-1188[80]. Deux lettres sont écrites par Étienne de Tournai au nom de Guillaume de Treignac, antérieurement prieur de Grandmont[81], deux autres comme co-auteur[82] et trois en son nom propre[83]. D'après Desilve et Conklin, Étienne est intervenu dans cette affaire en tant que juge délégué désigné par le pape Urbain III[84]. Cette hypothèse ne peut cependant être étayée ni par les lettres d'Étienne de Tournai, ni par celles du pape[85]. Nous parta-

[76] DS 117, 121, 122 et 123.

[77] DS 171.

[78] DS 124.

[79] DS 46, 49 et 87.

[80] Concernant cette crise voir J. BECQUET, 'La première crise de l'Ordre de Grandmont', dans: *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin*, 1958, 87, p. 283-324; G. CONKLIN, 'Law, reform, and the origins of persecution: Stephen of Tournai and the order of Grandmont', dans *Medieval Studies*, 61, 1999, p. 107-36; W. MEYER, 'De scismate Grandimontanorum (vier lateinische Rythmen von 1187)', dans: *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse.* Berlin, 1906, p. 49-100.

[81] DS 152 et 154.

[82] DS 166 et 174.

[83] DS 148, 149 et 167.

[84] DS 148 p. 173 note 1, qui se base sur C. DU MOLINET, *o.c.*, lettre 135, et G. CONKLIN, *o.c.*, p. 118-119, qui se base sur J. BECQUET, *o.c.* p. 302 n. 68. Il faut remarquer que le point de vue de Becquet est, à cet égard, plus modéré, car il évoque seulement la possibilité qu'Étienne de Tournai ait été l'un des juges délégués dans cette affaire.

[85] Lettres du pape Urbain III du 14 et 15 juillet 1186 dans J.P. MIGNE (éd), *Patriologiae cursus completus. Series Latina,* Paris, 1844-1855, vol. 202, col. 1416-1417.

geons plutôt l'avis de Becquet, qui suggère qu'Étienne de Tournai se trouvait simplement au service de la couronne française[86]. Une lettre de 1191 renforce cette hypothèse: cette lettre, qui n'était probablement pas en rapport avec la crise de Grandmont des années 1185-1188, présente clairement Étienne devant s'acquitter d'une mission, concernant l'ordre de Grandmont, confiée par Guillaume de Champagne, mission qu'Étienne regrettait par ailleurs[87]. Outre les lettres concernant l'affaire de Dol, celles qui traitent des problèmes de Grandmont nous renseignent, selon nous, sur la relation qu'Étienne de Tournai entretenait avec la maison royale française.

5. Une cinquième catégorie se compose de 11 lettres, adressées à sept destinataires où Étienne de Tournai félicite le destinataire pour une promotion ou l'exhorte à un certain genre de vie[88]. Ces lettres ont un rapport étroit avec celles de Pierre de Celle qu'Haseldine a classées sous le terme de 'lettres d'amitié'. Celles-ci doivent être considérées comme une forme de prise de contact de l'auteur avec le destinataire et une façon pour le premier d'étendre son cercle d'amis[89]. Au moins 40 % de ces lettres, peut-être même 80 %, ont été envoyées à des destinataires complètement inconnus[90]. Cinq des sept destinataires des lettres d'Étienne de Tournai avaient déjà eu un contact personnel avec ce dernier. Ces lettres semblent avoir été écrites soit pour maintenir le contact avec ces personnes, soit pour atteindre des objectifs matériels, mais certainement pas pour créer ou construire un cercle d'amis[91]. Il est frappant de constater aussi que le langage de l'amitié ne se retrouve dans aucune de ces lettres.

6. Une sixième catégorie de lettres concerne l'échange de cadeaux entre Étienne de Tournai et son destinataire. Elle regroupe sept lettres adressées à six destinataires différents; dans cinq cas, nous avons affaire à une lettre de remerciement d'Étienne de Tournai pour des cadeaux reçus[92], dans deux autres cas il offre lui-même le

[86] J. BECQUET, *o.c.*, p. 308.
[87] DS 199.
[88] DS 34, 56, 69, 82, 88, 136, 153, 166, 188, 275 et B10.
[89] J. HASELDINE, *o.c.*, p. 252.
[90] ID., *o.c.*, p. 253-254.
[91] Le pourcentage des lettres d'amitié de Pierre de Celle est beaucoup plus élevé que le pourcentage des lettres de félicitations chez Étienne de Tournai: 42% lettres d'amitié et 17% lettres d'amitié et d'affaires chez Pierre de Celle, pour environ 5% lettres de félicitations chez Étienne de Tournai.
[92] DS 19, 41, 145, 165 et 193.

cadeau[93]. Un échange de présents peut éventuellement indiquer une relation entre patron et client: le cadeau constitue dans ce cas l'objet d'un acte ritualisé qui comprend une obligation réciproque du client aussi bien que du patron, et qui confirme et renforce le lien personnel entre eux[94]. Sur base des données limitées dont nous disposons, il est difficile de se prononcer sur la nature de ces échanges, mais ceux-ci ne semblent pas être le signe d'une relation patron-client. Ils ont plutôt pour objectif de raviver des relations d'amitié préexistantes ou de témoigner sa bonne volonté à l'égard d'un destinataire peut-être inconnu personnellement, éventuellement dans le but d'obtenir certains avantages matériels.

7. La catégorie la plus importante de lettres est celle dans laquelle Étienne de Tournai intervient auprès de dignitaires au profit d'autres personnes et d'abbayes, où il assume le rôle de *broker* ou d'*intermédiaire*. Cette catégorie ne comprend pas moins de 88 lettres, soit 42,51 % des collections parisiennes. On peut y distinguer deux genres de lettres: d'une part des recommandations d'Étienne de Tournai au profit de tiers (dix lettres)[95] ou des interventions ou des demandes d'aide pour des tiers (60 lettres)[96] [sous-catégorie que nous dénommerons 7A], d'autre part des demandes d'aide et de recommandation au profit d'abbayes (18 lettres)[97] [que nous regrouperons au sein de la sous-catégorie 7B].

Les tiers au profit desquels Étienne de Tournai intervenient sont un archevêque, deux évêques, sept abbés, toute une série d'ecclésiastiques de niveau inférieur au sien (qui dans bien des cas demeu-

[93] DS 119 et 125.

[94] S. KETTERING, 'Gift-giving and patronage in early modern France', dans: *French History*, 2, 1988, p. 131.

[95] DS 25, 26, 27, 33, 78, 79, 108, 141, 169 et B7.

[96] DS 23, 24, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 68, 70, 75, 80, 94, 95, 96, 97, 100, 103, 104, 105, 109, 111, 120, 128, 134, 137, 146, 150, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 170, 180, 185, 186, 189, 192, 196, 197, 198, 199, 202, B1, B9, B11 et la deuxième lettre inédite dans le manuscrit B. Il est parfois très difficile de distinguer une recommandation *stricto sensu* d'une demande d'aide pour un tiers. Par ailleurs, les personnes pour lesquelles l'aide est demandée ou auxquelles les lettres sont adressées sont souvent les mêmes; c'est pourquoi nous avons choisi de les regrouper dans la même catégorie.

[97] DS 22, 73, 74, 76, 81, 83, 84, 102, 110, 112, 114, 138, 39, 141, 143, 184, 191 et la première lettre non-publiée dans le manuscrit B.

rent anonymes), un frère et deux autres parents, ainsi que trois laïques. Les requêtes d'Étienne de Tournai sont variées: adopter quelqu'un dans l'ordre, attribuer une prébende, aider une personne dans un procès, excuser quelqu'un auprès d'un supérieur pour une absence lors d'une réunion, faire confirmer une élection par le pape ou des évêques, réfuter des rumeurs, décharger quelqu'un d'une mission. Les 70 lettres sont adressées à 46 destinataires différents au moins. Cinq lettres sont écrites à un abbé, 14 à une personne de niveau inférieur à celui d'Étienne de Tournai, quatre à des destinataires dont on ne peut déterminer la fonction, une à un laïque et 46 à un destinataire de fonction plus élevée. Dans ces dernières, on retrouve 14 lettres adressées à Guillaume de Champagne, 13 à un pape, huit à un cardinal, sept à un archevêque et quatre à un évêque. Le nombre de lettres envoyées à des personnes plus élevées est manifestement plus important que le nombre de lettres adressées à des personnes de fonction égale ou inférieure. Remarquons que les pourcentages correspondent à ceux constatés pour le total des lettres et des destinataires[98] contrairement à ceux constatés pour les lettres qui font état d'une relation amicale avec le destinataire[99]. Dans 16 lettres, adressées à 14 personnes différentes, Étienne de Tournai utilise le langage de l'amitié. Au sein de cette catégorie 7A, nous pouvons établir ce qui suit en ce qui concerne la relation entre les lettres orléanaises et les lettres parisiennes: neuf lettres (12,8% de la catégorie) doivent être datées avec certitude de la période orléanaise, trois lettres (4,28%) sont douteuses et les autres sont à dater de la période parisienne. Ces chiffres sont proportionnels à ceux qui concernent le total des lettres[100].

Dans 18 lettres, Étienne de Tournai intervient au profit de dix abbayes dont six appartiennent à l'ordre de Saint-Victor. Les destinataires de fonction élevée sont surreprésentés dans ces lettres, ce qui est logique: il s'agit chaque fois d'une demande d'aide ou d'une recommandation au profit d'une abbaye; dans ce cas, les évêques, archevêques et papes sont les interlocuteurs tous désignés. Dans chacun de ces cas, Étienne de Tournai était la personne la plus apte à défendre les intérêts de ces abbayes (en tout cas de celles des alen-

[98] Voir tableaux 1 et 2.

[99] Voir tableau 3.

[100] Dans le paragraphe 4 le rôle d'Étienne de Tournai comme intermédiaire ou *broker* est plus développé.

tours de Paris), relevant de l'ordre de Saint-Victor. En interprétant quelque peu les faits, on pourrait utiliser ici les termes de *broker* ou d'*intermédiaire*: Étienne intervient clairement entre des parties liées entre elles, dans le cadre d'un modèle hiérarchique établi, au sein d'une relation supérieur-inférieur; et il veille (ou essaie de veiller) dans la plupart des cas, à ce que des décisions favorables soient prises à l'égard de ces abbayes[101]. Remarquons qu'Étienne de Tournai n'utilise jamais dans ces lettres le langage de l'amitié.

8. Dans 13 lettres, Étienne de Tournai intervient également au profit de tiers ou d'abbayes, à la demande d'autres personnes: le cardinal Pierre de Pavie[102], le chancelier pontifical Albert de Morra[103], Guillaume de Champagne[104], les papes Alexandre III, Lucius III et peut-être Urbain III[105]. À partir des lettres qui font référence au pape en tant que requérant ainsi que de la lettre DS 72 adressée à Hugues, abbé de Saint-Barthélemy de Noyon, et d'un certain nombre d'actes[106], on peut établir qu'Étienne de Tournai a exécuté toute une série de missions comme juge délégué pontifical. Vulliez a par ailleurs émis l'hypothèse qu'Étienne de Tournai aurait disposé d'un mandat pontifical officieux, spécifique au diocèse d'Orléans, durant ses deux abbatiats, vu que toutes ses missions étaient en rapport avec des questions orléanaises[107]. Sur base des

[101] Voir par exemple D. LOHRMANN, *o.c.*, p. 30, qui le voit aussi assumer le rôle d'intermédiaire: "unter demselben Stephan wird der abt von Ste-Geneviève zum Mittler zwischen der päpstlichen Kurie und einer grossen Zahl verschiedenster Einzelkirchen oder Einzelpersonen".

[102] DS 85.

[103] DS 160.

[104] DS 29, 52, 53, 199, B2, B3 et la deuxième lettre non-publiée du manuscrit

[105] DS 107, 116, 127 et 129.

[106] Ch. VULLIEZ, *o.c.*, p. 212-213 et les actes mentionnés dans ID., *o.c.*, p. 228-230 nrs. 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 20, 23 et 25; D. LOHRMANN, *o.c.*, p. 34-38 nrs. 48, 68, 76 et 83. Ce dernier acte (nr. 83) est intégralement publié dans ID., *Papsturkunden in Frankreich, Neue Folge VII: Nördliche Ile-de-France und Vermandois*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976, p. 613 nr. 303. Il s'agit d'une mission confiée par le pape Clément III en 1188 à Étienne de Tournai et Hervé de Montmorency, mission concernant des problèmes dans le chapitre cathédral à Senlis. Dans cet acte, Clément III écrit: "*ideoque discretione vestre per apostolice scripta mandamus, ...*". Dans la réponse d'Étienne de Tournai et d'Hervé de Montmorency, publiée dans ID., *o.c.*, p. 614-615 nr. 304, ils écrivent "*super quo speciale mandatum domini pape accepimus...*".

[107] Ch. VULLIEZ, *o.c.*, p. 212-213.

sources que nous étudions ici, nous ne pouvons confirmer cette supposition[108]. L'ensemble de ces lettres, où Étienne de Tournai exécute clairement des missions, ne peut être intégré à celui où il intervient comme intermédiaire, car elles ne concernent pas un acte volontaire de sa part, ni de celle des personnes au profit desquelles il intervient. Ces lettres n'ont donc pas été reprises dans la catégorie 7. Il est d'ailleurs plus important de déterminer pour qui Étienne travaille et au profit de qui, que de connaître les destinataires de ces lettres. Elles indiquent qu'Étienne de Tournai n'était pas un personnage sans importance, puisque mandaté par différentes instances pour exécuter des missions déterminées.

9. La neuvième catégorie regroupe des lettres écrites par Étienne de Tournai au profit de l'abbaye de laquelle il était abbé. Dans ces lettres, il n'intervient pas en tant qu'intermédiaire, mais bien comme gestionnaire efficace, qui use de son influence au profit de sa propre institution. Cela concerne 23 lettres, dont cinq se rapportent à la période orléanaise[109] et 18 à la période parisienne[110]. Il est intéressant de se pencher sur un certain nombre de ces lettres, qui trahissent le pragmatisme de la correspondance et de la pensée d'Étienne de Tournai, pragmatisme lié au concept de l'amitié dans un certain nombre de lettres. Dans les lettres DS 88 et 99, Étienne demande aux notaires du pape, qu'il connaît depuis sa période orléanaise[111], d'user de leur influence au profit de l'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève. Dans la lettre DS 163, il s'adresse au cardinal Soffroi en utilisant le langage de l'amitié, pour lui demander de persuader le pape de confirmer le Grand Privilège de son abbaye parisienne; (une démarche apparemment fructueuse, puisque peu

[108] Pour un tel mandat officieux la comparaison pourrait être faite avec Pierre de Celle; voir L. FALKENSTEIN, 'Dekretale und Delegatenausfertigung: die beiden Versionen der Littera Alexanders III. JL 12116, (1171-1172) Sept. 9', dans: P. LANDAU et J. MUELLER, *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Munich, 13-18 July 1992)*, Città del Vaticano, 1997, p. 185-255.

[109] DS 19, 20, 30, 31 et B5.

[110] DS 63, 71, 80, 99, 130, 131, 132, 136, 144, 163, 168, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 182 et 183. Les lettres 176 jusqu'à 182 étaient toutes adressées à des clercs ou des laïcs scandinaves de haute origine; ce sont des lettres dans lesquelles Étienne de Tournai demandait de l'argent pour la restauration de l'abbaye Sainte-Geneviève. Les lettres 130 et 131, dans lesquelles il agissait comme protecteur des serfs de l'abbaye, sont aussi reprises dans cette catégorie.

[111] Jean, Guillaume et Robert, tous originaires d'Orléans; Jean et Guillaume sont mentionnés dans le tableau 3.

de temps après le pape Clément III confirma ce Grand Privilège[112]). Dans la lettre DS 136, Étienne de Tournai félicite le pape Urbain III, un ancien condisciple, pour sa nomination au pontificat. Mais le sujet réel de cette lettre ne concerne pas cette nomination, mais plutôt Sainte-Geneviève, confrontée à un problème que nous ne connaissons pas (le pape en est informé oralement par le porteur du message), et pour lequel Étienne demande l'intervention du nouveau pontife. La même démarche concerne la lettre DS 132, adressée à Raynaud De Bar, récemment élu évêque de Chartres, neveu du roi de France Philippe-Auguste et dont la grand-mère était la sœur de Guillaume de Champagne[113]. La lettre semble avoir été écrite peu après son élection, et Étienne de Tournai y porte aux nues le siège épiscopal et les prédécesseurs de l'évêque[114] ainsi que Guillaume de Champagne, mais lui demande en même temps de s'abstenir de lever un impôt particulier sur le prieuré de Choisy-aux-Bœufs, dépendant de l'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève[115]. Enfin, dans deux lettres adressées au chancelier pontifical Albert de Morra, il se plaint de n'avoir pas reçu certains avantages au profit de son abbaye, alors qu'il entretient un clerc italien aux frais de celle-ci à la demande du pape et du chancelier[116]. Toutes ces lettres (ainsi que celles de la catégorie 7) illustrent le caractère pragmatique d'Étienne de Tournai. Il s'adresse à des condisciples, d'anciens subordon-

[112] Bulle du pape du 6 juillet 1190, publiée dans D. LOHRMANN, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich, Neue Folge VIII, o.c.*, nr. 173 p. 375-377. Le 'Grand Privilège', qui faisait de l'abbaye une abbaye exempte, fut pour la première fois accordé le 17 décembre 1150, par le pape Eugène. Pendant l'abbatiat d'Étienne de Tournai, ce privilège fut confirmé par les papes Alexandre III, Lucius III et Clément III, voir Id., *o.c.*, nr. 40 p. 208-210; nr. 146 p. 340-343, nr. 161 p. 360-363 et nr. 173, p. 375-377. Le 'Grand Privilège' mettait l'abbaye sur un pied d'égalité avec les abbayes parisiennes de Saint-Denis et de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, voir B. BARBICHE, 'La papauté et les abbayes de Sainte-Geneviève et de Saint-Victor de Paris au XIII^e siècle', dans: R. GROSSE (éd.), *L'église de France et la papauté (X^e-XIII^e siècle).Actes du colloque historique franco-allemand*, Bonn, Bouvier Verlag, 1993, p. 245.

[113] J.W. BALDWIN, *The Government of Philip Augustus. Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1986, p. 67, p. 179 et p. 437.

[114] Jean de Salisbury et Pierre de Celle.

[115] R. GIARD, 'Étude sur l'histoire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève de Paris jusqu'à la fin du XIII^e siècle', dans: *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, 30, 1903, p. 89-90.

[116] DS 63 et 71.

nés, des personnes qu'il connaît ou non, dans le but d'obtenir des services et des avantages pour lui-même ou pour des tiers, joignant parfois des félicitations à son demande d'aide ou recommandation. Les obligations réciproques n'entrent pas dans le concept de *l'amitié*, mais manifestement dans le cours normal des affaires. Étienne de Tournai n'hésite pas même à souligner auprès de hautes personnalités qu'il attend un service en échange de l'aide qu'il leur accorde ou qu'il accorde à un de leurs protégés.

10. Dans cinq lettres, Étienne de Tournai demande de l'aide pour lui-même. Trois de celles-ci sont adressées à Guillaume de Champagne[117], les deux autres à deux des ses anciens condisciples, les cardinaux Pierre de Pavie[118] et Gratien de Pise[119]. Dans aucune de ces lettres il n'utilise le langage de l'amitié. Nous plaçons dans cette catégorie une sixième lettre: écrite par Guillaume de Champagne et adressée au cardinal Guillaume de Pavie, on y demande de l'aide au profit d'Étienne de Tournai[120]. La présence de cette lettre dans les collections laisse présumer qu'elle a été écrite par Étienne de Tournai lui-même, au nom de Guillaume de Champagne.

11. Cette dernière catégorie concerne 17 lettres qu'on ne peut placer dans les dix autres ensembles[121]. Le contenu et les objectifs de ces lettres sont multiples: rappels, instructions à des subordonnés, réfutations de rumeurs, excuses pour n'avoir pas répondu à une demande par manque de temps, etc.

Le tableau 4 donne une vue d'ensemble des lettres contenues dans les 10 catégories qui précèdent. Nous en avons exclu la onzième, et nous avons présentés ces résultats en fonction des différentes catégories des destinataires présentées au tableau 2. Nous avons aussi repris séparément les lettres qui contiennent des références au langage de l'amitié, et ceci afin de les confronter aux différentes catégories du tableau 2. Ces chiffres concernent le nombre de lettres, non des pourcentages.

[117] DS 55, 70 et 155.
[118] DS B10.
[119] DS 44.
[120] DS B8.
[121] DS 2, 17, 28, 39, 64, 77, 90, 91, 98, 126, 33, 164, 172 95, 274, B12 et la première lettre non-publiée du manuscrit S.

Tableau 4. Relation entre les catégories de lettres d'après le but et le contenu, les fonctions exercées par les destinataires et l'utilisation du langage de l'amitié

	Amitié	Cat.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7A	7B	8	9	10
Papes					5	4	2		13	10	2	1	
Cardinaux	4		1		2	1	2	1	7		2	4	3
Archevêques	3		5				1	3	8	1		1	
G. de Champagne	2		1		1				14	2	5	4	3
Evêques	1		1		1		3		4	2	1	5	
Sous-total[b]	*10*		*8*		*9*	*5*	*8*	*4*	*46*	*15*	*10*	*15*	*6*
Abbés et prieurs	17		10	11		1		1	9			1	
Archidiacres	1		1				1			1			
Rempl. Office	2								2	1	1	1	
Rois			1									1	
Laïcs haute origine									1	1		1	
Autres[a]	14		5			1	2	2	12		2	4	
Sous-total[b]	*34*		*17*	*11*	*0*	*2*	*3*	*3*	*24*	*3*	*3*	*8*	*0*
Total[c]	*44*		*25*	*11*	*9*	*7*	*11*	*7*	*70*	*18*	*13*	*23*	*6*

a. Les différentes catégories de destinataires utilisées ici sont les mêmes que celles du tableau 2 (seule la catégorie 'autres' a été ajoutée pour faire apparaître clairement les lettres adressées aux autres catégories de destinataires que celles du tableau 2). La catégorie 'autres' regroupe: les moines, les chanoines, les maîtres actifs, les notaires du pape, des laïcs (à l'exception des laïcs de haute origine), les juges délégués et des personnes dont nous ne connaissons pas la fonction.
b. Dans cette ligne nous donnons le sous-total des lettres adressées aux catégories mentionnées plus-haut.
c. Dans cette rangée nous donnons le total des lettres adressées aux différentes catégories de destinataires. Le nombre total des lettres est de 200. Si on tient compte de la onzième catégorie (la catégorie 'divers') et des 11 lettres qui se trouvent dans 2 catégories différentes, nous avons un total de 206 lettres (la lettre 237 n'est pas comptée).

La plupart des lettres sont adressées à des personnes qui exercent des fonctions plus élevées que celle d'Étienne de Tournai (huit catégories sur dix)[122]. Il s'agit principalement des catégories 7A et 7B (intervention d'Étienne de Tournai au profit de tiers ou d'abbayes) et 9 (lettres concernant la gestion de Saint-Euverte et Sainte-Geneviève). Il n'y a que dans les lettres contenant des informations pratiques (catégorie 1) ou concernant des chanoines en fuite (catégorie 2) qu'il y a plus de lettres adressées à des personnes de fonction égale ou inférieure à Étienne de Tournai; dans ces deux cas, la plupart des lettres sont envoyées à des abbés ou des prieurs. On constate à peu près la même distribution dans les lettres qui utilisent le langage de l'amitié. Là aussi, il s'agit essentiellement de

[122] Les sous-catégories 7A et 7B étaient mises ensemble.

lettres adressées à des personnes de rang égal ou inférieur, la plupart au groupe d'abbés et de prieurs. Il faut cependant remarquer qu'il n'y a pas concordance absolue entre ces lettres et celles des catégories 1 et 2: huit abbés et prieurs à qui neuf lettres sont adressées dans le langage de l'amitié ne figurent pas dans les colonnes 1 ou 2; quatre des neuf ou dix abbés et prieurs qui figurent dans les colonnes 1 et 2 ne reçoivent pas de lettres d'Étienne de Tournai adressées dans le langage de l'amitié.

La plus grande partie des lettres ne peuvent être considerées comme des 'lettres d'amitié', comme c'est le cas par exemple pour les lettres de Pierre de Celle. Aucune des lettres d'Étienne de Tournai ne traite du concept d'*amicitia* tel qu'il était utilisé de façon courante au XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècle, et seul un nombre réduit peut être considéré comme des lettres d'amitié: celles de la catégorie 5 (lettres de félicitation et d'encouragement) et celles de la catégorie 6 (dont ressort un échange de cadeaux). Les félicitiations, les encouragements ou l'offre de présents peuvent y être considérés comme l'expression de la création ou de l'entretien d'une relation amicale. Ceci ne concerne qu'un nombre réduit de lettres, là où les lettres d'amitié de Pierre de Celle représentent 40 % de sa correspondance (voire peut-être plus). Aucune de ces lettres d'Étienne de Tournai n'a été adressée à une personne qu'il ne connaissait pas (exceptés peut-être trois cas), alors qu'un tiers des lettres d'amitié de Pierre de Celle ont été écrites à des inconnus. En d'autres mots, les lettres d'Étienne de Tournai ont été généralement écrites avec d'autres objectifs que ceux poursuivis par Pierre de Celle; la création et l'entretien d'un cercle d'amis n'en formait pas le souci principal. Cette constatation complète nos conclusions sur l'utilisation du langage de l'amitié par Étienne de Tournai: celui-ci revêtait manifestement un caractère pragmatique. La mise en corrélation du langage des lettres avec leur objectif et leur contenu confirme ce point: des 44 lettres où l'on retrouve des formes du 'langage de l'amitié', 16 ont été écrites par Étienne de Tournai en tant qu'intermédiaire, sept dans le cadre d'une demande d'aide pour les abbayes de Sainte-Euverte et de Sainte-Geneviève, et sept en relation avec un ou plusieurs chanoines en fuite. En d'autres mots, 29 de ces 44 lettres ont trait à une demande directe.

Même si on peut établir sur base de leur analyse qu'Étienne de Tournai n'écrivait pas ses lettres dans le but de se créer un 'cercle d'amis' et même s'il n'interprétait pas le concept d'*amicitia* de

manière typiquement monastique, il avait vraisemblablement un grand nombre d'amis avec lesquels il traitait d'égal à égal dans une relation qui n'impliquait pas obligatoirement la réciprocité dans l'échange des biens et des services[123]. Il est cependant difficile de déterminer sur base de ces seules lettres à quel point ces relations d'amitié ne revêtaient pas un caractère pragmatique, et dès lors pratiquement impossible de donner dans ce contexte une définition précise du concept d'*amicitia*.

4. Étienne de Tournai: ami, client et intermédiaire.

De l'analyse de cette correspondance d'après ses objectifs et son contenu, nous avons pu mettre en évidence dans au moins un tiers des lettres, une intervention d'Étienne de Tournai au profit d'un (ou de plusieurs) tiers. Il remplissait si souvent ce rôle que plus d'une fois il s'en est plaint[124]. Un grand nombre de personnes au profit desquelles Étienne de Tournai a pu intervenir sont restées anonymes. Sur base des lettres uniquement, on ne peut dire grand'chose de leurs relations avec Étienne de Tournai, ni sur leurs relations avec leurs destinataires. On peut cependant mettre en évidence quelques éléments précis:

1. Dans un nombre réduit de cas seulement, Étienne de Tournai utilise des termes qui pourraient renvoyer à des liens personnels ou amicaux avec la personne au profit de laquelle il intervient. C'est le cas dans neuf lettres, adressées à sept personnes différentes[125] dont seules quatre peuvent être identifiées clairement. Il s'agit de Geoffroy et de Guillaume, respectivement doyen et sous-chantre de l'église de Chartres[126], de l'ancien professeur de grammaire d'Étienne de Tournai (à qui ce dernier a adressé pas moins de trois lettres)[127], et de Robert, abbé élu de Saint-Vincent de Senlis[128]. On ne peut donc établir sur base de l'analyse du langage qu'Étienne de Tournai est intervenu uniquement pour des amis, bien au contrai-

[123] Voir *infra*.

[124] Voir la citation dans l'introduction, tirée de DS 120. Une plainte comparable est émise peut être trouvée dans DS 36.

[125] DS 25, 26, 36, 42, 57, 58, 59, 80 et 197.

[126] DS 42.

[127] DS 57, 58 et 59.

[128] DS 197.

re. Il existe toutefois un certain nombre de personnes au profit desquelles Étienne est intervenu, et qui apparaissent également dans le groupe de destinataires auxquels il s'adresse dans un langage qui laisse présumer de bonnes relations personnelles ou amicales[129]. Il s'agit de Barthélemy de Vendôme, archevêque de Tours, de Geoffroy, abbé de Saint-Satur, de Peder Sunesen, chanoine scandinave qui a suivi une formation à l'abbaye Sainte-Geneviève sous la direction d'Étienne de Tournai, et enfin d'Hugues, abbé de Saint-Barthélemy de Noyon. Ces quatre personnes interviennent également comme destinataires de lettres où sont échangées des informations pratiques, une catégorie de lettres qui, comme nous l'avons montré, nous revèlent de bonnes relations entre Étienne et leur destinataire. Peder Sunesen apparaît en outre dans la catégorie de lettres dans lesquelles le destinataire est encouragé ou félicité, et Barthélemy de Vendôme offre à Étienne de Tournai une série de cadeaux, lors de l'élection de ce dernier comme évêque. Tous ces points nous permettent d'établir avec une relative certitude qu'Étienne de Tournai entretenait de bonnes relations personnelles avec ces quatre personnes, une relation d'amitié dans laquelle ce terme doit être compris comme une forme d'affection courante.

2. La plus grande part des personnes pour lesquelles Étienne de Tournai intervient occupent une fonction inférieure à la sienne. Cette forme d'inégalité qui caractérise leurs relations pose le problème du rôle de patron eventuellement joué par Étienne vis-à-vis de ces personnes, assimilées dés lors à des clients qui lui demandent de l'aide. Il est difficile de répondre précisément à cette question parce que nombre de ces personnes sont restées anonymes et, dans la plupart des cas, il n'existe qu'une seule lettre d'Étienne de Tournai à leur profit. Il est difficile dans ces conditions de vérifier l'existence d'une réciprocité obligatoire dans leurs relations, élément caractéristique d'une relation client-patron. Il n'existe qu'un seul cas où la personne de rang inférieur au profit de laquelle Étienne intervient est en même temps le destinataire d'une de ses lettres: celui de Peder Sunesen[130]. De ce qui a été présenté ci-dessus, il apparait clairement que ce dernier ne peut être considéré comme le client d'Étienne de Tournai, mais plutôt comme une personne qui lui était soumise à l'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève et avec qui, lors-

[129] Voir tableau 3.
[130] DS 150, 153, 175 et 180.

qu'il eut quitté l'abbaye, Étienne de Tournai entretint des contacts tant paternels qu'amicaux.

3. Les termes d'*intermédiaire* ou de *broker* semblent être les qualificatifs les plus corrects du rôle assumé par Étienne de Tournai. Dans aucune lettre, il n'accorde lui-même une faveur à celui qui en fait la demande, mais il s'adresse pour ce faire chaque fois à un tiers, le destinataire. Étienne de Tournai était manifestement considéré par un grand nombre de ses contemporains comme quelqu'un dont les interventions pouvaient adoucir les problèmes que l'on rencontrait. Étienne de Tournai était-il le client de ces personnes (les destinataires), ceux-ci étaient-ils ses patrons? À une exception près (Guillaume de Champagne, archevêque de Reims[131]) ce n'est pas le cas d'après nous. Étienne de Tournai intervient en effet plusieurs fois au profit de personnes qui n'étaient pas ses clients et qui, dans la plupart des cas, ne peuvent être appelées ses amis. À plusieurs reprises, il est nécessaire de bien dissocier les personnes au profit desquelles il écrit sa lettre des destinataires qui la reçoivent. Il s'agit alors souvent de relations supérieur-inférieur[132], qui peuvent avoir fait partie d'une structure plus large, de relations pyramidales patron-client, ce que semble confirmer le rôle d'intermédiaire d'Étienne de Tournai. Ce dernier a donc dû exercer une influence réelle sur certains destinataires qui, dans de nombreux cas, exerçaient une fonction plus élevée que lui-même, et qui, pour la plupart, ne faisaient vraisemblablement pas partie de ses amis. On doit en effet constater que plus de deux tiers des destinataires de la sous-catégorie 7A diffèrent de ceux auxquels sont adressées des lettres contenant des allusions apparentes à des relations personnelles d'amitié. Cette influence transparaît aussi par le simple fait qu'il intervient pour dix abbayes différentes dont il n'est pas l'abbé. Cette influence devait porter ses fruits car, dans le cas contraire, on ne l'aurait pas sollicité pour de telles faveurs. On peut se demander comment Étienne a pu exercer une telle influence, quels sont les motifs expliquant l'impact déterminé qu'il a pu avoir sur un groupe précis, pourquoi il a pu jouer avec succès ce rôle d'intermédiaire ou de bro-

[131] Voir *infra* paragraphe 4 a.

[132] Toute une série de lettres constituant des interventions en faveur de clercs auprès de leurs supérieurs (moine/chanoine-abbé, prêtre-évêque, abbé-évêque/archevêque). Il n'y a, dans aucune lettre, des termes renvoyant à une relation amicale entre le tiers et le destinataire.

ker. Nous pensons que ses relations avec Guillaume de Champagne, avec la maison royale capétienne et avec un certain nombre de papes peuvent répondre à cette question.

a. La relation entre Étienne de Tournai et Guillaume de Champagne

Le nombre de lettres adressées par Étienne de Tournai à Guillaume de Champagne est considérable[133]. Par ailleurs, des six lettres où Étienne de Tournai demande de l'aide en sa faveur, trois sont adressées à Guillaume de Champagne[134] et une quatrième est vraisemblablement écrite et signée du nom de ce dernier[135], ce qui nous éclaire sur la nature de leur relation. À notre avis, nous sommes en présence du seul cas où il est possible de déterminer sur base des lettres que les deux interlocuteurs se trouvaient dans un rapport client-patron (Étienne de Tournai étant manifestement le client, et Guillaume de Champagne le patron). Nous ne connaissons rien des premiers contacts entre ces deux individus. D'après Du Molinet et Warichez, il est possible qu'Étienne de Tournai ait été le précepteur, l'aumônier ou le sécretaire de Guillaume de Champagne à la cour du père de ce dernier, Thibaut IV, comte de Champagne et de Blois[136], mais nous ne possédons aucune preuve tangible à cet égard. On peut déduire cependant des lettres que les deux hommes se connaissaient en 1168, lorsqu'Étienne de Tournai demanda à Guillaume de Champagne, évêque élu de Chartres, de l'excuser auprès du roi Louis VII[137]. Peut-être étaient-ils déjà en contact avant 1168, durant l'exil de Thomas Becket, au sein de son cercle d'amis, dans lequel se trouvait Guillaume de Champagne[138].

[133] 28 lettres, c'est-à-dire 13,6% des lettres pré-tournaisiennes.

[134] DS 55, 70 et 155.

[135] DS B8.

[136] Paris, Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, ms. 1882. *Le prélat exemplaire en la vie d'Estienne de Tournay. Extraicte de ses epistres, des chartes de Ste. Geneviève de Paris, de S. Euvertue d'Orléans et de quelques Autheurs,* par le P. Claude Du Molinet. Paris, 1655, fol. 10 r., et J. WARICHEZ, *o.c.*, p. 24.

[137] DS 55.

[138] M. BUR, 'Guillaume aux Blanches Mains', dans: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 1963, XXII, col. 857-859 nr. 31, et A. DUGGAN, *Thomas Becket. A Textual History of his Letters*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, p. 226. Thomas Becket était en exil à Pontigny et à Sens d'octobre 1164 à juillet 1170, période durant laquelle Étienne de Tournai séjourna à l'abbaye de Saint-Euverte à Orléans. Orléans faisait partie de l'archevêché de Sens; une rencontre entre Étienne de Tournai et Thomas Becket n'est pas impossible. Dans la lettre

Étienne de Tournai remplit ensuite plusieurs missions pour Guillaume durant ses deux abbatiats, usant dans un cas au moins de son influence au profit de protégés par l'archevêque[139]. Guillaume de Champagne intervint quant à lui clairement plusieurs fois comme protecteur d'Étienne de Tournai, qui lui fut probablement redevable de ses bonnes relations à la cour[140] et des succès principaux de sa carrière. En effet, Guillaume de Champagne put peut-être obtenir qu'Étienne de Tournai soit élu abbé de Sainte-Geneviève[141], mais nous ne disposons pas d'arguments irréfutables à ce sujet. Il est cependant évident que Guillaume de Champagne joua un rôle important dans l'élection d'Étienne en tant qu'évêque de Tournai. De fait, lorsqu'à la mort de l'évêque de Tournai, Evrard d'Avesnes, en 1190 le chapitre de la cathédrale de Tournai élut évêque Pierre le Chantre, Guillaume de Champagne, à l'époque régent du royaume capétien, s'opposa à ce choix. Il fit ensuite revoir l'élection puisque, en tant que régent de Philippe-Auguste, il disposait du droit de régale sur les revenus du siège épiscopal. En février 1192, Étienne fut donc élu évêque de Tournai. Ce rôle joué par Guillaume de Champagne transparaît dans une lettre, datant de l'épiscopat d'Étienne, adressée au chapitre de Tournai, dans laquelle l'archevêque laisse entendre qu'il se rejouit d'avoir participé à la promotion d'Étienne[142].

DS 34, adressée à Jean Bellesmains, un des fidèles de Thomas Becket, Étienne fait allusion au fait que Thomas Becket était jadis leur "*communem patronum*". Selon J. WARICHEZ, *o.c.*, p. 175 il est certain qu'Étienne de Tournai rencontra Thomas Becket pendant cette période.

[139] Dans DS 198, il demandait au cardinal Soffroi si celui voulait aider quelques clercs qui séjournaient à la cour romaine et qui étaient sous la protection de Guillaume de Champagne.

[140] Voir *infra*.

[141] C'est l'opinion de J. WARICHEZ, *o.c.*, p. 188-189.

[142] Lettre de Guillaume de Champagne qui se trouve à Tournai, Arch. Cath., Cartulaire C, XII^e^-XIII^e^ siècle, fol. 75 r. Guillaume de Champagne refusait d'accepter l'élection de Pierre le Chantre comme évêque, sous prétexte que l'élection ne s'était pas déroulée d'une manière correcte, puisque les chanoines ne l'avaient pas consulté en qualité de régent et de métropolitain de l'évêché de Tournai. Mais sa vraie motivation était problablement politique. Pour Guillaume de Champagne, un candidat comme Étienne de Tournai devait paraître plus apte à servir les intérêts de la couronne française que Pierre le Chantre, surtout si on tient compte de la réunification des comtés de Flandre et de Hainaut sous Baudouin VIII de Flandre après la mort de Philippe d'Alsace en 1191. Cette hypothèse diffère de celle de Conklin, qui argumente que la promotion d'Étien-

Guillaume de Champagne était considéré comme "un des patrons les plus distingués de son temps"[143]. Il entretenait en effet un cercle étendu de clients, parmi lesquels le cardinal Mélior[144], Lambert de Bruges[145], Bertier (archidiacre de Cambrai)[146], et vraisemblablement Étienne de Tournai, qui y fait peut-être allusion dans une lettre (DS 120) où il précise que Guillaume l'a "admis dans les secrets les plus profonds de son conseil"[147]. Guillaume de Champagne était, dans les années 1180 et 1190, une des personnes les plus puissantes du royaume capétien[148], et appartenir à son cercle ou à sa parenté augmentait considérablement ses chances de promotion[149]. Les rapports entre Étienne de Tournai et Guillaume ne peuvent en aucun cas être qualifiés des 'relations d'amitié': on ne trouve des termes renvoyant à des relations personnelles entre les deux hommes que dans deux lettres sur 28. Guillaume de Champagne est, en revanche, la personne à qui Étienne de Tournai a dédié le plus de lettres, celle vers qui il s'est tourné le plus souvent, tant dans son rôle d'intermédiaire que pour des demandes d'aide plus personnelles, au service de laquelle il a régulièrement œuvré et à qui il doit vraisemblablement tant son élection épiscopale que son rôle et sa position influente. Étienne de Tournai se trouvait clairement impliqué dans une relation de dépendance envers Guillaume

ne de Tournai était ou bien une rémuneration pour ses services, ou bien une manoeuvre du roi pour se débarasser d'un conseiller 'de l'ancien garde', voir G. CONKLIN, 'Les Capétiens et l'affaire de Dol de Bretagne, 1179-1199', *o.c.*, p. 266 n. 81.

[143] J.R. WILLIAMS, 'William of the White Hands and Men of Letters', dans: Ch.H. TAYLOR (éd.). *Haskins anniversary essays in medieval history*, Boston/New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929, p. 365.

[144] Destinataire dans DS 124.

[145] Destinataire dans DS 66. Lambert de Bruges était le chancelier et probablement l'official de Guillaume de Champagne, voir M. VLEESCHOUWERS-VAN MELKEBEEK, *De officialiteit van Doornik. Oorsprong en vroege ontwikkeling (1192-1300)*, Bruxelles, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1985, p. 40 n. 2. Il était évêque de Thérouanne depuis 1191.

[146] Destinataire dans DS 115 et138.

[147] DS 120: "*usque in secreta consiliorum vestrorum suscepistis me gratis*".

[148] Depuis 1182, il était le bras droit de Philippe-Auguste, et le chapitre de Chartres le décrit comme "le conseiller du roi et du royaume, comme un deuxième roi", voir J.W. BALDWIN, *o.c.*, p. 32.

[149] J.R. WILLIAMS, *o.c.*, p. 387.

de Champagne, et était tenu de ce fait à des obligations déterminées[150]. Le terme 'client-patron' s'impose donc ici sans équivoque.

b. La relation entre Étienne de Tournai et les rois de France Louis VII et Philippe-Auguste

Nous ne savons rien des origines d'Étienne de Tournai. Aucune source ne permet de déterminer s'il était ou non descendant d'une famille noble, ou s'il était lié d'une quelconque façon à la famille royale. Après ses études à Orléans et à Bologne, il devint, entre 1153-1158, chanoine régulier à l'abbaye de Saint-Euverte. Cette abbaye appartenait depuis 1145 à l'ordre de Saint-Victor. La réforme de 1145 avait eu lieu à l'initiative de l'évêque d'Orléans, Manasses de Garlande[151], membre de l'importante famille du même nom[152]. Son neveu Roger devint abbé de l'abbaye réformée[153], et c'est sous son abbatiat qu'Étienne de Tournai devint chanoine régulier. En 1167-1168 ce dernier succéda à Roger. La correspondance d'Étienne de Tournai montre qu'à l'époque, ses relations avec le roi Louis VII n'étaient pas des meilleures: le rôle joué par Étienne de Tournai en 1168 après l'assassinat du doyen de Sainte-Croix avait déplu au roi et, dans la lettre DS 55, on voit Étienne de Tournai demander à Guillaume de Champagne, à ce moment évêque élu de Chartres, de l'excuser auprès de Louis VII pour avoir pris la défense du doyen[154]. La sœur de Guillaume de Champagne, Adèle de Champagne, avait épousé Louis VII en 1160. Guillaume de Champagne, en tant que beau-frère du roi et héritier d'une des plus puissantes familles du royaume de France, était la personne indiquée pour intercéder auprès du souverain en faveur d'Étienne de Tournai. Il ressort d'une quantité de lettres et d'autres sources que les relations entre Étienne de Tournai et Louis VII s'améliorèrent nettement après 1170. En 1174, Étienne de Tournai joua un rôle important dans l'élection de Barthélemy de Vendôme comme

[150] Concernant une mission qu'il devait remplir pour Guillaume de Champagne, il écrivait à ce dernier dans DS 199: "*Sed quoniam ad mandatum vestrum paratus sum et in carcerem et in mortem ire...*".

[151] B. FOURIER, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale et de l'ordre des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Victor de Paris*, Paris, 1904. Réimpression: Bruxelles, 1996, vol. 1, p. 152, et J. WARICHEZ, *o.c.*, p. 166-167.

[152] J. DUFOUR, 'Garlande', dans: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, IV, col. 118.

[153] B. FOURIER, *o.c.*, p. 152.

[154] DS 2.

archevêque de Tours, et ceci sur ordre de Guillaume de Champagne, et donc vraisemblablement avec l'accord (et même sur l'ordre) de Louis VII[155]. En 1176, Étienne de Tournai fut élu abbé de Sainte-Geneviève de Paris. Nous ne savons pas pourquoi, ni de quelle façon, mais il est plus que probable que cette nomination eut lieu avec l'accord du roi. L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève portait une charge symbolique puissante pour la dynastie capétienne, car elle la liait aux fondateurs du royaume franc et légitimait leur pouvoir[156]. En outre, cette abbaye était depuis longtemps une institution royale[157]. Il nous paraît donc logique que cette élection dût se dérouler avec le plein accord du roi, en l'occurrence Louis VII. En 1178, Étienne de Tournai apparaît comme témoin dans un acte de la reine Adèle[158] et, en 1179, il agit, dans l'affaire de Dol, sur ordre de Louis VII. Plus tard, il fut présent aussi bien à la nomination par Louis VII de Philippe-Auguste comme roi (avril 1179), qu'au couronnement de Philippe-Auguste (le premier novembre 1179)[159]. Il fut l'une des cinq personnes présentes en août 1180 lorsque les bijoux de Louis VII furent distribués aux pauvres[160]. Enfin, ce fut lui qui rédigea l'épitaphe de Louis VII[161].

Durant la période 1184-1185, Étienne écrivit 4 lettres au nom de Philippe-Auguste[162], en rapport avec l'affaire de Dol. Il était vraisemblablement la seule personne qui s'occupait de cette affaire malgré tout très importante et qui conseillait le roi[163]. Au printemps

[155] DS 29.

[156] R. GIARD, *o.c.* p. 43-45.

[157] M. PACAUT, *Louis VII et son royaume,* Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N., 1964, p. 102.

[158] Texte publié dans J. TARDIF (éd.), *Monuments historiques. Cartons des rois,* Paris, Claye, 1866, p. 332 nr. 678.

[159] Cartellieri donne comme présents à la nomination le comte Théobald de Blois, le comte Robrecht de Dreux, Hugues, abbé de Saint-Germain-des-Prés et Étienne de Tournai, abbé de Sainte-Geneviève. Par contre, tous les prélats et les grands laïcs du royaume étaient présents au couronnement. Voir A. CARTELLIERI, *Philip II August, König von Frankreich,* Leipzig, 1899-1921, vol. 1, p. 31 et 41.

[160] ID., *o.c.*, p. 88-89; les trois autres qui étaient présents étaient Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris, Hugues, abbé de Saint-Germain-des-Prés et Guérin, abbé de Saint-Victor.

[161] Publié par Desilve dans les pages 443-444.

[162] DS 117, 121, 122 et 123.

[163] G. CONKLIN, *o.c.*, p. 261. Pendant l'absence de Philippe-Auguste au cours de la troisième croisade, c'est à nouveau Étienne de Tournai qui écrit une lettre concernant l'affaire de Dol, cette fois au nom de la régente Adèle de Champagne, voir DS 171.

1184, il fut délégué, en remplacement de Guillaume de Champagne, comme envoyé royal à la curie romaine, et ceci toujours en relation avec l'affaire de Dol[164]. Ce ne fut pas là la seule mission qu'il remplit pour le roi Philippe-Auguste. C'est peut-être au service du roi qu'on le voit agir lorsque des problèmes surgissent à Grandmont et, dans une lettre de 1188-1190 adressée à Guillaume de Champagne, il demande son aide pour une mission qu'il doit remplir pour le roi[165]. Il ressort aussi de deux actes de Philippe-Auguste de 1190-1191 qu'Étienne de Tournai intervint comme juge délégué au service du roi[166]. Les relations avec Philippe-Auguste ne restèrent pas seulement cantonnées aux domaines politiques ou juridiques: Étienne de Tournai devint le parrain du fils de Philippe-Auguste né en 1187, le futur roi Louis VIII[167].

De toutes ces données, on peut conclure qu'Étienne de Tournai entretint vraisemblablement, durant son abbatiat à Sainte-Geneviève, des relations étroites aussi bien avec Louis VII qu'avec Philippe-Auguste. Comme Vulliez le fait remarquer, il est étonnant que la collection de lettres d'Étienne de Tournai ne contienne aucune lettre adressée à ces monarques[168]. Guillaume de Champagne a-t-il joué le rôle d'intermédiaire entre Étienne de Tournai et la famille royale, ou celui-ci doit-il être situé dans l'entourage direct du roi? Pour Conklin, ceci semble une affaire réglée: sur base des lettres concernant l'affaire de Dol, il juge que la relation entre Étienne de Tournai et Philippe-Auguste est comparable à celle ayant existé entre Suger et Louis VI[169]. Ces conclusions nous semblent cependant hâtives. Le fait qu'Étienne de Tournai se nomme *familiaris* du souverain[170] et qu'il est appelé *fidelis* dans un acte de Philippe-Auguste de février 1193[171], pourrait éventuellement indiquer qu'il faisait partie de l'entourage royal, mais cela n'apparaît nulle part

[164] DS 117.
[165] DS 155.
[166] H.F. DELABORDE, J. MONICAT et BOUSSARD (éds.), *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, vol. 1, nrs. 308 et 338.
[167] Voir DS 293, lettre d'Étienne de Tournai adressée à son filleul.
[168] Ch. VULLIEZ, *o.c.* p. 209.
[169] G. CONKLIN, *o.c.*, p. 263.
[170] DS 117, écrite par Étienne de Tournai au nom de Philippe-Auguste.
[171] H.F. DELABORDE, J. MONICAT et J. BOUSSARD (éds.), *o.c.*, vol. 1 nr. 441

ailleurs. Une autre hypothèse peut être suggérée à partir de l'*incipit* du manuscrit T (début du XIV[e] siècle), duquel il ressort qu'Étienne de Tournai aurait été proto-notaire à la cour de Philippe-Auguste[172]. Mais on ne sait pas vraiment si cet *incipit* a été recopiée depuis un ancien manuscrit, ou si le copiste l'a ajouté; et non seulement cette information n'est confirmée nulle part, mais on ne connaît aucune mention de l'existence d'un tel proto-notaire sous les souverains Louis VII et Philippe-Auguste[173]. Nous partageons l'opinion de Vulliez d'après laquelle Étienne de Tournai aurait été actif en tant qu'expert ou conseiller juridique[174] qui, grâce à ses compétences, aurait été régulièrement consulté par la cour , ou y aurait été présent[175]. Après ses études à Bologne, Étienne de Tournai écrivit en effet entre 1164 et 1165 sa *Summa*[176], et peu après, il devint abbé de Saint-Euverte. Durant cette période, il fut peut-être remarqué par son entourage pour ses qualités juridiques, et certainement par Guillaume de Champagne, alors archevêque de Sens. En tant que beau-frère du roi, celui-ci dut réaliser qu'une personne aussi compétente qu'Étienne de Tournai pouvait rendre service à la cour. Les qualités d'Étienne de Tournai et la personnalité de Guillaume de Champagne sont selon nous les deux facteurs les plus importants qui contribuèrent à ce qu'Étienne de Tournai put construire une relation étroite avec les souverains capétiens, bien que ce ne soient vraisemblablement pas les seuls facteurs en jeu. Cette relation ne

[172] *Incipit* du manuscrit T, fol. 45 r., aussi mentionné comme *explicit* fol. 87 v.: "*Incipit summa secretorum dictaminum compilata per fratrem Stephanum abbatem Sancte Genovefe Parisiensis domini regis Francorum prothonotarium*".

[173] J.W. BALDWIN, *o.c.*, p. 34 et p. 462 notes 37 et 38; F. GASPARRI, *L'écriture des actes de Louis VI, Louis VII et Philippe Auguste*, Paris-Genève, 1973, p. 15; L. PERRICHET, *La grande chancellerie de France des origines à 1328*, Paris, Librairie de la Société du Recueil Sirey, 1912, 575 p.

[174] Ch. VULLIEZ, *o.c.*, p. 217-218.

[175] A. GOURON, 'L'entourage de Louis VII face aux droits savants: Giraud de Bourges et son Ordo', dans: *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 146, 1988, p. 5-29 montre comment Louis VII s'entourait de légistes; dans Y. SASSIER, *Louis VII*, Paris, Fayard, 1991, p. 417-420 Étienne de Tournai est appelé comme tel. La composition exacte de la *curia regis* n'est pas claire; nulle part Étienne de Tournait n'est mentionné comme membre de ce conseil; voir J.W. BALDWIN, *o.c.*, p. 35 et ID., 'L'entourage de Philippe Auguste et la famille royale', dans: R.-H. BAUTIER (éd.), *La France de Philippe Auguste. Le temps de mutation*, Paris, CNRS, 1982, p. 59-73.

[176] A. GOURON , 'Sur les sources civilistes et la datation des Sommes de Rufin et d'Étienne de Tournai', *o.c.*, p. 497.

s'est évidemment pas développée en un seul jour. À partir des données en notre possession, on peut estimer qu'une collaboration étroite naquit dès l'abbatiat d'Étienne à Sainte-Geneviève. D'autres facteurs purent contribuer à développer cette relation. Étienne de Tournai était non seulement une personne compétente dans le domaine juridique mais aussi quelqu'un qui, durant toute sa carrière, construisit un réseau de relations (d'ailleurs peut-être en partie grâce à sa position à la cour), réseau qui pouvait être lui-même important pour la politique française. Le meilleur exemple en est peut-être la relation liant Étienne de Tournai à un certain nombre de papes[177]. On peut se demander à cet égard si Étienne de Tournai n'a pas agi comme un intermédiaire important entre les papes et les souverains français et s'il n'a pas, à cette occasion, servi surtout les intérêts de ces derniers. Dans l'affaire de Dol, Étienne de Tournai fut peut-être la seule personne qui agit comme conseiller ou expert, et écrivit, au nom de Philippe-Auguste, différentes lettres en rapport avec cette affaire au pape Lucius III[178] et au cardinal Octavien[179]. Dans l'affaire de Grandmont, également il put apparaître comme porte-parole de Philippe-Auguste auprès des différents papes, bien que nous n'ayons pas de certitude à ce sujet. Un certain nombre de lettres montrent qu'Étienne de Tournai joua un rôle d'intermédiaire auprès de papes ou de cardinaux au profit de personnes qui, d'une façon ou d'une autre, se trouvaient en étroite relation avec le souverain, ainsi qu'au profit de diverses abbayes royales ou des représentants de celles-ci. Ainsi Étienne écrivit des lettres en faveur d'Hugues de Puiset, ancien chancelier du roi de France[180], d'Hugues Clément, fils de Robert Clément, chevalier à la cour de Louis VII et tuteur du jeune Philippe-Auguste[181], de Barthélemy de Vendôme, archevêque de l'archevêché royal de Tours[182], de Guérin, abbé de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Victor[183], de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Corneille à Compiègne[184], de l'abbé de

[177] Voir *infra*.
[178] DS 117, 121 et 122.
[179] DS 123.
[180] DS 95.
[181] DS 96.
[182] DS 49.
[183] DS 48.
[184] DS 112.

l'abbaye protégée de Corbie[185] en enfin de l'abbaye de Saint-Euverte[186] (qui jouissait également de privilèges royaux[187]). En d'autres termes, il semble qu'Étienne de Tournai, par ses relations avec un certain nombre de papes et/ou de cardinaux, était la personne indiquée pour agir auprès de ces derniers en faveur de la cour royale capétienne ou de personnes et d'institutions étroitement liées avec les souverains français. Il n'est cependant pas facile d'établir qu'Étienne de Tournai intervint aussi comme conseiller dans d'autres domaines, ou comme membre de la *curia regis*. Les données qui ont trait à ses relations avec le roi Louis VII durant les dernières années de la vie de ce dernier semblent montrer qu'il était sans doute devenu plus qu'un expert juridique, qu'il avait peut-être tissé avec le roi de liens plus personnels, mais il faudrait effectuer des recherches complémentaires sur ce point en ce qui concerne ses relations avec Philippe-Auguste.

c. Les relations entre Étienne de Tournai et les papes Alexandre III, Lucius III, Grégoire VIII et Urbain III

Près d'un cinquième des lettres d'Étienne de Tournai datant des périodes orléanaise et parisienne sont adressées à un pape[188]. Le tableau 4 montre que la grande majorité de ces lettres entrent dans les catégories 3, 4, 7A et 7B : ce sont les lettres dans lesquelles Étienne agit comme intermédiaire, ou des lettres ayant trait aux affaires de Dol et de Grandmont. En d'autres termes, il semble qu'Étienne de Tournai disposait d'assez de crédit auprès de différents papes pour apparaître comme un intermédiaire valable, même pour Louis VII et Philippe-Auguste. Alexandre III (1159-1181) et Lucius III (1181-1185) sont les papes qui reçurent le plus de lettres de sa part[189]. Alexandre III, tout comme Étienne de Tournai, était juriste; il n'est pas exclu qu'Étienne l'ait rencontré avec le cardinal

[185] DS 68.

[186] DS 74.

[187] Pour ces abbayes voir M. PACAUT, *o.c.*, p. 91-107.

[188] 37 lettres sur un total de 206 étaient adressées à un pape, c'est-à-dire 17,9%.

[189] Dans la mesure où les lettres adressées à un pape peuvent être identifiées comme telles. 12 lettres étaient adressées au pape Alexandre III, dont neuf sûrement écrites durant la période parisienne (donc dans un intervalle de cinq ans, 1176-1181) : DS 23, 49, 53, 62, 68, 73, 74, 76, 81, 114, B2 la première lettre non-publiée du manuscrit S. 8 lettres étaient adressées à Lucius III, pour une période de 4 ans (1181-1185) : DS 95, 96, 100, 105, 110, 117, 121 et 122.

Ubaldo Alluncingoli, futur pape Lucius III, ami et fidèle d'Alexandre III, alors que le cardinal tenait compagnie à ce dernier dans son exil à Sens (1162-1165)[190]. Les deux papes veillèrent durant leur pontificat à la confirmation du Grand Privilège de l'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève[191]. Grégoire VIII (octobre 1187-décembre 1187) ne reçut que trois lettres durant son pontificat[192], ce qui semble logique si l'on tient compte de la courte durée de son magistère; si l'on prend en considération les lettres qui lui ont été écrites alors qu'il était chancelier pontifical[193], on atteint un total semblable à celui des lettres adressées à Lucius III[194]. Il semble qu'Étienne ait en outre entretenu de bonnes relations avec Grégoire VIII: il réconcilia à sa demande deux des parents de ce dernier qui étudiaient à Paris, et il intervint encore pour un des parents du pape après la mort de celui-ci[195]. Avec un certain nombre d'autres personnes, il félicite le pontife pour son élection[196], et ce pape est une des rares personnes occupant une fonction supérieure à celle d'Étienne de Tournai à laquelle ce dernier adresse une lettre rédigée avec le langage d'amitié[197]. Le pape Urbain III (1185-1187) ne reçut que deux lettres d'Étienne de Tournai[198], alors que nous savons qu'il le connaissait auparavant puisqu'il était un de ses anciens condisciples[199].

Il n'existe pas moins de 22 lettres adressées à ces quatre papes, lettres dans lesquelles Étienne de Tournai intervient comme intermédiaire au profit d'abbayes, de tierces personnes, ou au service de la dynastie capétienne. Les compétences juridiques d'Étienne ont constitué, d'après nous, un des facteurs les plus déterminants pour établir une relation avec ces personnes. Étienne de Torunai avait suffisamment de prestige pour être considéré comme digne et respectable. La période qui couvre ses abbatiats à Saint-Euverte et

[190] M. PACAUT, *o.c.*, p. 336-370.

[191] Le 10 juillet 1178 par Alexandre III, le 25 octobre 1184 par Lucius III; voir D. LOHRMANN, *o.c.* nrs. 47 et 64 p. 35-37 et nrs. 146-161 p. 340-343 et 360-363.

[192] DS 154, 166 et 174.

[193] DS 63, 71, 146, 148 et 160.

[194] Huit lettres sur une période de neuf ans.

[195] DS 160 161.

[196] DS 166.

[197] DS 146.

[198] DS 136 et 191.

[199] DS 136.

Sainte-Geneviève fut en effet un temps de centralisation grandissante au sein de l'Église occidentale, le temps des juristes universitaires. Étienne de Tournai avait profité d'une solide formation juridique, agissait peut-être comme conseiller juridique à la cour des rois de France et apparut plusieurs fois en tant que juge délégué pontifical. Sa relation avec le pape Alexandre III, également juriste, est probablement à la base de ses rapports avec les quatre papes précités. Pendant son pontificat, Étienne de Tournai dut accroître son prestige de juriste, et ce également auprès des cardinaux Albert de Morra et Ubaldo Alluncingoli, pour ensuite l'utiliser durant le pontificat de ces derniers; d'autres facteurs ont peut-être pu jouer un rôle positif, comme son ascension professionnelle et le développement de ses relations avec Guillaume de Champagne, mais aussi avec les souverains capétiens et avec d'autres prélats importants.

Le crédit dont Étienne de Tournai jouissait auprès des papes Clément III (1187-1191) et Célestin III (1191-1198) est difficile à préciser, en raison du petit nombre de lettres qui leur fut adressé dans la période pré-tournaisienne. Une seule lettre fut écrite avec certitude au pape Clément III[200]; trois autres furent adressées soit à Clément III, soit à Célestin III[201]; sans qu'il soit possible de trancher.

Différentes sortes de relations, différentes sortes de réseaux

1. Il ressort de l'analyse des lettres que le concept de l'*amicitia* est compris et décrit par Étienne de Tournai comme une activité fortement pragmatique, activité qui prit une place moins importante dans sa vie, par rapport à bon nombre de ses contemporains. Étienne utilise très peu le langage de l'amitié et, dans ses collections de lettres parisiennes, il est peu question de vraies lettres d'amitié, telles qu'on les trouve chez d'autres auteurs du XII[e] siècle. Ceci ne veut pas dire qu'Étienne de Tournai n'avait pas d'amis, bien au contraire. Il n'est cependant pas facile de préciser qui doit être considéré comme un ami et ce que l'on doit entendre par le terme *ami* dans ce contexte. S'agit-il uniquement de personnes avec qui Étienne entrait régulièrement en contact, ou s'agit-il aussi de personnes qu'il n'avait peut-être jamais rencontrées mais avec qui il

[200] DS 167.
[201] DS 167.

utilisait également le langage de l'amitié? Faut-il tenir compte uniquement des personnes qui occupaient une position égale à celle d'Étienne de Tournai, ou peut-on y ajouter celles qui exerçaient une fonction plus élevée? Ces questions pourraient trouver une réponse en établissant, sur base de tous les facteurs possibles ayant trait à l'amitié, le 'réseau d'amitié' d'Étienne de Tournai durant la période pré-tournaisienne. Concrètement cela signifie qu'il faut tenir compte des personnes qui satisfont à une des conditions suivantes: 1) Étienne de Tournai utilise le langage d'amitié dans la lettre qu'il leur adresse, 2) les destinataires font partie du groupe de personnes avec qui sont échangées des informations pratiques, 3) ils sont connus comme d'anciens condisciples d'Étienne de Tournai, 4) ils font partie du groupe de destinataires avec qui des cadeaux sont échangés ou qui sont félicités ou encouragés par Étienne de Tournai, 5) ce sont des personnes pour lesquelles ce dernier est intervenu comme intermédiaire et à qui il a par ailleurs écrit des lettres dans l'un ou l'autre contexte. Nous obtenons ainsi un total de 47 destinataires connus, soit près de la moitié du nombre de destinataires de la période pré-tournaisienne.

Tableau 5: Le 'réseau d'amitié' d'Étienne de Tournai durant la période pré-tournaisienne

Nom du destinataire	1. Language de l'amitié 2. Informations pratiques 3. Anciens condisciples 4. Félicitations - cadeaux 5. Intermédiaire 6. Nombre de lettres					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Absalon, archevêque de Lund	+	+		+		7
Albert de Mora, cardinal et chancelier pontifical						8
Albin, cardinal						1
Arald, abbé de Saint-Benoît (Fleury)						1
Barthélemy de Vendôme, archevêque de Tours						5
Béla III, roi de Hongrie						
Bertier, archidiacre de Cambrai						2
Bertier, prieur, et les chanoines de Saint-Euverte						
Eudes, abbé de Hautvillers						1
Geoffroi, abbé de Saint-Satur-sous-Sancerre					+	8
Gérard, abbé de Saint-Ambroise de Bourges						1
Gratien de Pise, cardinal						1

Henri, évêque de Senlis	+				3	
Héraclius, archevêque de Césarée			+			1
Hugues Foucaut, abbé de Saint-Denis		+				1
Hugues de Garlande, doyen de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans	+					1 (2)
Hugues, abbé de Saint-Barthélemy de Noyon	+	+			+	6
Hugues, abbé de Saint-Vincent de Senlis	+					1
Jean Bellesmains				+		3
Jean d'Orléans, notaire du pape	+					1
Jean, chanoine de Saint-Satur-sous-Sancerre	+					1
Jothon, archevêque de Tours	+					1
Un chanoine de l'église du Puy	+					1
Lambert de Bruges	+	+				1
Un moine de La Charité-sur-Loire	+					1
Nicolas, prieur de Saint-Barthélemy de Noyon	+					1
Omer, évêque de Ripen	+					1
Le sous-prieur de La Charité-sur-Loire	+					1
Les parents d'un chanoine décédé	+	+		+		1
Le pape Urbain III			+	+		2
Peder Sunesen	+	+		+	+	2
Pierre de Pavie, cardinal	+	+	+	+		5
Le prieur et la congrégation de La Charité-sur-Loire	+					2
Le prieur des chanoines victorins de Naples	+					1
Raymond, prieur de Sainte-Geneviève	+	+				3
Raynaud, archiprêtre d'Orléans	+					2
Richard Barre, archidiacre de Lisieux et d'Ely	+		+	+		1
Robert Galardon, prieur de Pontigny	+		+			1
Robert, ancien condisciple	+		+			1
Étienne, abbé de Cluny		+				1
Soffroi, cardinal	+					3
Vivien, cardinal	+					1
Guillaume d'Aebbelholt, abbé de Saint-Thomas de Paraclet	+	+		+		2
Guillaume de Bière, ermite et ancien prieur de Saint-Euverte	+			+		1
Guillaume de Cabriano	+					1
Guillaume de Champagne	+	+				28
Guillaume d'Orléans, notaire du pape	+	+				1

a. Les colonnes 1 à 6 contiennent: 1) les lettres dans lesquelles le 'langage de l'amitié' est utilisé, 2) les lettres contenant un échange d'informations pratiques, 3) les destinataires qui sont des anciens condisciples d'Étienne de Tournai, 4) les lettres dans lesquelles nous constatons un échange de cadeaux ou dans lesquelles Étienne de Tournai encourage ou félicite ses destinataires, 5) les lettres dans lesquelles Étienne assume un rôle d'intermédiaire, 6) le nombre total de lettres adressées à chaque destinataire.

Il serait erroné de considérer tous ces destinataires comme des amis d'Étienne de Tournai. Premièrement, cette liste n'est certainement pas complète: un certain nombre de destinataires que nous n'avons pas mentionnés ont dû vraisemblablement faire partie du véritable cercle d'amis d'Étienne; évidemment, comme ils n'ont pas reçu de lettres, nous n'en avons pas tenu compte. Deuxièmement, il existe dans cette liste des gens qui ne sont probablement pas des

amis d'Étienne de Tournai et qui entretenaient avec lui un autre genre de relation[202]. Troisièmement, il y a les destinataires qu'Étienne de Tournai n'a jamais connus réellement et dont la lettre en question constitue le seul contact. Il existe peut-être deux critères pour réduire ce nombre d'erreurs. En premier lieu on pourrait examiner combien de lettres Étienne de Tournai a adressées à chacun des destinataires repris dans le tableau. Des 47 destinataires il n'y en a que 18 (37,5 %) qui ont reçu plus d'une lettre; en d'autres mots, en écartant les lettres qui constituent les cas isolés, on réduit de façon drastique le réseau d'amis. On peut cependant se demander si de cette façon-là on n'écarte pas trop de personnes. Sur base des données en notre possession, on ne peut porter à ce sujet de jugement plus précis. En second lieu, on peut examiner quels destinataires de la période pré-tournaisienne ont reçu des lettres alors qu'Étienne était évêque de Tournai, et de quelles lettres il s'agissait à ce moment-là. La liste des destinataires qui entrent dans ce cadre est en réalité très réduite: il s'agit de Guillaume de Champagne (21 lettres), Jean d'Orléans (une lettre), Bertier, archidiacre de Cambrai (quatre lettres), Lambert de Bruges, évêque de Thérouanne (quatre lettres), Bertier prieur puis abbé de Saint-Euverte (deux lettres), Hugues de Garlande, évêque élu d'Orléans (deux lettres) et Hugues Foucaut, abbé de Saint-Denis (une lettre). Trois personnes qui ne sont pas reprises dans le tableau 5 mais qui apparaissent dans la liste des destinataires de la période pré-tournaisienne ont également reçu des lettres durant la période tournaisienne; il s'agit de Nivélon de Chérisy, évêque de Soissons (une lettre), Pierre, évêque d'Arras (neuf lettres) et du cardinal Octavien (deux lettres). Si l'on suppose qu'Étienne de Tournai a gardé contact avec ses vrais amis de la période pré-tournaisienne, on doit conclure sur base des lettres que ce groupe était assez restreint[203].

2. Outre l'image d'un réseau d'amis difficile à déterminer, les lettres nous donnent aussi quelques informations sur l'existence d'un 'réseau de relations patron-client' dans lequel était impliqué Étien-

[202] Par exemple Guillaume de Champagne (relation patron-client), mais sûrement aussi d'autres, comme peut-être le pape Urbain III (ancien condisciple d'Étienne de Tournai, qui se trouvait être le supérieur de ce dernier).

[203] Différents facteurs peuvent donner une image erronée: des lettres peuvent être omises dans la collection; d'anciens destinataires peuvent être décédés. Comme les lettres tournaisiennes ne sont pas comprises dans cette étude, il ne nous est pas possible de nous prononcer sur ce point.

ne de Tournai. En tant que client, il faisait à l'évidence partie du réseau qui entourait Guillaume de Champagne, ce qui fut vraisemblablement déterminant dans les phases cruciales de sa carrière. Étienne de Tournai n'est d'ailleurs pas la seule personne connue dans la liste des destinataires qui ont profité de cette position. Lambert de Bruges fut élu évêque de Thérouanne en 1191 grâce à l'appui de Guillaume de Champagne[204]. Raoul de Serres, parent de Thomas Becket, fut protégé lui aussi par l'archevêque de Reims et devint doyen du chapitre de la cathédrale de Reims[205]. Pierre de Pavie aurait été élu évêque de Meaux en 1171 grâce à l'appui de Guillaume de Champagne[206]. Celui-ci réussit manifestement à obtenir pour certains de ses clients des fonctions importantes, ce qui à son tour ne fit que renforcer sa propre position.

On peut aussi constater qu'Étienne de Tournai intervenint régulièrement comme intermédiaire ou broker. Cela apparaît clairement dans un grand nombre de lettres, lorsque le requérant et le destinataire se trouvent engagés dans une relation de subordination, qui n'est peut-être que l'expression d'une relation de patron à client. Le fait que la plupart des requérants restent anonymes ne nous permet pas de nous prononcer sur ce dernier point avec certitude. Certaines personnes en faveur de qui Étienne de Tournai est intervenu étaient peut-être ses clients, mais ceci ne peut être démontré, et ce du fait de leur anonymat.

3. On peut esquisser avec prudence les contours d'un troisième réseau, le 'réseau des chanoines victorins'. Un grand nombre de lettres d'Étienne de Tournai sont adressées à des abbés ou des prieurs des monastères victorins. Par ailleurs, lorsqu'Étienne de Tournai intervient pour d'autres abbayes que celle dont il est responsable, six sur dix sont des institutions de chanoines victorins. Dans les lettres où il joue le rôle d'intermédiaire au profit de tierces personnes, on voit apparaître un certain nombre d'abbés victorins. La question qui se pose est de savoir si Étienne de Tournai ne peut donc pas être consideré comme un représentant officieux de ces derniers pour la région autour de Paris, et cela non seulement auprès de la curie pontificale, mais peut-être aussi auprès des souverains capétiens, ainsi que des évêques et des archevêques qui

[204] J.R. WILLIAMS, *o.c.*, p. 372.
[205] M. BUR, *o.c.*, col. 858.
[206] J.R. WILLIAMS, *o.c.*, p. 369-370.

avaient jurisdiction sur leurs institutions. Il faut sans doute considérer cette entreprise comme un rôle important, assumé grâce au prestige acquis à la cour royale et à la curie pontificale.

L'élément le plus saisissant reste le caractère très pragmatique de ces réseaux. La participation à l'un ou plusieurs d'entre eux semble avoir constitué un facteur important pour la promotion sociale et la protection dont on voulait et pouvait profiter: le favoritisme semble avoir été souvent de mise. Pour Étienne de Tournai, ceci vaut tant pour le 'réseau patron-client' dans lequel il se trouvait impliqué (et auquel il doit vraisemblablement plusieurs succès de sa carrière), que pour le 'réseau d'amis' dont il faisait partie, et qu'il a utilisé pour sa propre protection comme pour celle d'autres personnes. À l'inverse, le fonctionnement de ces réseaux était vraisemblablement important pour la consolidation et l'expansion des différents types de pouvoir au sein du système social: les relations d'amitié, celles de patron à client, et éventuellement celles liées aux ordres, auront joué un grand rôle dans le développement de structures de pouvoir autour de certaines personnes importants, ceci tant par le soutien que ces dernières pouvaient recevoir des autres membres du réseau que par l'influence qu'elles y exerçaient en retour. Étienne de Tournai semble en avoir été un merveilleux exemple. Comme il faisait partie du réseau gravitant autour de Guillaume de Champagne, et se trouvait par là en contact étroit avec les souverains capétiens, il a pu leur venir directement en aide lorsqu'ils rencontraient certains problèmes pour affirmer et étendre leur influence. D'autre part il aura, par ses activités, ses lettres, et peut-être aussi en tant que représentant important des chanoines victorins, aidé indirectement à l'expansion du pouvoir de Guillaume de Champagne, de Louis VII et de Philippe-Auguste.

Summary

This study examines the different networks of relations of Stephen of Tournai during the period of both his abbacies at Saint-Euverte (Orléans, 1167/1168-1176) and Sainte-Geneviève (Paris, 1176-1192). The basic materials for this study were 207 of his letters, to be found in three different letter-collections, which we have called the 'Parisian collections'. An analysis has been made of the language and the object of these letters, as well as of the social and political backgrounds of the recipients and possible thirds. The introduction of several anthropological concepts helped to clarify and characterize some of Stephen's relations. The letters show that Stephen of Tournai can be situated in different sorts of networks, all of them being intentionally pragmatic. Undoubtedly similar networks were of much importance for the political or ecclesiastical promotion of each participating individual, as can probably be seen in Stephen's personal career. It is our opinion that they cannot simply be understood as the 'circles of friends', which are exemplary of some of his contemporaries, but still a lot of work remains to be done to elucidate their functioning.

Zu den Quellen des Dionysius Carthusianus

von

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Der Karthäuser Denys de Leeuwis, Dionysius genannt, lebte zwischen 1402 und 1471. Er gehört zu den besten niederdeutschen Schriftstellern des 15. Jhs. für Theologie und Philosophie. Fast sämtliche Bücher der Bibel hat er kommentiert, auch Boethius, Petrus Lombardus u.a., und er hat auch mehrere kleine selbständige Schriften veröffentlicht. Er hat eine Neigung zu Neo-Platonismus und Mystik und wird "Doctor extaticus" genannt.

Seine Werke erschienen bei verschiedenen Verlegern im 16. Jh.; diese Editionen sind in Antiquariatsbuchhandlungen unschwer aufzutreiben. Die vom Verfasser benutzten Quellen werden dort am Rande notiert, die Bibelzitate mit Erwähnung von Buch und Kapitel. Seine *Opera omnia* wurden von den Karthäusern in 42 Bänden 1896-1935 herausgegeben, und zwar nach den alten Kölner Editionen; hier wurden auch die Verse der zitierten Bibelstellen (*multo labore*, wie es im Vorwort zum ersten Bande heißt) hinzugefügt; nicht-biblische Zitate dagegen sind nicht identifiziert[1]; während in den Ausgaben aus dem 16. Jh. jeweils angegeben wird, daß Dionysius eine Stelle aus Hieronymus, Augustin usw. usw. zitiert, sind in den *Opera omnia* diese Autoren-Angaben weggefallen[2].

Während die *Opera omnia* also nur Nachdrucke der Kölner Editionen enthalten, wird eine *kritische* Neuausgabe seiner *Opera*

[1] Die Angaben in den *Indices analytici* am Ende der Bände bieten einen kümmerlichen Ersatz.

[2] Ein Verzeichnis seiner Werke bei F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*, Bd. 2 (Madrid 1950), S. 263 ff. (Nrr. 2072-2156).

udiri 40 (2001): 469-485 © BR

selecta für *Corpus Christianorum* geplant, und K. Emery hat im *Corp. Christ. cont. med.* Bd. 121 (1991) eine zwei-bändige *Bibliotheca manuscripta Dionysii Cartusiensis* veröffentlicht, die als Vorarbeit der neuen Edition zu betrachten ist. Um die enorme Arbeit der künftigen Editoren der Werke des Dionysius zu erleichtern, möchte ich hier Notizen zu einigen von mir aufgespürten Quellen vorlegen. Die Quellensuche wird natürlich durch die verschiedenen jetzt zu Gebote stehenden Konkordanzen wesentlich erleichtert; andererseits wird sie dadurch erschwert, daß Dionysius gewöhnlich seine Quellen frei zitiert, und zwar auch wenn er sie als direkte Zitate kennzeichnet.

Kommentare zu den sog. *Libri sapientiales*

a. Prouerbia (*Opera omnia* 7)

S. 155 a D – Non facile dixerim, quis grauius peccet, detrahens detrahentemue audiens: Bernhard von Clairvaux, *Opera* (Bd. 1-8, ed. J. Leclercq & H. Rochais, Rom 1957-77) Bd. 3, S. 430, 6 f.

b. Ecclesiastes (*Opera omnia* 7)

S. 212 a AB – Quum Romae essem et sanctae Blesillae legerem Ecclesiasten ... memoriae sanctae illius et uobis, quod debeo, reddo: Hier. *in Eccles. Praef.* (CC 72, S. 249, 1-11).

S. 212 a C-212 b D – Ecclesiastes Graece, concionator proprie dicitur ... spiritus autem hominum iniquorum post mortem carnis ad inferos deducantur: Greg. M. *dial.* 4, 4 (ed. de Vogüé, Sources Chrét. Bd. 265, S. 26, 2-32, 77; Dion. läßt Mehreres aus).

S. 250 b A – Ne dicas Priora tempora meliora fuerunt quam nunc sunt. Virtutes faciunt dies bonos, uitia malos: vgl. Hier. *in Eccles.* 7, 11 (CC 72, S. 304, 127-129).

S. 251 a B – Felix nimium prior aetas,/ contenta fidelibus aruis: Boeth. *cons.* 2 *carm.* 5, 1 f. (CC 94, S. 28).

c. Canticum canticorum (*Opera omnia* 7)

S. 294 b AB – Ardorem desiderii patrum suspirantium Christi in carne praesentiam ... quantum sanctis ueteribus accenderat desiderium promissio: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 1, S. 8, 20-25.

S. 294 b B – Ponamus ante oculos omne genus humanum ab exordio mundi usque ad finem eius, totam uidelicet Ecclesiam esse unam sponsam, quae arrhas spirituali dono per legem perceperat; sed tamen spon-

si sui praesentiam quaerebat, quae dicit: Osculetur me osculo oris sui: Greg. M. *in Cant.* 12 (CC 144, S. 14, 249-254).

S. 295 b B – refert Hieronymus apud Hebraeos nullum admitti ad praetactas quatuor partes Scripturarum ueteris Testamenti, quousque tricesimum attigerit annum aetatis: vgl. Hier. *in Ezech. Praef.* (CC 75, S. 3, 25-4, 28).

S. 295 b BC – Nominantur in hoc libro oscula, ubera, genae et femora ... ex sermonibus huius amoris discimus, qua uirtute in Deitatis amore ferueamus: Greg. M. *in Cant.* 3 (CC 144, S. 4, 27-37).

S. 318 b C – O sancta anima, esto sola; illi soli serua te ipsam, quem tibi ex omnibus et prae omnibus elegisti; fuge publicum, fuge ipsos domesticos, secede ab amicis et inimicis. An ignoras te pudicum sponsum habere et qui nequaquam uelit ceteris suam exhibere praesentiam? Secede igitur mente, intentione et deuotione et spiritu magis quam corpore: vgl. Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 2, S. 27, 1-6.

S. 340 b AB – Si quis orando obtineat mente excedere in diuini arcani thesauros ... dicere potest: Introduxit me rex in cellam uinariam: vgl. Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 2, S. 75, 14-26.

S. 357 b A – Ideo inquietum est cor meum, nisi ei iungatur: vgl. Aug. *conf.* 1, 1 (CC 27, S. 1, 6 f.).

S. 405 b B – Octonarius namque ... est numerus diminutus et imperfectus, quoniam partes ipsius simul sumptae minus efficiunt quam suum totum: vgl. Aug. *Gen. ad litt.* 4, 2 (CSEL 28: 1, S. 96, 4-8).

S. 421 b A – Mandragorae ... sunt poma pulchra, odorifera, tamen insipida: vgl. Aug. *c. Faust.* 22, 56 (CSEL 25, S. 651, 17-19).

S. 426 b C – uiris luxuria est in lumbis, feminis autem in umbilico: Greg. M. *in euang.* 13, 1 (CC 141, S. 89).

d. Sapientia (*Opera omnia* 7)

S. 458 b B – tam graue peccatum est, ut asserat Augustinus, quod populus Israel nullo peccato legitur Deum tam grauiter offendisse ut murmurando: Aug. *in euang. Ioh.* 26, 11 (CC 36, S. 265, 37 f.).

S. 465 b D – Istud ... fuit totum acumen Iudaeorum: Aug. *in Psalm.* 63, 5 (CC 39, S. 811, 19).

S. 486 a A – Vnusquisque praesidens toties ad apostasiae culpam labitur, quoties hominibus praeesse delectatur: Greg. M. *moral.* 24, 25 (CC 143 B, S. 1227, 19-21).

S. 492 a B – Augustinus in libro de Ciuitate Dei recitat Zoroastrem, magicarum artium inuentorem, mox ut natus fuit risisse; quem risum Augustinus monstruosum appellat: vgl. Aug. *ciu.* 21, 14 (CC 48, S. 780, 17-20).

II. Kommentare zum Neuen Testament

a. Matthäus (*Opera omnia* 11)

S. 64 b B – Tunc robustius ratio contra peccata erigitur, quum ira subita rationi famulatur: Greg. M. *moral.* 5, 45 (CC 143, S. 280, 160 f.).

S. 86 b BC – non odiunt eum (*sc.* Deum), sed spernunt, dum quasi de eius bonitate securi sunt ... Nullius uere conscientia Deum potest odisse: vgl. Aug. *serm. Dom.* 2, 14, 48 (CC 35, S. 139, 1050-3).

S. 114 b D – Nolo subito summus fieri; successive proficere uolo: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 1, S. 16, 14 f.

S. 146 b D 147 b A – Tota Christianae sapientiae disciplina non abundantia uerbi, non in astutia disputandi, non in appetitu laudis et gloriae, sed in uera et uoluntaria humilitate consistit, quam Dominus Iesus ab utero matris usque ad supplicium crucis pro omni fortitudine elegit et docuit: Leo M. *serm.* 37, 3 (CC 138, S. 202, 48-53); auch bei Dionysius *in Luc.*, *Opera omnia* 12, S. 148 a D - 148 b A.

S. 159 b D – nil ei (*sc.* Mariae) materna profuisset propinquitas, nisi Christum felicius gestasset corde quam uentre: Aug. *uirg.* 3, 3 (CSEL 41, S. 237, 17-19).

S. 181 a D – Quum pastor per abrupta graditur, necesse est ut grex in praecipitium ducatur: Greg. M. *past.* 1, 2 (PL 77, S. 15 C).

S. 209 a BC – Nescientes quis ad numerum praedestinatorum et quis ad sortem reproborum pertineat, sic affici debemus caritatis affectu, ut omnes uelimus saluari: Aug. *corrept.* 15, 46 (PL 44, S. 944).

S. 210 b BC – Peccat semel, ignoui; peccat secundo, ignoui; peccat tertio, uapulet: vgl. Aug. *serm.* 83, 7, 8 (PL 38, S. 518).

S. 211 b A – omnis homo debitor est Dei: Aug. *serm.* 83, 2, 2 (PL 38, S. 515).

S. 260 b B – ... quum ... ea, quae ordinate ueniunt, signa non sint: Greg. M. *in euang.* 35, 1 (CC 141, S. 322).

S. 271 b B – ita dicuntur obuiare sponsae, uelut si omnibus in Ecclesiam concurrentibus filii ad matrem concurrere dicantur, quum ipsis filiis congregatis constet ea, quae dicitur mater: Aug. *diuers. quaest.* 59, 4 (CC 44 A, S. 117, 147-151).

b. Lukas (*Opera omnia* 11-12)

S. 363 – studium sapientiae circa duo uersatur ... omne studium sapientiae in actione et contemplatione consistere: vgl. Aug. *ciu.* 8, 4 (CC 47, S. 219, 17-220, 33).

S. 363 – celebriores Platonici aliquid tale de Deo senserunt ... tertium ad moralem pertinet philosophiae partem seu speciem: Aug. *ciu.* 8, 4 (CC 47, S. 220, 50-56).

S. 364 – stilus Lucae euangelistae tam in Euangelio quam in Actibus Apostolorum ornatior est ceterorum stilo Euangelistarum et Apostolorum et eloquentiam redolet saecularem: Hier. *in Is.* 3, 6, 9 (CC 73, S. 92, 38-41).

S. 366 a B – lex humana ... debet esse honesta, ut religioni conueniat; iusta, ut secundum rationem procedat: vgl. Isid. *etym.* 5, 3, 4.

S. 367 b B – Lex, quae regendis ciuitatibus datur, multa concedit ac impunita relinquit, quae per diuinam prouidentiam uindicantur: Aug. *lib. arb.* 1, 5, 41 (CC 29, S. 219, 73-75).

S. 377 a D – 377 b A - Nemo orat accipere, quod se accepturum desperat. Usquequo autem desperauit se filium habiturum, quod nec angelo filium promittenti crediderit: Aug. *quaest. euang.* 2, 1 (CC 44 B, S. 41, 10-12).

S. 390 b A – tunc Deus Pater Filio nuptias fecit, quum ei in utero Virginis naturam sociauit humanam: Greg. M. *in euang.* 38, 3 (CC 141, S. 361).

S. 393 a A – Simul de praeterito et praesenti ac futuro per prophetiae spiritum tacta est: Greg. M. *in Ezech.* 1, 1, 8 (CC 142, S. 9, 158 f.).

S. 398 b D – Nil ... felicius Christiano, cui regna promittuntur caelorum: Hier. *epist.* 125, 1 (CSEL 56, S. 118, 3).

S. 412 b A – Nulla ibi obstetrix, nulla mulierciarum sedulitas intercessit; ipsa pannis inuoluit infantem, ipsa mater et obstetrix fuit: Hier. *uirg. Mar.* 8 (PL 23, S. 192 A).

S. 412 b D – diuersorium ... dicitur, quia diuersi ibi conueniunt: Isid. *etym.* 15, 3, 10.

S. 423 a C – Perfecta obedientia legem nescit, terminis non arctatur; nec contenta angustiis professionis largiori uoluntate fertur secundum latitudinem caritatis: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 3, S. 261, 26-262, 1.

S. 442 a C – Baptisma, quod peccata solueret, quia dare non potuit, praedicabat, ut, sicut incarnatum Patris Verbum praecurrebat uerbo praedicationis, ita baptismum paenitentiae, quo peccata soluuntur, praecurreret suo baptismate, quo peccata solui non possunt: Greg. M. *in euang.* 20, 2 (CC 141, S. 155).

S. 447 a C – Si uis scire, quo casura sit arbor, ramos ascende, et quo ponderosior ramorum est copia, illuc casuram non dubites. Rami arboris sunt desideria hominis: vgl. Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 6 A, S. 327, 2-4.

S. 448 b C – Quicquid de talibus bonis ultra simplicem uictum et uestitum tenetur, furtum est, sacrilegium ac rapina: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 7, S. 21, 17-19; auch bei Dionysius, S. 519 b BC.

S. 450 a A – sciebat Iohannes eos qui militabant non esse homicidas, sed ministros legis, non ultores iniuriarum suarum, sed salutis publicae defensores: Aug. *c. Faust.* 22, 74 (CSEL 25: 1, S. 672, 19-21).

S. 455 a BC – Est autem columba simplex et laetum animal ... osculo oris concordiam pacis ostendunt: Cypr. *unit. eccl.* 9 (CC 3, S. 255, 217-256, 223).
S. 469 b C – Perseuera usque ad finem, quia tentatio perseuerat usque in finem: Aug. *in euang. Ioh.* 45, 13 (CC 36, S. 395, 22 f.).
S. 476 b D – tempus ab aeuo / ire iubes, stabilisque manens das cuncta moueri: Boeth. *cons.* 3, carm. 9, 2 f. (CC 94, S. 51).
S. 543 a B – pes animae amor est; qui si rectus fuerit, dicitur caritas; si inordinatus seu curuus, uocatur cupiditas: Aug. *in Psalm.* 9, 15 (CC 38, S. 66, 14-16).
S. 545 b B – Neminem puto sanctiorem Ieremia: Hier *in Ier.* 4, 48, 4 (CC 74, S. 218, 2 f.).
S. 552 a CD – uera iustitia habet compassionem, falsa indignationem: Greg. M. *in euang.* 34, 2 (CC 141, S. 300).
S. 552 b AB – Necesse est, ut, quum peccatores quosque conspicimus, nosmetipsos prius in illorum calamitate seu uitiis defleamus, quia in similibus aut lapsi sumus aut labi possumus: Greg. M. *in euang.* 33, 3 (CC 141, S. 290).
S. 554 a AB – Quid miremur, fratres, Mariam uenientem an Dominum suscipientem? Suscipientem dicam, an trahentem? Sed, ut uerius fatear, et trahentem dicam et suscipientem. Ipse enim ad paenitentiam traxit intus, qui per mansuetudinem suscepit foris: Greg. M. *in euang.* 33, 1 (CC 141, S. 288 f.).
S. 557 a C – Caelestis medicus aegros respuit, quos de medicamine deteriores fieri uidet: Greg. M. *in euang.* 33, 4 (CC 141, S. 291).
S. 557 b B – Multo ardentius diligere debes Deum, qui flagitiosis quaecumque mala dimisit, in ea te cadere non permisit: Aug. *uirg.* 40, 41 (CSEL 41, S. 284, 5 f.).
S. 560 a C – ... quum aliud sit a Deo in substantiam natiuitatis exiisse, aliud a Patre in hunc mundum ad consummanda salutis nostrae sacramenta uenisse: Hil. *trin.* (CC 62, S. 234, 20-22).
S. 562 a AB Ego, per quem Christus seminat, quid sum nisi cophinus seminantis? Noli attendere ad uilitatem cophini, sed ad potestatem seminis et caritatem seminatoris: Aug. *discipl.* 1, 1 (CC 46, S. 208, 28-31).
S. 581 a D – uerbum est signum signorum: Aug. *mag.* 4, 8 (CC 29, S. 166, 62).
S. 583 b D – hominibus illis rusticanis et absque eloquii uenustate pollicentibus regnum Dei nemo crederet: Hier. *in Matth.* 10,8 (CC 77, S. 65, 1546-1548).
S. 584 a CD – Non dicit, ut aliquis instante frigore unica tunica contentus esse debeat, sed ut in tunica uestimentum intelligamus, ne alio uestiti aliud nobis futurorum timore seruemus: vgl. Hier. *in Matth.* 10, 10 (CC 77, S. 66, 1572-1575).

S. 592 a D – nisi quis a se ipso deficiat, ad eum qui super ipsum est non appropinquat, nec ualet apprehendere quod super se est, si nescierit mactarę quod est: Greg. M. *in euang.* 32, 2 (CC 141, S. 279).

S. 2 a BC - Sine gravi maerore dicere non possumus quod ait: 'Operarii pauci', quia etsi sint qui bona audiant, desunt qui efficaciter dicant. Ecce mundus sacerdotibus plenus est, sed tamen in messe Dei rarus ualde inuenitur operator, quia officium quidem sacerdotale suscepimus, sed opus officii non implemus: Greg. M. *in euang.* 17, 3 (CC 141, S. 118).

S. 3 a BC – Tanta debet praedicatori in Deo esse fiducia, ut, quamuis sibi praesentis uitae sumptus non prouideat, tamen hos sibi non deesse certissime sciat, ne, dum circa temporalia eius mens occupatur, aliis minus idoneus praedicare aeterna monstretur: Greg. M. *in euang.* 17, 5 (CC 141, S. 119).

S. 3 b B – Qui non amore aeternae patriae, sed praemiorum ambitu, hoc est proprii lucri desiderio, salutem audientibus praedicat, quasi in itinere salutat, quia ex occasione, non ex intentione salutem audientibus optat: Greg. M. *in euang.* 17, 5 (CC 141, S. 120).

S. 12 b B – His Christi uerbis exemplum humilitatis accipimus, ne temere discutere superna consilia de aliorum uocatione, aliorum uero repulsione praesumamus: Greg. M. *moral.* 25, 14 (CC 143 B, S. 1258, 17-19).

S. 24 b BC – Beata est congregatio, ubi Martha taliter conqueritur de Maria: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 5, S. 239, 19.

S. 30 a BC – Matthaeus in ultimo posuit 'Sed libera nos a malo', Lucas non posuit, ut intelligeremus hoc ad praecedentem petitionem pertinere. Ideo quippe ait 'Sed libera', non 'Et libera', tanquam unam petitionem demonstrans: Aug. *enchir.* 30, 116 (CC 46, S. 111, 45-49).

S. 31 a A – Dum crescunt dona, rationes crescunt donorum: Greg. M. *in euang.* 9, 1 (CC 141, S. 58).

S. 34 a D – 34 b B - Tria signa in eodem peracta sunt, quia obsessus curatus est et idem caecus ac mutus uisum recepit atque auditum: vgl. Hier. *in Matth.* 12, 22 (CC 77, S. 91, 410 f.).

S. 36 b D – Spiritus Sanctus dicitur digitus Dei propter partitionem donorum, quae ab ipso praestantur: Aug. *quaest. euang.* 2, 17 (CC 44 B, S. 60, 2 f.).

S. 53 b A – sic Deus uias nostras considerat et gressus dinumerat, ut nec minutissimas cogitationes ac tenuissima uerba, quae apud nos usu uiluerunt, eius iudicio remaneant indiscussa: Greg. M. *moral.* 21, 5 (CC 143 A, S. 1071, 15-18).

S. 60 a B – Eadem nocte sublatus est, qui multo tempore fuerat praestolatus, ut qui in longum sibi temporalia congregauit, unum diem sequentem nequaquam uideret: Greg. M. *moral.* 22, 2 (CC 143 A, S. 1094, 11-15).

S. 63 b BC – Plotinus Platonicus de prouidentia disputans ... exemplariter habens omnia perseuerat: Aug. *ciu.* 10, 14 (CC 47, S. 288, 11-18).

S. 68 a B – prima uigilia primaeuum tempus est uitae nostrae, uidelicet pueritia; secunda uigilia est iuuentus seu adolescentia; tertia autem senectus; quarta uero est illa aetas, quae decrepita nominatur: vgl. Greg. M. *in euang.* 19, 2 (CC 141, S. 144 f.).

S. 70 b BC – Apud Deum nihil beatius episcopi et presbyteri aut diaconi officio, si eo modo militetur, quo noster praecepit Imperator: Aug. *epist.* 21, 1 (CSEL 34:1, S. 50, 1-3).

S. 90 a CD – Christus nempe ... in factis passus est obseruatores, in dictis contradictores, in tormentis illusores: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 1, S. 115, 9 f.

S. 95 b B – Sicque humilitas sonat in uoce, dum ait: 'Rogo te'; superbia uero in actione, dum uenire contemnit: vgl. Greg. M. *in euang.* 36, 4 (CC 141, S. 336).

S. 96 a A – sensus corporales interna comprehendere nequeunt, sed sola exteriora cognoscunt: Greg. M. *in euang.* 36, 4 (CC 141, S. 335).

S. 97 a B – hos elegit Deus, quos despicit mundus, et ipsa despectio plerumque hominem reuocat ad se ipsum: Greg. M. *in euang.* 36, 7 (CC 141, S. 337).

S. 99 b A – Omne, quod agimus, praeuenire per studium considerationis debemus: Greg. M. *in euang.* 37, 6 (CC 141, S. 352).

S. 109 a D – Domine, creasti nos propter te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec perueniat ad te: Aug. *conf.* 1, 1 (CC 27, S. 1, 6 f.).

S. 113 b C – ... paenitentiam, quae ... est secunda tabula post naufragium: Hier. *epist.* 130, 9 (CSEL 56, S. 189, 4 f.).

S. 117 a A – Deus est diues, non pecunia, sed omnipotentia: Aug. *ciu.* 7, 12 (CC 47, S. 196, 17 f.).

S. 120 a BC – inuisa diligere possumus, non autem incognita: vgl. Aug. *trin.* 10, 1 (CC 50, S. 315, 121 f.).

S. 123 a C – Diabolus ... omnium impiorum est caput; ideo ei adhaerent sicut capiti membra: vgl. Greg. M. *moral.* 32, 15 (CC 143 B, S. 1651, 184).

S. 128 a CD – Sinum Abrahae intellego remotam sedem quietis ... quibus est ad imitandum fidei principatui praepositus: Aug. *anim.* 4, 16, 24 (CSEL 60, S. 404, 2-5).

S. 130 a D – Si quae reprehensibilia in pauperibus uidemus, non debemus eos despicere, quia fortassis, quos morum infirmitas uulnerat, hos medicina paupertatis curat: Greg. M. *in euang.* 40, 10 (CC 141, S. 407).

S. 142 b A – tunc erunt securi, qui modo non sunt securi: Aug. *serm.* 108, 1, 1 (PL 38, S. 633).

S. 146 b A – Orare est in compunctione amaros gemitus ex corde, non composita uerba sonare: Greg. M. *moral.* 33, 23 (CC 143 B, S. 1712, 50 f.).

S. 151 a D – 151 b A - Difficile, immo impossibile est, ut praesentibus et futuris fruatur quis bonis; ut hic impleat uentrem, et ibi mentem; ut de deliciis ad delicias transeat; ut in terra et in caelo appareat gloriosus: Hier. *epist.* 118, 6 (CSEL 55, S. 4444, 5-8).

S. 158 b A – Verus obediens moras nescit, nec mandatum procrastinat, oculos parat uisui, cor iussioni, aures auditui, manus operi, pedes itineri, et sese totum recolligit intus, ut imperantis iussionem impleat foris: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 6 A, S. 249, 8-11.

S. 159 a C – tenetur homo statim restituere bona iniusta, si potest; et semper iudicandus est in mora, quousque restituatur res quae reddi debet et potest nec redditur; neque ante hoc agitur paenitentia, sed simulatur; nec dimittitur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum: vgl. Aug. *epist.* 153, 20 (CSEL 44, S. 419, 5-8).

S. 163 b B – in animam suam peccat, qui se ipsum excusat, tanquam a se indulgentiae medicinam repellens et uitam gratiae sibi ore proprio intercludens. Quae enim maior nequitia, immo et maior stultitia quam contra propriam armari salutem et linguae mucrone semetipsum confodere?: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 1, S. 96, 3-6.

S. 181 a A – Duo sunt persequentium genera: unum est uituperantium, aliud adulantium. Magis persequitur lingua adulatoris quam manus interfectoris: Aug. *in Psalm.* 69, 5 (CC 39, S. 934, 2-4).

S. 203 a D – sanandae nostrae miseriae nullus fuit alius conuenientior modus: Aug. *trin.* 13, 10, 13 (CC 50 A, S. 399, 10 f.).

S. 252 b D – Christus discipulis istis ipsum amantibus et de ipso loquentibus exhibuit se praesentem, et tamen de ipso dubitantibus suae cognitionis abstulit speciem: vgl. Greg. M. *in euang.* 23, 1 (CC 141, S. 193).

S. 256 a C – esse extranei a caritate non poterant hi, cum quibus Veritas gradiebatur: Greg. M. *in euang.* 23, 1 (CC 141, S. 194).

S. 258 a B – quae multum laeta sunt, uix creduntur: Aug. *in Psalm.* 147, 17 (CC 40, S. 2153, 73 f.).

c. Iohannes (*Opera omnia* 12)

S. 319 b C – ille zelo domus Dei comeditur, qui uniuersa mala quae uidet in ea studet corrigere; quod si non potest, tolerat et gemit: Aug. *in euang. Ioh.* 10, 9 (CC 36, S. 105, 4-7).

S. 374 b AB – Tolle gratiam; quid est ille homo, nisi quod tu?: Aug. *serm.* 67, 4, 7 (PL 38, S. 436).

S. 398 a D – Gratia, quae occulte humanis cordibus diuina largitate tribuitur, a nullo corde duro respuitur, quoniam ideo datur, ut duritia cordis penitus auferatur: Aug. *praed. sanct.* 8, 13 (PL 44, S. 971).
S. 465 a CD – Oportet ut sollicite metiri se studeat ... exteriorum prouidentiam in interiorum sollicitudine non relinquens: Greg. M. *past.* 2, 1 (PL 77, S. 26 D-27 A).
S. 465 a D – 465 b A - Mercenarius est, qui locum praelationis in Ecclesia tenet, sed lucrum animarum non quaerit, terrenis commodis inhiat, honore praelationis gaudet, impensa sibi ab hominibus reuerentia laetatur: Greg. M. *in euang.* 14, 2 (CC 141, S. 97).

d. Pauli epistulae (*Opera omnia* 13)

S. 22 b A – Peccatum est praeuaricatio legis diuinae: Ambr. *parad.* 8, 39 (CSEL 32: 1, S. 296, 2).
S. 32 a C – lex Moysis dicitur factorum, quia minando imperabat, sed gratiam faciendi non praestabat. Lex uero euangelica uocatur lex fidei, quoniam opera mandat et credendo gratiam faciendi acquirit: vgl. Aug. *spir. et litt.* 13, 22 (CSEL 60, S. 175, 13 f.).
S. 46 a B – nitimur in uetitum semper cupimusque negata: Ouid. *am.* 3, 4, 17.
S. 172 b A – ad hoc genus impiae societatis pertinent consultationes et pacta quaedam significationum cum daemonibus foederata, ut molimina artium magicarum: Aug. *doctr. christ.* 2, 20 (CC 32, S. 54, 3-6).
S. 241 b A – exhibitio enim operis signum est dilectionis: Greg. M. *in euang.* 30, 1 (CC 141, S. 256).
S. 242 b A – qui dat, ut careat taedio interpellantis, non ut reficiat uiscera indigentis ...: Aug. *in Psalm.* 42, 8 (CC 38, S. 481, 13 f.).
S. 310 a D – angeli mysterium incarnationis passionisque Christi ignorauerunt, donec impleretur: vgl. Hier. *in Is.* 63, 1 (CC 73 A, S. 721, 48-51).
S. 311 b A – longitudo est perseuerandi longanimitas: vgl. Aug. *serm.* 53, 14, 15 (PL 38, S. 371).
S. 317 a C-D – Tunc robustius ratio contra peccata erigitur, dum ... uelut ancilla ad obsequium parata a rationis tergo nunquam recedat: vgl. Greg. M. *moral.* 5, 45 (CC 143, S. 280, 156-161).
S. 476 b D – archangeli appellantur, qui summa annuntiant: Greg. M. *in euang.* 34, 8 (CC 141, S. 306).

e. Die sog. Epistulae canonicae (*Opera omnia* 13-14)

S. 551 a A – huiusmodi uirtus a Tullio definitur, quod sit habitus rationi consentaneus, in modum naturae operans: Cic. *inu.* 2,159.
S. 551 a D-551 b A – Ideo homo tentatur aduersis, ut patientiam discat et per eam ostendere possit atque probare, quod firmam fidem futurae

retributionis gestet in corde. Patientia autem operatur probationem, quia cuius patientia uinci non potest, ille perfectus esse probatur: Beda *in epist. cath. Iac.* 1, 3-4 (CC 121, S. 184, 48-54) (Dion. hat Einiges ausgelassen).

S. 561 a BC – suggestione hostis, delectatione aut etiam consensu nostrae fragilitatis, consensu cordis ... mortis rei efficimur: Beda *in epist. cath. Iac.* 1, 15 (CC 121, S. 188, 193-201).

S. 573 a D – Hos elegit Deus, quos despicit mundus: Greg. M. *in euang.* 36, 7 (CC 141, S. 337).

S. 575 b D – retunditur superbia nostra, quae nescit in hominibus considerare dignitatem naturae, qua ad Dei imaginem facti sunt: Greg. M. *in euang.* 28, 2 (CC 141, S. 241).

S. 576 a A – Deus diues est, non pecunia, sed omnipotentia: Aug. *ciu.* 7, 12 (CC 47, S. 196, 17 f.).

S. 577 a A – omnia praecepta unum dicuntur in radice caritatis: vgl. Greg. M. *in euang.* 27, 1 (CC 141, S. 229-230).

S. 580 b A – Qui Deum non credunt aut creditum non uerentur, profecto daemonibus tardiores ac proteruiores sunt aestimandi. Sed nec Deum credere et contremiscere magnum est, si non et in eum credatur, hoc est per fidem caritate formatam in eum tendatur et eius in corde amor seruetur: Beda *in epist. cath. Iac.* 2, 19 (CC 121, S. 198, 170-173).

S. 595 b B – diabolus contra duos bellum mouet: unum incitans, ut iniurias inferat; alium, ut iniuriis acceptis contumelias reddat: Greg. M. *in euang.* 35, 6 (CC 141, S. 326).

S. 595 b D – Perseuera usque in finem, quia tentatio perseuerat usque in finem: Aug. *in euang. Ioh.* 45, 13 (CC 36, S. 395, 22 f.).

S. 597 a C – Misericordiae Domini multae, sed et miseriae Domini multae: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 5, S. 62, 4 f.

S. 607 b D-608 a A – Dum uox psalmodiae per intentionem cordis agitur, tunc aut prophetica mysteria reuelantur aut compunctionis gratia inspiratur: Greg. M. *in Ezech.* 1, 1 (CC 142, S. 12, 282-285).

S. 624 b A – Corporales deliciae quum non habentur, graue in se desiderium accendunt; quum autem habentur, protinus per satietatem in fastidium uertunt. Spirituales uero deliciae quum non habentur, in fastidium sunt; quum uero habentur, in desiderium: Greg. M. *in euang.* 36, 1 (CC 141, S. 331-332).

S. 639 b CD – Hoc in uita hac inter electos et reprobos solet distare, quod electi tanto minus gaudiis delectantur caducis, quanto plus perpetua gaudia praestolantur. Reprobi uero hic patriam habent: Beda *in epist. cath. Petr.* I 2, 11 (CC 121, S. 239, 228-233).

S. 646 b AB – Serico et purpura indutae ... sed sola ipsa remaneat in crimine: Beda *in epist. cath. Petr.* I 3, 3 (CC 121, S. 243, 10-17).

S. 648 a A – Pensate, quae culpa sit hoc uiros appetere, a quo pastor Ecclesiae curauit feminas prohibere: Greg. M. *in euang.* 6, 3 (CC 141, S. 41).

S. 651 a AB Quomodo irasceris alteri, quando de te male loquitur, ita irascere tibi, quando de altero male loqueris: Aug. *serm.* 108, 7, 7 (PL 38, S. 635).

S. 652 b B – Constat plurimos boni aemulatores ... Neminem posse laedi ab alio nisi a semetipso: Beda *in epist. cath. Petr.* I 3, 13 (CC 121, S. 245, 87-93).

S. 669 b D – Quum pastor per abrupta graditur, grex eius in praecipitium labitur: Greg. M. *past.* 1, 2 (PL 77, S. 15 C).

S. 672 b C-673 a A – Circuit nos singulos et tanquam hostis clausos obsidens muros ... est ad impugnandum semper paratus inimicus: Beda *in epist. cath. Petr.* II 5, 8 (CC 121, S. 258, 83-98).

S. 682 a B – Tabernaculo solent homines in itinere aut in proelio uti: idcirco fideles quamdiu sunt in corpore et peregrinantur a Domino ac contra ueritatis aduersarios certant, in tabernaculis se esse rite testantur: Beda *in epist. cath. Petr.* II 1, 13 (CC 121, S. 265, 182-184).

S. 22 b D-23 a A – Quia labenti mundo inhaeremus, cum ipso cadimus, quem labentem tenemus: Greg. M. *in euang.* 28, 3 (CC 141, S. 243).

S. 46 b C – Erunt tunc securi, qui modo non sunt securi; et iterum tunc timebunt, qui modo timere nolunt: Aug. *serm.* 108, 1, 1 (PL 38, S. 633).

f. Acta Apostolorum (*Opera omnia* 14: 1)

S. 83 b B – De omnibus elegit, unde faceret sermonem, quae iudicauit apta et congrua sufficere officio dispensationis suae: Beda *in Act.* 1, 1 (CC 121, S. 6, 6 f.).

S. 92 a D-92 b A – Si qui necessitate compulsi Deum putant sortibus consulendum exemplo Apostolorum, uideant ipsos Apostolos non nisi collecto fratrum coetu et precibus ad Deum fusis id egisse: Beda *in Act.* 1, 26 (CC 121, S. 15, 267-270).

S. 114 b CD – Nulla re hos duos paenitentia curari passus est Petrus, sed ad timorem posteris incutiendum noxium gramen radicitus amputare curauit: Beda *in Act.* 5, 5 (S. 29, 23 f.).

S. 135 a A – Est autem consuetudo Scripturae rem gestam narrare eo modo, quo cum fieret ab omnibus fieri putabatur: Hier. *in Matth.* 14, 9 (CC 77, S. 118, 1153-55).

S. 145 a A – Non uirtutibus ad fidem, sed fide pertingitur ad uirtutes. Cornelius enim, cuius orationes ante baptismum angelo teste laudatae sunt, non operibus ad fidem, sed fide ad opera uenit: Beda *in Act.* 10, 1 (CC 121, S. 48, 2-49, 13; Dion. hat Mehreres ausgelassen).

S. 205 b B – non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum ... seruatur tamen Paulus, quatenus Romae (sicut dictum erat) Christo testimonium reddat: Beda *in Act.* 23, 12 (CC 121, S. 89, 28-90, 34).

g. Apocalypsis (*Opera omnia* 14: 1)

S. 232 a D – Personam, locum, tempus causamque uisionis insinuat, ne carnali phantasmate putaretur illusus: Beda *in Apoc.* 1, 1 (PL 93, S. 135 B).

S. 249 a D – plenitudinem uita iusti habet, inanes autem sunt dies malorum: Ambr. *in Luc.* 2, 29 (CC 14, S. 43, 408 f.).

S. 263 b C – Ait enim Beda per quatuor animalia in hoc libro non semper quatuor euangelistas intelligi, sed quandoque Ecclesias: vgl. Beda *in Apoc.* 1, 4 (PL 93, S. 144 B).

S. 278 b D – Sicut liber inuolutus mysteria quidem intus, sed foris non apparentia continet, sic et tunc Ecclesia suis tantum cognita persecutionem discrete uitans recedet, ut ab extraneis abdita non uideatur: Beda *in Apoc.* 1, 6 (PL 93, S. 148 D).

S. 312 a BC – execrabili astutia diabolus quanto fortius ab Ecclesia deicitur, tanto pertinacius eam persequitur: Beda *in Apoc.* 2, 12 (PL 93, S. 168 AB).

S. 320 a C – Quum citharistae Dei sint omnes sancti ... sequuntur Agnum quocumque uadit: Beda *in Apoc.* 2, 14 (PL 93, S. 173 BC).

III. Einige *Opera minora*

a. De arcta uia salutis ac mundi contemptu (*Opera omnia* 39)

S. 426 b BC – Quamuis omnem scientiam et doctrinam sacra Scriptura sine aliqua comparatione transcendat ... omnes tamen scientias et doctrinas etiam ipso locutionis suae more transcendit: Greg. M. *moral.* 20, 1 (CC 143 A, S. 1003, 1-14; Dion. läßt Mehreres aus).

S. 426 b C – Ama studia Scripturarum, et uitia carnis non amabis: Hier. *epist.* 125, 11 (CSEL 56, S. 130, 3 f.).

S. 428 a D-428 b A – A regione nostra (paradiso scilicet terrestri) superbiendo, inobediendo, uisibilia sequendo, cibum uetitum degustando discessimus; sed ad eam necesse est, ut flendo, obediendo, uisibilia contemnendo carnisque appetitum frenando redeamus: Greg. M. *in euang.* 10, 7 (CC 141, S. 71).

S. 431 b BC – Primum impedimentum nostrum et occupatio grauis ipsa est necessitas miseri corporis huius, quod, dum modo somnum, modo cibum, modo alia quaeque requirit, non dubium, quin frequenter nos ab exercitio spirituali impediat: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 4, S. 348, 9-12.

S. 432 a BC – Arcta uia, in qua quisque studiose constringitur ... mala nocentium ex corde dimittere dilectionisque gratiam circa eos immobilem conseruare: Greg. M. *moral.* 27, 37 (CC 143 B, S. 1379, 6-15).

S. 436 a B – Nihil arduum humilibus, nihil asperum mitibus: vgl. Bernhard, Opera Bd. 4, S. 114, 7.

S. 436 a C – Si mens forti intentione in Deum dirigitur, quidquid sibi in hac uita amarum occurrit, dulce aestimat: Greg. M. *moral.* 7, 15 (CC 143, S. 346, 18 f.).

S. 440 a CD – Vt homo sit aliquid, conuertat se ad illum, a quo creatus est. Recedendo enim frigescit, accedendo clarescit. A quo enim habet ut sit, apud illum habet ut bene sit: Aug.*in Psalm.* 70, 2, 6 (CC 39, S. 965, 45-49).

S. 445 a AB – Praeoccupatum saecularibus desideriis delectatio sancta declinat; nec misceri poterunt uana ueris, aeterna caducis, spiritualia temporalibus, summa imis, ut pariter sapias, quae sursum sunt et quae sunt super terram: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 5, S. 155, 1-4.

S. 445 a B – Si habet animus, in quo oblectetur extrinsecus, sine spiritualibus deliciis manet intrinsecus: Aug. *in euang. Ioh.* 32, 2 (CC 36, S. 301, 24 f.).

S. 446 b C – Christus insuper ... in omnibus id elegit, quod carni molestius est: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 4, S. 258, 17.

S. 450 a A-C – Considera mundum hunc uniuersum ... summam atque diuinam immutabilitatem peruenerit: Hugo S. Vict. *uan. mundi* 2 (PL 176, S. 713 B-D).

S. 454 a D-454 b A – Tunc solum Deo uera obsequia reddimus, quum eum propter amoris fiduciam non timemus, quum nos ad opera bona affectus, non metus, dirigit: Greg. M. *moral.* 9, 41 (CC 143, S. 503, 13-15).

S. 454 b CD – tanta est pulchritudo iustitiae, tanta iucunditas lucis aeternae, hoc est incommutabilis ueritatis et sapientiae increatae, ut etiam si non liceret in ea amplius quam unius diei hora una manere, propter hoc solum innumerabiles anni huius uitae pleni deliciis et affluentia temporalium rerum recte et merito spernerentur: Aug. *lib. arb.* 3, 25 (CC 29, S. 321, 63-68).

S. 457 a A – animus inordinatus sibi ipsi est poena: Aug. *conf.* 1, 12 (CC 27, S. 11, 15).

S. 457 b C – Quanto quis honoribus dignitatum plus sublimatur, eo grauioribus ponderibus oneratur: vgl. Greg. M. *moral.* 17, 21 (CC 143 A, S. 869, 24-26).

S. 458 a AB – diuitiarum amor insatiabilis longe plus desiderio torquet quam usu suo hominem ipsum refrigeret. Labor enim, secundum Valerium, est in acquirendo, timor in possidendo, dolor in amittendo: vgl. Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 4, S. 88, 21-24.

S. 459 a A – Pene semper epulas concomitatur uoluptas. Dum enim corpus in refectionis delectatione resoluitur, cor ad inane gaudium relaxatur: Greg. M. *moral.* 1, 8 (CC 143, S. 29, 14-16).

S. 459 a AB – Proinde Valerius ait: Diues in superfluitate resoluitur et iactantia effrenatur, currit ad libitum, corruit ad illicitum, fiuntque instrumenta poenarum, quae fuerunt oblectamenta culparum: Innocentius III. *cont. mundi* 1, 16 (PL 217, S. 709 A).

S. 468 a C – Quicquid praeter necessarium uictum ac simplicem uestitum de altari retines, tuum non est, furtum est, rapina est, sacrilegium est: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 7, S. 21, 17-19.

S. 470 a B – hos eligit Deus, quos despicit mundus: Greg. M. *in euang.* 36, 7 (CC 141, S. 337).

S. 474 a D-474 b A – Quid sibi uult, quod clerici aliud esse, aliud uideri uolunt ... qui non amici Sponsi (uidelicet Christi), sed aemuli sunt: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 3, S. 447, 25-448, 7.

S. 474 b CD – insolentia clericorum ubique terrarum turbat et molestat Ecclesiam. Alienis nimirum laboribus locupletantur, comedunt fructus terrae absque pecunia, et prodit quasi ex adipe iniquitas eorum. Mens quippe assueta deliciis nec exculta disciplinis multas contrahit sordes: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 7, S. 358, 9-16 (Dion. läßt Mehreres aus).

S. 475 b BC – Parcite, o fratres, parcite animabus uestris ... non ad futuram gloriam, quae promittitur uobis: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 4, S. 113, 10-114, 1 (Dion. läßt Mehreres aus).

S. 482 a B – Non tibi frustra quis blandiatur de dispensatione apostolica, cuius conscientiam tenet ligatam diuina sententia: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 7, S. 7, 15-17.

S. 482 a D – Non sum tam rudis, ut ignorem uos positos dispensatores, sed in aedificationem, non in destructionem. Vbi urget necessitas, excusabilis est dispensatio; ubi utilitas prouocat, laudabilis est; utilitas, dico, communis, non propria. Nam ubi nihil est horum, non plane fidelis dispensatio, sed crudelis dissipatio est: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 3, S. 445, 23-28.

b. Speculum amatorum mundi (*Opera omnia* 39)

S. 494 a A – O quam pulchra et decora ciuitas: Aug. *in Psalm.* 64, 3 (CC 39, S. 825, 6).

S. 494 a B – Ipse est finis desideriorum nostrorum, qui sine fine uidebitur, sine fine amabitur, sine fatigatione laudabitur: Aug. *ciu.* 22, 30 (CC 48, S. 863, 33-35).

c. De grauitate et enormitate peccati (*Opera omnia* 39)

S. 368 a C – Peccatum est praeuaricatio legis diuinae et caelestium inobedientia mandatorum: Ambr. *parad.* 8, 39 (CSEL 32: 1, S. 296, 2-4).

S. 372 a A – nulla est a Deo alia longinquitas quam eius dissimilitudo: Aug. *ciu.* 9, 17 (CC 47, S. 266, 8 f.).

S. 382 b D-383 a A – ideo poena aeterna, quae pro temporali peccato infligitur, dura et iniusta sensibus uidetur humanis, quia in hac uita mortali deest nobis ille altissimae atque purissimae sapientiae sensus, quo sentiri possit, quantum nefas in praeuaricatione committatur: Aug. *ciu.* 21, 12 (CC 48, S. 778, 1-5).

S. 384 a D – Animam diuino desertam auxilio, quaecumque tentatio impetierit, subuertit: Hugo S. Vict. *arc. Noe* 1 Prol. (PL 176, S. 619).

S. 385 a D-385 b A – peccatum nihil est, et nihil fiunt homines peccando: Aug. *in euang. Ioh.* 1, 13 (CC 36, S. 7, 6 f.).

S. 386 a C – Bonus etiam si seruiat, liber est; malus autem etiam si regnet, seruus est tot dominorum quot uitiorum: Aug. *ciu.* 4, 3 (CC 47, S. 101, 45-48).

S. 386 b D-387 a A – Mens nostra, cui ratio et intellegentia naturaliter inest, uitiis quibusdam tenebrosis ac ueteribus inualida est non solum ad inhaerendum Deo fruendo, sed etiam ad perferendum incommutabile lumen, donec de die in diem renouata ac sanata fiat tantae capax felicitatis: Aug. *ciu.* 11, 2 (CC 48, S. 322, 20-25).

d. Speculum siue dialogus de conuersione peccatorum (*Opera omnia* 39)

S. 402 b C – Qui dum sani sunt paenitent et se emendant, secure hinc exeunt (id est salubriter moriuntur); qui autem tunc paenitent, quando diutius se uiuere posse non putant, an secure hinc exeant, ego non sum securus: Aug. *serm.* 393 (PL 39, S. 1714).

S. 405 b AB – O extrema libidinis turpitudo, quae non solum mentem effeminat, sed et corpus eneruat; non solum maculat animam, sed et foedat personam! Omne namque peccatum, quodcumque fecerit homo, extra corpus ipsius est; qui autem fornicatur, peccat in corpus suum: Innocentius III. *cont. mundi* 2, 21 (PL 217, S. 725 B).

S. 414 a A – Vnusquisque toties ad apostasiae crimen delabitur, quoties praeesse hominibus gloriatur: Greg. M. *moral.* 24, 25 (CC 143 B, S. 1227, 19-21).

S. 414 a B – O ambitio ambientium crux, quomodo omnes torquens omnibus places?: Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 3, S. 434, 17 f.

e. De fonte lucis ac semitis uitae (*Opera omnia* 41)

S. 107 b D-108 a A – Prima est admiratio maiestatis ... Quarta consideratio est promissorum ipsius: vgl. Bernhard, *Opera* Bd. 3, S. 493, 6-18.
S. 117 b C – Sagittaueras tu cor meum caritate tua, et gestabam uerba tua uisceribus meis infixa: Aug. *conf.* 9, 2 (CC 27, S. 134, 14 f.).

Summary

A new edition of the *Opera selecta* by Dionysius Carthusianus (1402-71) is being prepared for *Corpus Christianorum*. In order to facilitate the work of the editor of these *Opera*, a list of some of the sources used by Dionysius, which have been identified, has been given.

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